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SIR THOMAS BROWNE'S WORKS,

VOLUME THE FIRST,

CONTAINING

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE.

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Your very woll wishing frind &
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THE WORKS

OF

SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

INCLUDING

HIS UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE,

AND A MEMOIR.

EDITED BY SIMON WILKIN, F.L.S.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1846.

Your very well wishing friend
& Servant Tho. Browne

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PREFACE.

NEARLY twelve years have elapsed since the present edition was undertaken; and it affords me no small gratification to have at length accomplished, however imperfectly, a task which has been attended by a degree of labour proportioned to the difficulty of the work, and the competency of the workman. The delay, though not my own, and incurred in the hope of securing a corresponding advantage to my readers, cannot, I fear, be justified:—and, when I consider how often plans have been defeated, assurances forfeited, and character thus sacrificed, by a spirit of procrastination, I cannot but rejoice that my own intentions have survived that which threatened their frustration, and that I have been permitted, though late, to redeem my pledge by the publication of these volumes.

Respecting the WORKS of Sir Thomas Browne, I need say the less here, because explanatory prefaces accompany the principal of them. *Religio Medici*, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, and the volume containing *Hydriotaphia* and the *Garden of Cyrus*,

were published by himself; after his decease, and in consonance no doubt with his understood intentions, appeared the *Miscellany Tracts*, *Letter to a Friend*, *Posthumous Works*, and *Christian Morals*. The last of these, we are informed by his daughter,[1] was "a continuation of his Religio Medici, drawn up in his elder years," and seems to have been left in readiness for the press. Of his lesser pieces he had probably intended to make a complete collection, and either publish, or leave them for publication in a revised form; for he has informed us himself that he had "some miscellaneous tracts which might be published."[2] The collection which was brought out by Abp. Tenison does not appear to me to have been so complete or so revised and arranged, as the author would have left it. Generally speaking, I have arranged the works according to the date of their publication; deviating only occasionally in order to place similar subjects together. On this principle I have placed the Miscellany Tracts last, because the hitherto unpublished works which follow are also miscellaneous.

It will be expected that I should say a few words respecting the LIFE and CORRESPONDENCE, which occupy the first volume. The only original and authentic biographical materials which exist re-

[1] See last page of *Supplementary Memoir*, and Archdeacon Jeffery's Preface to the *Christian Morals*.

[2] Vol. i, p. 468.

specting Browne are, *first*, his own brief notice sent to Aubrey for the use of Anthony Wood ;[3] *secondly*, the "Minutes," drawn up at the request of his widow, by the Rev. John Whitefoot, M.A.;[4] *thirdly*, some additional information given by Mrs. Lyttleton to Bp. Kennet.[5] The first life which appeared accompanied the *Posthumous Works*, in 1712, and included the *Minutes*. In 1736 a second was prefixed to the 13th edition of *Religio Medici:* and in 1756 Dr. Johnson wrote his biography for the 2nd edition of the *Christian Morals*. I am not aware of any other distinct life of Browne; but he is noticed more or less copiously in the principal biographical collections, foreign as well as English: especially the Biographical Dictionary, Aikin, Chalmers, Biographie Universelle, Bayle, Jöcher, Niceron,[6] &c. I have reprinted Dr. Johnson's

[3] Vol. i, p. 467, 470.

[4] He was but five years younger than Sir Thomas, and for 30 years his intimate friend. Bp. Hall, in 1652, instituted him to the Rectory of Heigham, Norwich, which he resigned in 1682 to his son, the minister of St. Peter's Mancroft, whose portrait is in the vestry of that church. The *Biographia Britannica* mentions a letter from Mr. Whitefoot to Lady Browne, respecting his proposed life;—but I have not been able to trace it. He died in 1699, aged 89, and was buried in St. Gregory's, Norwich. The greater part of this *Minutes* was included by Dr. Johnson, in his life; and the remaining paragraphs will be found in this edition, at the foot of pp. xli, xliv, xlvii. He probably intended to write a much fuller life, and it was to this design that Abp. Tenison alluded in his preface to the *Miscellany Tracts*.

[5] Vol. i, cx.

[6] The article in the *Biographia* by Kippis is far more copious than any other. It contains references to, and translations of, many criticisms on Browne, and an original letter by him, (see p. 356.)

Dr. Aikin, in a letter to the Rev. R. Barbauld, in 1775, (inserted in Miss Aikin's memoir of the Dr.) says, "I have lately been writing the life of a very extraordinary man, Sir Thomas Browne, &c." Miss Aikin, in reply to an inquiry what had become of this Life, says, "it was not printed in the *Biographical Memoirs of Medicine*, the only work of my father's on medical biography,

Life, adding here and there a note, corrective or explanatory;—but reserving such additional information, or more ample notices, as I have been able to collect from preceding biographies and other sources, for a separate and *Supplementary Memoir*. Here I have collected all the information in my power respecting the family of Sir Thomas, his literary and scientific pursuits and habits, his correspondents, his works, and the various criticisms they met with both abroad and at home. Respecting the MSS. which he left, I

because that work comes no lower than Harvey; but he inserted it, I apprehend, in an abridged form, in the *General Biography*."

I forgot to notice, in my Preface to the *Pseudodoxia*, that M. du Petit Thouars (who wrote the article in *Biographie Universelle*,) ascribes the French translation of that work to the Abbé Souchay.

I must not omit to remark that some of his biographers have attributed to Browne works which he did not write. "In the Life prefixed to *Religio Medici*, 1736, it is asserted that he wrote a treatise entitled, *De Lucis causa et Origine*, in a letter to *Isaac Vossius*, with whom he had a dispute upon that subject, (printed at Amsterdam in 1663, and criticising Vossius's work, *De natura et Proprietate lucis,)* wherein he strongly maintains *Des Cartes's* hypothesis. He also wrote an *Apology for the Cartesian Philosophy*, in opposition to a divine, named *Vogelsang*." It may be conjectured that the writer had inadvertently applied to Sir T. B. the following account given by M. Bayle, of a very different person. "Jean de Bruyn, Professeur a Utrecht en Physique et en Mathématique, né à Gorcum, 1620, mort à Leyde, 1675; ecrivit a Isaac Vossius, une lettre de 68 pages in 4to. *De Lucis causis et Origine;* qui fut imprimée à Amsterdam, 1668. Il a fait aussi une "*Apologie de la Philosophie Cartésienne*," coutre un Théologien nommé Vogelsang."

Jöcher, in his *Allgemeines Gelehrten Lexicon*, erroneously attributes to him two other works, viz. "*The History of the Life and Reign of the famous Princesse Elizabeth*,"—which is "*Camden's tomus alter et idem; or the History of the Life and Reign of the famous Princesse Elizabeth, by Thos. Brown, D.D. Lond.* 1629, 4to. and *Jani Philadelphi consultatio desultoria de optima Christianorum secta, et Vitiis Pontificiorum. Prodromus Religionis Medici*, small 8vo. *Patav.* 1688. Jöcher asserts that Janus Philadelphus was an assumed name;—it might be so; and, though Sir Thomas died 1682, the book might have appeared posthumously, like several other of his works,—but in the course of it, the author refers to "*Avis aux RR. PP. Jesuites, du 2me, Mai, l'an* 1685:—this is conclusive against our author's claims, who died 3 years before.

have drawn up (by the help of a catalogue in the Bodleian Library) rather a full notice, partly in order to prove that I have left nothing unpublished, and partly to point out, that the far greater part of the collection is still preserved, in about 100 volumes, extending from No. 1824 to 1924 in the Sloanian MSS. of the British Museum.[7] By the kindness of Charles George Young, Esq. York Herald, I am enabled to give two pedigrees;—one by Sir Thomas in 1664, the other at a much later date, from the MSS. of Peter Le Neve, Esq. Norroy. In addition to these I have drawn up a full pedigree of the family, continuing it to the present in day the only surviving branch,—the Earl of Buchan and Lord Erskine; both descended from Francis Fairfax, granddaughter of Sir Thomas Browne, and sole heiress of Henry, grandson of Thomas Lord Viscount Fairfax, in Ireland. In the construction and revision of this document I have to acknowledge the kind assistance of Sir N. Harris Nicholas. My account of the family of Sir Thomas is considerably fuller than those hitherto given:—and if in this memoir I have been reluctantly compelled to leave many points of interest in obscurity, I must console myself with Dr. Johnson's reflection, "that in all sublunary things, there is something to be wished, which we must wish in vain."

But no part of the work has cost me more perplexity and labour than the selection and arrange-

[7] See end of vol. iv, p. 463.

ment of the CORRESPONDENCE. A great proportion, being family letters and therefore illustrative of family history, I have kept distinct; dividing the whole into *Domestic* and *Miscellaneous Correspondence.* I have placed the letters of each correspondent together; but, with the occasional exceptions arising from such grouping,[8] the collection is arranged chronologically,—as far as it was possible.—But here arose the difficulty:—the family letters, extending through a period of twenty years, were almost all without date of the year, though supplied with that of month and day: and they were bound up without any kind of order. To supply the omission was no easy affair. Some of the letters indeed contained incidents which determined the year, and in a few the day of the week was mentioned, but in the great majority I was compelled to judge by the connection of their subjects with those which I had already dated. It was in short a process of approximation, which, after all, has left many very doubtfully, and several, I fear, wrongly arranged. Some of little interest I rejected, from utter inability to place them;—and, could I have foreseen the bulk of the volume, the rejections would have been more unsparing.

A copious INDEX closes the whole.

The portrait at the head of this work, has been engraved by Mr. Edwards[9] from White's, in the

[8] Excepting also the supplementary series of letters at pages 417 and 461.

[9] No. 1. Gloucester Place, Camden Town.

DR. JOHNSON'S LIFE

OF

SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

THOUGH the writer of the following Essays[1] seems to have had the fortune common among men of letters, of raising little curiosity after his private life, and has, therefore, few memorials preserved of his felicities or misfortunes; yet, because an edition of a posthumous work appears imperfect and neglected, without some account of the author, it was thought necessary to attempt the gratification of that curiosity which naturally inquires, by what peculiarities of nature or fortune eminent men have been distinguished, how uncommon attainments have been gained, and what influence learning has had on its possessors, or virtue on its teachers.

Sir Thomas Browne was born at London, in the parish of St. Michael in Cheapside,[2] on the 19th of

[1] *The following Essays.*] It will be recollected that this life was written in 1756, not for an entire edition of Browne's works, but for a second impression of his *Christian Morals*, originally published by Archdeacon Jeffery in 1716, and reprinted by Payne in 1756.

[2] *St. Michael in Cheapside.*] St. Michael's Cheap, as it was formerly called, or St. Michael-le-Quern, probably a corruption of the translation of St. Michael *ad Bladum*, or "at the Corn:" the church having been originally erected about the reign of Edward III, on the site of a corn market. The church was taken down and rebuilt in 1430, in the eighth of Henry VI. In the great fire of London it was destroyed, and not subsequently rebuilt, the parish being united to that of St. Vedast, in Foster-lane. The registers have all perished.

October, 1605.* His father[3] was a merchant[4] of an ancient family at Upton in Cheshire. Of the name or family of his mother, I find no account.[5]

Of his childhood or youth, there is little known; except that he lost his father very early; that he was, according to the common fate of orphans,† defrauded by one of his guardians; and that he was placed for his education at the school of Winchester.[6]

His mother, having taken three thousand pounds,‡ as the third part of her husband's property, left her son, by consequence, six thousand;[7] a large fortune for a man destined to learning, at that time when commerce had not yet filled the nation with nominal riches. But it happened to him as to many others, to be made poorer by opulence; for his mother soon married Sir Thomas Dutton, probably by the inducement of her fortune; and he was left to the rapacity of his guardian, deprived now of both his parents, and therefore helpless and unprotected.

He was removed in the beginning of the year 1623 from Winchester to Oxford;§ and entered a gentleman-commoner of Broadgate Hall, which was soon afterwards endowed, and took the name of Pembroke College, from the Earl of Pembroke, then Chancellor of the University. He was admitted to the degree of bachelor of arts, January[8] 31, 1626-7, being, as

* *Life of Sir Thomas Browne*, prefixed to the *Antiquities of Norwich.*
† *Whitefoot's Character of Sir Thomas Browne*, in a marginal note.
‡ *Life, &c.* § *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses.*

[3] *His father.*] Whom Blomfield erroneously names *John.*—Vol. ii. 291.

[4] *a merchant.*] Mrs. Lyttelton (as we are informed by Bishop Kennet) says that her father was "a tradesman, a mercer; but a gentleman of good family in Cheshire."—*Europ. Mag.* xl, p. 89.

[5] *no account.*] From a pedigree in the College of Arms, (which I have printed,) it appears that his mother was Ann, the daughter of Paul Garraway, of Lewes, in Sussex. He mentions his grandfather in a letter. p. 323.

[6] *the school, &c.*] Wykeham's school, near Winchester.—*Posth. Life.*

[7] *left her son, &c.*] This would be correct, had he been an only child; but he had a brother and two sisters.

[8] *January.*] *June* 31, 1626: half a year earlier, says Wood.—*Fasti* i, 426, ed. Bliss.

Wood remarks, the first man of eminence graduated from the new college, to which the zeal or gratitude of those that love it most, can wish little better, than that it may long proceed as it began.

Having afterwards taken his degree of master of arts,[9] he turned his studies to physick, and practised it for some time in Oxfordshire;* but soon afterwards, either induced by curiosity, or invited by promises, he quitted his settlement, and accompanied his father-in-law,† who had some employment in Ireland, in a visitation of the forts and castles, which the state of Ireland then made necessary.

He that has once prevailed on himself to break his connexions of acquaintance, and begin a wandering life, very easily continues it. Ireland had, at that time, very little to offer to the observation of a man of letters: he, therefore, passed into France and Italy;‡ made some stay at Montpellier and Padua, which were then the celebrated schools of physick; and returning home through Holland, procured himself to be created doctor of physick at Leyden.[1]

When he began his travels, or when he concluded them, there is no certain account;[2] nor do there remain any observations made by him in his passage through those countries which he visited. To consider, therefore, what pleasure or instruction might have been received from the remarks of a man so curious and diligent, would be voluntarily to indulge a painful reflection, and load the imagination with a wish, which, while it is formed, is known to be vain. It is, however, to be lamented, that those who are

* *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. i, col. 713. † *Life, &c.* ‡ *Ibid.*

[9] *master of arts.*] June 11, 1629.—*Wood's Fasti.*

[1] *at Leyden.*] About 1633, probably.

[2] *When he began, &c.*] It was between 1630 and 1633.

most capable of improving mankind, very frequently neglect to communicate their knowledge; either because it is more pleasing to gather ideas than to impart them, or because to minds naturally great, few things appear of so much importance as to deserve the notice of the publick.

About the year 1634,* he is supposed to have returned to London; and the next year to have written his celebrated treatise, called *Religio Medici*,[3] "the religion of a physician,"† which he declares himself never to have intended for the press, having composed it only for his own exercise and entertainment. It, indeed, contains many passages, which, relating merely to his own person, can be of no great importance to the publick: but when it was written, it happened to him as to others, he was too much pleased with his performance, not to think that it might please others as much; he, therefore, communicated it to his friends, and receiving, I suppose, that exuberant applause with which every man repays the grant of perusing a manuscript, he was not very diligent to obstruct his own praise by recalling his papers, but suffered them to wander from hand to hand, till at last, without his own consent, they were in 1642 given to a printer.

This has, perhaps, sometimes befallen others; and this, I am willing to believe, did really happen to Dr.

* *Biographia Britannica.* † *Letter to Sir Kenelm Digby*, vol. ii, p. xxvii.

[3] *Religio Medici.*] Dr. Kippis deems himself to have *proved*, in his note B, p. 628, that *Religio Medici* was written in 1635. His argument is drawn from a comparison of the date of Browne's *Letter to Digby*, (March 3, 1642,) with a passage in his *Epistle to the Reader*, (p. xxxi, vol. ii,) stating that it was written "about seven years ago." But this is inconclusive; because the true date of the letter being 1642-3, the result would be 1636; which is contradicted by another passage in *Religio Medici*, (p. 60,) in which Browne says he was not thirty years old, whereas in 1636 he was older. I think it, however, very possible that the true reading of the passage at p. xxxi, vol. ii, is "*above* seven years," which would justify Dr. Johnson's date. See the point spoken of in the *Preface to Religio Medici*, and in the *Supplementary Memoir*.

Browne: but there is, surely, some reason to doubt the truth of the complaint so frequently made of surreptitious editions. A song, or an epigram, may be easily printed without the author's knowledge; because it may be learned when it is repeated, or may be written out with very little trouble: but a long treatise, however elegant, is not often copied by mere zeal or curiosity, but may be worn out in passing from hand to hand, before it is multiplied by a transcript.[4] It is easy to convey an imperfect book, by a distant hand, to the press, and plead the circulation of a false copy as an excuse for publishing the true, or to correct what is found faulty or offensive, and charge the errors on the transcriber's depravations.

This is a stratagem, by which an author panting for fame, and yet afraid of seeming to challenge it, may at once gratify his vanity, and preserve the appearance of modesty; may enter the lists, and secure a retreat: and this, candour might suffer to pass undetected as an innocent fraud, but that indeed no fraud is innocent; for the confidence which makes the happiness of society, is in some degree diminished by every man, whose practice is at variance with his words.

The *Religio Medici* was no sooner published than it excited the attention of the publick, by the novelty of paradoxes, the dignity of sentiment, the quick succession of images, the multitude of abstruse allusions, the subtlety of disquisition, and the strength of language.

What is much read, will be much criticised. The Earl of Dorset recommended this book to the perusal of Sir Kenelm Digby, who returned his judgment

[4] *a transcript.*] See remarks on this point in the *Preface to Religio Medici.*

upon it, not in a letter, but a book; in which, though mingled with some positions fabulous and uncertain, there are acute remarks, just censures, and profound speculations, yet its principal claim to admiration is, that it was written in twenty-four hours,* of which part was spent in procuring Browne's book, and part in reading it.

Of these animadversions, when they were yet not all printed, either officiousness or malice informed Dr. Browne; who wrote to Sir Kenelm with much softness and ceremony, declaring the unworthiness of his work to engage such notice, the intended privacy of the composition, and the corruptions of the impression; and received an answer equally gentle and respectful, containing high commendations of the piece, pompous professions of reverence, meek acknowledgments of inability, and anxious apologies for the hastiness of his remarks.

The reciprocal civility of authors is one of the most risible scenes in the farce of life. Who would not have thought, that these two luminaries of their age had ceased to endeavour to grow bright by the obscuration of each other: yet the animadversions thus weak, thus precipitate, upon a book thus injured in the transcription, quickly passed the press; and *Religio Medici* was more accurately published, with an admonition prefixed "to those who have or shall peruse the observations upon a former corrupt copy;" in which there is a severe censure, not upon Digby, who was to be used with ceremony, but upon the Observator who had usurped his name: nor was this invective written by Dr. Browne,[5] who was supposed

* *Digby's Letter to Browne*, vol. ii, p. xxix.

[5] *nor was this invective, &c.*] Yet the style of this admonition would justify our ascribing it to Browne, quite as much as that of the advertisement relating to *Nature's Cabinet Unlocked*, which Dr. Johnson considers to have been his.

to be satisfied with his opponent's apology; but by some officious friend zealous for his honour, without his consent.

Browne has, indeed, in his own preface, endeavoured to secure himself from rigorous examination, by alleging, that "many things are delivered rhetorically, many expressions merely tropical, and therefore many things to be taken in a soft and flexible sense, and not to be called unto the rigid test of reason." The first glance upon his book will indeed discover examples of this liberty of thought and expression: "I could be content (says he[6]) to be nothing almost to eternity, if I might enjoy my Saviour at the last." He has little acquaintance with the acuteness of Browne, who suspects him of a serious opinion, that any thing can be "almost eternal," or that any time beginning and ending is not infinitely less than infinite duration.

In this book, he speaks much, and, in the opinion of Digby, too much of himself; but with such generality and conciseness as affords very little light to his biographer: he declares, that, besides the dialects of different provinces, he understood six languages; that he was no stranger to astronomy; and that he had seen several countries: but what most awakens curiosity, is his solemn assertion, that "his life has been a miracle of thirty years; which to relate, were not history but a piece of poetry, and would sound like a fable."

There is, undoubtedly, a sense, in which all life is miraculous; as it is an union of powers of which we can image no connexion, a succession of motions of which the first cause must be supernatural: but life,

[6] *(says he.)*] *Religio Medici*, i, p. 11.

thus explained, whatever it may have of miracle, will have nothing of fable; and, therefore, the author undoubtedly had regard to something, by which he imagined himself distinguished from the rest of mankind.

Of these wonders, however, the view that can be now taken of his life offers no appearance. The course of his education was like that of others, such as put him little in the way of extraordinary casualties. A scholastick and academical life is very uniform; and has, indeed, more safety than pleasure. A traveller has greater opportunities of adventure; but Browne traversed no unknown seas, or Arabian deserts: and, surely, a man may visit France and Italy, reside at Montpellier and Padua, and at last take his degree at Leyden, without any thing miraculous. What it was, that would, if it was related, sound so poetical and fabulous, we are left to guess; I believe, without hope of guessing rightly. The wonders probably were transacted in his own mind: self-love, cooperating with an imagination vigorous and fertile as that of Browne, will find or make objects of astonishment in every man's life: and, perhaps, there is no human being, however hid in the crowd from the observation of his fellow-mortals, who, if he has leisure and disposition to recollect his own thoughts and actions, will not conclude his life in some sort a miracle, and imagine himself distinguished from all the rest of his species by many discriminations of nature or of fortune.

The success of this performance was such, as might naturally encourage the author to new undertakings. A gentleman of Cambridge,* whose name was Merryweather, turned it not inelegantly into Latin; and

* *Life, &c.*

from his version it was again translated into Italian,[7] German, Dutch, and French; and at Strasburg the Latin translation was published with large notes, by Lenuus Nicolaus Moltfarius.[8] Of the English annotations, which in all the editions from 1644 accompany the book, the author is unknown.[9]

Of Merryweather, to whose zeal Browne was so much indebted for the sudden extension of his renown, I know nothing, but that he published a small treatise for the instruction of young persons in the attainment of a Latin stile.[1] He printed his translation in Holland with some difficulty.* The first printer to whom he offered it, carried it to Salmasius, "who laid it by (says he) in state for three months," and then discouraged its publication: it was afterwards rejected by two other printers, and at last was received by Hackius.

The peculiarities of this book raised the author, as is usual, many admirers and many enemies; but we know not of more than one professed answer,[2] written under the title of *Medicus Medicatus*,† by Alexander Ross, which was universally neglected by the world.

At the time when this book was published, Dr. Browne resided at Norwich, where he had settled in 1636, by the persuasion of Dr. Lushington‡ his tutor,

* *Merryweather's Letter—Correspondence*, vol. ii, 367.
† *Life, &c.* ‡ *Wood.*

[7] *Italian.*] This translation I have never met with, nor have I ever seen it more distinctly mentioned than in this notice.

[8] *Lenuus Nicolaus Moltfarius*] The true name is Levinus Nicolaus Moltkenius. He signs his preface, (vol. ii, p. 156,) in initials, thus, L. N. M. E. M. which are thus explained by a French critic:—"Ces lettres initiales designent *Levinus Nicolaus Moltkius*, dont on a encore *Conclave Alexandri VII, et alia Historica conjunctim edita Slesvici*, 1656, 8vo."—*Niceron, Mem. p. servir à l'Hist. des Hommes Celebres*, xxiii, 356.

[9] *the author, &c.*] Was Mr. Thomas Keck, of the Temple.—*Pr. to Rel. Med.*

[1] *Latin stile.*] See *Supplementary Memoir.*

[2] *answer.*] In 1645.—See *Preface to Religio Medici*, p. viii, and *Supplementary Memoir.*

who was then rector of Burnham Westgate[3] in the neighbourhood. It is recorded by Wood, that his practice was very extensive, and that many patients resorted to him. In 1637* he was incorporated doctor of physick in Oxford.

He married in 1641† Mrs. Mileham, of a good family in Norfolk;[4] "a lady (says Whitefoot) of such symmetrical proportion to her worthy husband, both in the graces of her body and mind, that they seemed to come together by a kind of natural magnetism."

This marriage could not but draw the raillery of contemporary wits‡ upon a man, who had just been wishing in his new book, "that we might procreate, like trees, without conjunction;" and had lately declared,§ that "the whole world was made for man, but only the twelfth part of man for woman;" and, that "man is the whole world, but woman only the rib or crooked part of man."

Whether the lady had been yet informed of these contemptuous positions, or whether she was pleased with the conquest of so formidable a rebel, and considered it as a double triumph, to attract so much merit, and overcome so powerful prejudices; or whether, like most others, she married upon mingled motives, between convenience and inclination; she had, however, no reason to repent: for she lived happily with him one and forty years; and bore him ten[5] children, of whom one son and three daughters outlived their parents: she survived him two years, and passed her widowhood in plenty, if not in opulence.

* *Wood.* † *Whitefoot.*
‡ *Howell's Letters*, book i, 60, and *Religio Bibliopolæ.* § *Religio Medici.*

[3] *Burnham Westgate.*] See *Supplementary Memoir.*

[4] *Mrs. Mileham, &c.*] Daughter of Edward Mileham, Esq. of Burlingham, in Norfolk.—See *Pedigree, &c.*

[5] *ten.*] Eleven.—See *Pedigree.*

Browne having now entered the world as an author, and experienced the delights of praise and molestations of censure, probably found his dread of the publick eye diminished; and, therefore, was not long before he trusted his name to the criticks a second time: for in 1646* he printed *Enquiries into Vulgar and Common Errors;* a work, which as it arose not from fancy and invention, but from observation and books, and contained not a single discourse of one continued tenor, of which the latter part rose from the former, but an enumeration of many unconnected particulars, must have been the collection of years, and the effect of a design early formed and long pursued, to which his remarks had been continually referred, and which arose gradually to its present bulk by the daily aggregation of new particles of knowledge. It is, indeed, to be wished, that he had longer delayed the publication, and added what the remaining part of his life might have furnished: the thirty-six years which he spent afterwards in study and experience, would doubtless have made large additions to an "Enquiry into Vulgar Errors." He published in 1672 the sixth edition, with some improvements; but I think rather with explications of what he had already written, than any new heads of disquisition. But with the work, such as the author, whether hindered from continuing it by eagerness of praise, or weariness of labour, thought fit to give, we must be content; and remember, that in all sublunary things, there is something to be wished, which we must wish in vain.

This book, like his former, was received with great applause, was answered by Alexander Ross, and translated into Dutch and German, and not many years

* *Life, &c.*

ago into French. It might now be proper, had not the favour with which it was at first received filled the kingdom with copies, to reprint it with notes partly supplemental and partly emendatory, to subjoin those discoveries which the industry of the last age has made, and correct those mistakes which the author has committed, not by idleness or negligence, but for want of Boyle's and Newton's philosophy.[6]

He appears, indeed, to have been willing to pay labour for truth.[7] Having heard a flying rumour of sympathetick needles, by which, suspended over a circular alphabet, distant friends or lovers might correspond, he procured two such alphabets to be made, touched his needles with the same magnet, and placed them upon proper spindles: the result was, that when he moved one of his needles, the other, instead of taking by sympathy the same direction, "stood like the pillars of Hercules." That it continued motionless, will be easily believed; and most men would have been content to believe it, without the labour of so hopeless an experiment. Browne might himself have obtained the same conviction by a method less operose, if he had thrust his needles through corks, and then set them afloat in two basons of water.

Notwithstanding his zeal to detect old errors, he seems not very easy to admit new positions; for he never mentions the motion of the earth but with

[6] *This book, &c.*] See *Preface to Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, for a detailed account of the replies to it, as well as of the various editions and translations of the work itself. If the present edition be deemed but imperfectly to answer the doctor's description of what it ought to be, I can only offer the plea, that arrangements (on whose efficiency I was justified in relying) have been, in a great measure, frustrated, by the nonfulfilment of engagements, on which those arrangements depended. By this disappointment, (which I submitted to repeated delays, in the vain hope of avoiding,) I have been deprived of some important scientific illustrations, precisely of the character described in the paragraph before us

[7] *truth.*] His willingness to take pains to disprove even the most absurd fables, is well evinced in his chapter *On the Three Kings of Collein*, vol. iii, p. 317.

contempt and ridicule, though the opinion, which admits it, was then growing popular, and was, surely, plausible, even before it was confirmed by later observations.

The reputation of Browne encouraged some low writer to publish, under his name, a book called "Nature's Cabinet Unlocked,"* translated, according to Wood, from the physicks of Magirus; of which Browne took care to clear himself, by modestly advertising, that "if any man had been benefited by it, he was not so ambitious as to challenge the honour thereof, as having no hand in that work."†

In 1658 the discovery of some ancient urns in Norfolk gave him occasion to write Hydriotaphia, Urn-Burial, or a Discourse of Sepulchral Urns, in which he treats with his usual learning on the funeral rites of the ancient nations; exhibits their various treatment of the dead; and examines the substances found in his Norfolcian urns. There is, perhaps, none of his works which better exemplifies his reading or memory. It is scarcely to be imagined, how many particulars he has amassed together, in a treatise which seems to have been occasionally written; and for which, therefore, no materials could have been previously collected. It is, indeed, like other treatises of antiquity, rather for curiosity than use; for it is of small importance to know which nation buried their dead in the ground, which threw them into the sea, or which gave them to birds and beasts; when the practice of cremation began, or when it was disused; whether the bones of different persons were mingled in the same urn; what oblations were thrown into the pyre; or how the ashes of the body were distin-

* *Wood*, and *Life of Sir Thomas Browne.* † At the end of the *Garden of Cyrus.*

guished from those of other substances. Of the uselessness of all these enquiries, Browne seems not to have been ignorant; and, therefore, concludes them with an observation which can never be too frequently recollected.

"All or most apprehensions rested in opinions of some future being, which ignorantly or coldly believed, begat those perverted conceptions, ceremonies, sayings, which Christians pity or laugh at. Happy are they, which live not in that disadvantage of time, when men could say little for futurity, but from reason; whereby the noblest minds fell often upon doubtful deaths, and melancholy dissolutions: with these hopes Socrates warmed his doubtful spirits, against the cold potion; and Cato, before he durst give the fatal stroke, spent part of the night in reading the immortality of Plato, thereby confirming his wavering hand unto the animosity of that attempt.

"It is the heaviest stone that melancholy can throw at man, to tell him he is at the end of his nature; or that there is no further state to come, unto which this seems progressional, and otherwise made in vain: without this accomplishment, the natural expectation and desire of such a state, were but a fallacy in nature; unsatisfied considerators would quarrel the justice of their constitution, and rest content that Adam had fallen lower, whereby, by knowing no other original, and deeper ignorance of themselves, they might have enjoyed the happiness of inferior creatures, who in tranquillity possess their constitutions, as having not the apprehension to deplore their own natures; and being framed below the circumference of these hopes or cognition of better things, the wisdom of God hath necessitated their contentment. But the

superior ingredient and obscured part of ourselves, whereto all present felicities afford no resting contentment, will be able at last to tell us we are more than our present selves; and evacuate such hopes in the fruition of their own accomplishments."

To his treatise on Urnburial was added the Garden of Cyrus, or the Quincunxial Lozenge, or Network Plantation of the Ancients, Artificially, Naturally, Mystically Considered.[8] This discourse he begins with the Sacred Garden, in which the first man was placed; and deduces the practice of horticulture from the earliest accounts of antiquity to the time of the Persian Cyrus, the first man whom we actually know to have planted a Quincunx; which, however, our author is inclined to believe of longer date, and not only discovers it in the description of the hanging gardens of Babylon, but seems willing to believe, and to persuade his reader, that it was practised by the feeders on vegetables before the flood.

Some of the most pleasing performances have been produced by learning and genius exercised upon subjects of little importance. It seems to have been, in all ages, the pride of wit, to shew how it could exalt the low, and amplify the little. To speak not inadequately of things really and naturally great, is a task not only difficult but disagreeable; because the writer is degraded in his own eyes by standing in comparison with his subject, to which he can hope to add nothing from his imagination: but it is a perpetual triumph of fancy to expand a scanty theme, to raise glittering ideas from obscure properties, and to produce to the

[8] *Mystically Considered.*] He withstood the Copernican hypothesis—on precisely the same ground on which some modern naturalists are disposed to regard, with apprehension and distrust, the Cuvierian System of Geology—as opposing the statements of Scripture.—See vol. ii, p. 164, and the *Supplementary Memoir.*

world an object of wonder to which nature had contributed little. To this ambition, perhaps, we owe the Frogs of Homer, the Gnat and the Bees of Virgil, the Butterfly of Spenser, the Shadow of Wowerus, and the Quincunx of Browne.

In the prosecution of this sport of fancy, he considers every production of art and nature, in which he could find any decussation or approaches to the form of a Quincunx; and as a man once resolved upon ideal discoveries, seldom searches long in vain, he finds his favourite figure in almost every thing, whether natural or invented, ancient or modern, rude or artificial, sacred and civil; so that a reader, not watchful against the power of his infusions, would imagine that decussation was the great business of the world, and that nature and art had no other purpose than to exemplify and imitate a Quincunx.

To shew the excellence of this figure, he enumerates all its properties; and finds in it almost every thing of use or pleasure: and to shew how readily he supplies what he cannot find, one instance may be sufficient; "though therein (says he) we meet not with right angles, yet every rhombus containing four angles equal unto two right, it virtually contains two right in every one."

The fanciful sports of great minds are never without some advantage to knowledge. Browne has interspersed many curious observations on the form of plants, and the laws of vegetation; and appears to have been a very accurate observer of the modes of germination, and to have watched with great nicety the evolution of the parts of plants from their seminal principles.

He is then naturally led to treat of the number

five; and finds, that by this number many things are circumscribed; that there are five kinds of vegetable productions, five sections of a cone, five orders of architecture, and five acts of a play. And observing that five was the ancient conjugal or wedding number, he proceeds to a speculation which I shall give in his own words; "the ancient numerists made out the conjugal number by two and three, the first parity and imparity, the active and passive digits, the material and formal principles in generative societies."

These are all the tracts which he published: but many papers were found in his closet, "some of them, (says Whitefoot) designed for the press, were often transcribed and corrected by his own hand, after the fashion of great and curious writers."

Of these, two collections have been published; one by Dr. Tenison, the other in 1722 by a nameless editor.[9] Whether the one or the other selected those pieces which the author would have preferred, cannot now be known: but they have both the merit of giving to mankind what was too valuable to be suppressed; and what might, without their interposition, have, perhaps, perished among other innumerable labours of learned men, or have been burnt in a scarcity of fuel like the papers of Pereskius.

The first of these posthumous treatises contains "observations upon several plants mentioned in Scripture." These remarks, though they do not immediately either rectify the faith, or refine the morals of the reader, yet are by no means to be censured as superfluous niceties or useless speculations; for they often shew some propriety of description, or elegance of allusion, utterly undiscoverable to readers not skilled

[9] *editor.*] John Hase, *Richmond Herald.*—See *Preface to Repertorium*, vol. iv, p. 3.

in oriental botany; and are often of more important use, as they remove some difficulty from narratives, or some obscurity from precepts.

The next is "of garlands, or coronary and garland plants;" a subject merely of learned curiosity, without any other end than the pleasure of reflecting on ancient customs, or on the industry with which studious men have endeavoured to recover them.[1]

The next is a letter, "on the fishes eaten by our Saviour with his disciples, after his resurrection from the dead;" which contains no determinate resolution of the question, what they were, for indeed it cannot be determined. All the information that diligence or learning could supply, consists in an enumeration of the fishes produced in the waters of Judea.

Then follow "answers to certain queries about fishes, birds, and insects;" and "a letter of hawks and falconry, ancient and modern:" in the first of which he gives the proper interpretation of some ancient names of animals, commonly mistaken; and in the other has some curious observations on the art of hawking, which he considers as a practice unknown to the ancients. I believe all our sports of the field are of Gothick original; the ancients neither hunted by the scent, nor seem much to have practised horsemanship as an exercise; and though, in their works, there is mention of "*aucupium*" and "*piscatio*," they seem no more to have been considered as diversions, than agriculture or any other manual labour.

In two more letters he speaks of "the cymbals of the Hebrews," but without any satisfactory determination; and of "ropalick or gradual verses," that is,

[1] *recover them.*] To which Browne's attention was turned by the enquiries of Evelyn, who applied to him for assistance in his projected work on horticulture, and to whom this essay was enclosed, in a letter.—See *Correspondence*, p. 379.

of verses beginning with a word of one syllable, and proceeding by words of which each has a syllable more than the former; as,

"*O Deus, æternæ stationis conciliator.*"—Ausonius.

and, after his manner, pursuing the hint, he mentions many other restrained methods of versifying, to which industrious ignorance has sometimes voluntarily subjected itself.

His next attempt is "on languages, and particularly the Saxon tongue." He discourses with great learning, and generally with great justness, of the derivation and changes of languages; but, like other men of multifarious learning, he receives some notions without examination. Thus he observes, according to the popular opinion, that the Spaniards have retained so much Latin, as to be able to compose sentences that shall be at once grammatically Latin and Castilian: this will appear very unlikely to a man that considers the Spanish terminations; and Howell, who was eminently skilful in the three provincial languages, declares, that after many essays he never could effect it.

The principal design of this letter, is to shew the affinity between the modern English and the ancient Saxon; and he observes, very rightly, that "though we have borrowed many substantives, adjectives, and some verbs, from the French; yet the great body of numerals, auxiliary verbs, articles, pronouns, adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions, which are the distinguishing and lasting parts of a language, remain with us from the Saxon."

To prove this position more evidently, he has drawn up a short discourse of six paragraphs, in Saxon and

English; of which every word is the same in both languages, excepting the terminations and orthography. The words are, indeed, Saxon, but the phraseology is English; and, I think, would not have been understood by Bede or Ælfric, notwithstanding the confidence of our author. He has, however, sufficiently proved his position, that the English resembles its parental language, more than any modern European dialect.

There remain five tracts of this collection yet unmentioned; one "of artificial hills, mounts, or burrows, in England;" in reply to an interrogatory letter of E. D. whom the writers of Biographia Britannica suppose to be, if rightly printed, W. D. or Sir William Dugdale, one of Browne's correspondents. These are declared by Browne, in concurrence, I think, with all other antiquarians, to be for the most part funeral monuments. He proves, that both the Danes and Saxons buried their men of eminence under piles of earth, "which admitting (says he) neither ornament, epitaph, nor inscription, may, if earthquakes spare them, outlast other monuments: obelisks have their term, and pyramids will tumble; but these mountainous monuments may stand, and are like to have the same period with the earth."

In the next, he answers two geographical questions; one concerning Troas, mentioned in the Acts and Epistles of St. Paul, which he determines to be the city built near the ancient Ilium; and the other concerning the Dead Sea, of which he gives the same account with other writers.

Another letter treats "of the answers of the oracle of Apollo at Delphos, to Crœsus king of Lydia." In this tract nothing deserves notice, more than that

Browne considers the oracles as evidently and indubitably supernatural, and founds all his disquisition upon that postulate.[2] He wonders why the physiologists of old, having such means of instruction, did not enquire into the secrets of nature: but judiciously concludes, that such questions would probably have been vain; "for, in matters cognoscible, and formed for our disquision, our industry must be our oracle, and reason our Apollo."

The pieces that remain are, "A prophecy concerning the future state of several nations;" in which Browne plainly discovers his expectation to be the same with that entertained lately with more confidence by Dr. Berkeley, that America will be the seat of the fifth empire:" and "Museum clausum, sive Bibliotheca abscondita;" in which the author amuses himself with imagining the existence of books and curiosities, either never in being, or irrecoverably lost.

These pieces I have recounted as they are ranged in Tenison's collection, because the editor has given no account of the time at which any of them were written. Some of them are of little value, more than as they gratify the mind with the picture of a great scholar, turning his learning into amusement; or shew upon how great a variety of enquiries the same mind has been successfully employed.

The other collection of his posthumous pieces, published in octavo, Lond. 1722,[3] contains "Repertorium; or some account of the tombs and monuments in the cathedral of Norwich;" where, as Tenison observes,

[2] *postulate.*] His perfect conviction of the Satanic influence exerted in oracles is strongly expressed in a passage of his *Religio Medici*, vol. ii, p. 42, respecting the ground of his belief of their cessation at the coming of Jesus Christ;—viz. the confession of the devil himself, in his oracle to Augustus.

[3] 1722.] This date was taken from a copy which had a reprint title. The book was published in 1712.—See *Preface* to vol. iv.

there is not matter proportionate to the skill of the antiquary.

The other pieces are, "Answers to Sir William Dugdale's enquiries about the fens; a letter concerning Iceland; another relating to urns newly discovered; Some short strictures on different subjects;" and "A letter to a friend on the death of his intimate friend," published singly by the author's son in 1690.

There is inserted, in the Biographia Britannica, "A letter containing instructions for the study of physick;" which, with the Essays here offered to the public, completes the works of Dr. Browne.

To the life of this learned man, there remains little to be added, but that in 1665 he was chosen honorary fellow of the college of physicians,[4] as a man, "*Virtute et literis ornatissimus*,—eminently embellished with literature and virtue:" and, in 1671, received, at Norwich, the honour of knighthood from Charles II, a prince, who with many frailties and vices, had yet skill to discover excellence, and virtue to reward it, with such honorary distinctions at least as cost him nothing, yet, conferred by a king so judicious and so much beloved, had the power of giving merit new lustre and greater popularity.

Thus he lived in high reputation; till in his seventy-sixth year he was seized with a colick, which, after having tortured him about a week, put, an end to his life at Norwich, on his birthday, October 19, 1682.* Some of his last words were expressions of submission to the will of God, and fearlessness of death.

He lies buried in the church of St. Peter Mancroft,[5]

* *Life, &c.—Whitefoot.*

[4] *in* 1665, *&c.*] Rather in 1664.—See *Supplementary Memoir.*

[5] *He lies buried, &c.*] "Within the railes at the east end of the chancel."—*Wood*, 4to. Le Neve says the cathedral, vol. iv, 38.—See *next page.*

in Norwich, with this inscription on a mural monument, placed on the south pillar of the altar:

M. S.

HIC SITUS EST

THOMAS BROWNE, M.D.

ET MILES.

Ao 1605. LONDINI NATUS

GENEROSA FAMILIA APUD UPTON IN AGRO CESTRIENSI ORIUNDUS.

SCHOLA PRIMUM WINTONIENSI, POSTEA

IN COLL. PEMBR.

APUD OXONIENSES BONIS LITERIS

HAUD LEVITER IMBUTUS.

IN URBE HAC NORDOVICENSI MEDICINAM

ARTE EGREGIA, ET FŒLICI SUCCESSU PROFESSUS,

SCRIPTIS, QUIBUS TITULI, RELIGIO MEDICI

ET PSEUDODOXIA EPIDEMICA ALIISQUE

PER ORBEM NOTISSIMUS

VIR PIENTISSIMUS, INTEGERRIMUS, DOCTISSIMUS;

OBIIT OCTOBR. 19. 1682.

PIE POSUIT MŒSTISSIMA CONJUX

Da. DOROTH. BR.

NEAR THE FOOT OF THIS PILLAR LIES

SIR THOMAS BROWNE, KNIGHT,

AND DOCTOR IN PHYSICK,

AUTHOR OF RELIGIO MEDICI, AND OTHER LEARNED BOOKS,

WHO PRACTIC'D PHYSICK IN THIS CITY 46 YEARS,

AND DIED OCTOBER 19, 1682, IN THE 77 YEAR OF HIS AGE.

IN MEMORY OF WHOM

DAME DOROTHY BROWNE,

WHO HAD BEEN HIS AFFECTIONATE WIFE 41 YEARS,

CAUSED THIS MONUMENT TO BE ERECTED.

Besides his lady, who died in 1685,[6] he left a son and three daughters. Of the daughters nothing very remarkable is known; but his son, Edward Browne, requires a particular mention.

He was born about the year 1642; and after having passed through the classes of the school at Norwich, became bachelor of physick at Cambridge; and afterwards removing to Merton College in Oxford, was admitted there to the same degree, and afterwards made a doctor. In 1668 he visited part of Germany, and in the year following made a wider excursion into Austria, Hungary, and Thessaly; where the Turkish Sultan then kept his court at Larissa. He afterwards passed through Italy. His skill in natural history made him particularly attentive to mines and metallurgy. Upon his return he published an account of the countries through which he had passed; which I have heard commended by a learned traveller, who has visited many places after him, as written with scrupulous and exact veracity, such as is scarcely to be found in any other book of the same kind. But whatever it may contribute to the instruction of a naturalist, I cannot recommend it as likely to give much pleasure to common readers: for whether it be, that the world is very uniform, and therefore he who is resolved to adhere to truth, will have few novelties to relate; or that Dr. Browne was, by the train of his studies, led to enquire most after those things, by which the greatest part of mankind is little affected; a great part of his book seems to contain very unimportant accounts of his passage from one place where he saw little, to another where he saw no more.

Upon his return, he practised physick in London;

[6] *Besides his lady, &c.*] Her monument is given in the *Supplementary Memoir.*

was made physician first to Charles II, and afterwards in 1682 to St. Bartholomew's hospital. About the same time he joined his name to those of many other eminent men, in "A translation of Plutarch's lives." He was first censor, then elect, and treasurer of the college of physicians; of which in 1705 he was chosen president, and held his office, till in 1708 he died in a degree of estimation suitable to a man so variously accomplished, that King Charles had honoured him with this panegyrick, that "He was as learned as any of the college, and as well bred as any of the court."

Of every great and eminent character, part breaks forth into public view, and part lies hid in domestic privacy. Those qualities which have been exerted in any known and lasting performances, may, at any distance of time, be traced and estimated; but silent excellencies are soon forgotten; and those minute peculiarities which discriminate every man from all others, if they are not recorded by those whom personal knowledge enabled to observe them, are irrecoverably lost. This mutilation of character must have happened, among many others, to Sir Thomas Browne, had it not been delineated by his friend, Mr. Whitefoot, who "esteemed it an especial favour of Providence, to have had a particular acquaintance with him for two thirds of his life." Part of his observations I shall, therefore, copy.[7]

[7] *copy.*] Mr. Whitefoot's being the earliest existing biographical sketch of our author, and the work of a contemporary, and an intimate friend, I had felt strongly disposed to print it entire, rather than give Dr. Johnson's extracts. But as he has omitted only the commencement, and two or three paragraphs in the midst, I have thought it better to present Dr. Johnson's Biography just as it stood, supplying his omissions in notes. Here follow the introductory paragraphs, thus headed:—

"*Some Minutes for the Life of Sir Thomas Browne, by John Whitefoot, M.A. late Rector of Heigham, in Norfolk.*

"Had my province been only to preach a funeral sermon for this excellent person, I might, perhaps, have been allowed, upon such a singular occasion, to have chosen my text out of a book, which though it be not approved to be canonical, yet is not permitted only, but ordered to be read publickly in our church, and for the eminent wisdom of the contents, well deserving that honour, I mean that

"For a character of his person, his complexion and hair was answerable to his name, his stature was moderate, and habit of body neither fat nor lean, but εὐσάρκος.

"In his habit of clothing, he had an aversion to all finery, and affected plainness, both in the fashion and ornaments. He ever wore a cloke, or boots, when few others did. He kept himself always very warm, and thought it most safe so to do, though he never loaded himself with such a multitude of garments, as Sue-

of Syracides, or Jesus, the son of Syrach, commonly called Ecclesiasticus, which, in the thirty-eighth chapter, and the first verse, hath these words: 'Honour a physician with the honour due unto him; for the uses which you may have of him, for the Lord hath created him; for of the most High cometh healing, and he shall receive honour of the King?' (as ours did that of knighthood from the present king, when he was in this city.) 'The skill of the physician shall lift up his head, and in the sight of great men shall be in admiration.' So was this worthy person by the greatest men of this nation that ever came into this country, by whom also he was frequently and personally visited.

"But a further account of his extraordinary merits, whereby he obtained so great a degree of honour from all that knew him, remains to be given in the history of his life. And had that been written by himself, as hath been done by many eminent persons, both antient and modern, Hebrews, Greeks, Latins, and others,* it would not only have gratified, but obliged, the world beyond what is possible to be done by any other hand, much more by that, into which (upon divers particular obligations) that task is fallen: 'For what man knows the things of a man, save the Spirit of a Man, which is in him.'† And though that must needs know more of any man, than can be known by others, yet may it be, and generally is, (being blinded with that original sin of self-love,) very defective in the habit and practice of that original precept, that is said to have come down from heaven, γνῶθι σεαυτον, 'Know thyself.' Two things there are in nature, which are the greatest impediments of sight; viz. nearness and distance of the object, but of the two, distance is the greater; in ordinary cases every man is too near himself, others are too far distant from him, to observe his imperfections; some are greater strangers to themselves than they are to their neighbours; this worthy person had as complete an intelligence of himself as any other man, and much more perfect than most others have, being a singular observer of every thing that belonged to himself, from the time that he became capable of such observation, whereof he hath given several remarkable instances in his *Religio Medici*, of which I shall have occasion to speak more hereafter.

"I ever esteemed it a special favour of Divine Providence to have had a more particular acquaintance with this excellent person, for two thirds of his life, than any other man that is now left alive; but that which renders me a willing debtor to his name and family, is the special obligations of favour that I had from him above most men.

"Two and thirty years, or thereabouts, of his life was spent before I had any knowledge of him, whereof I can give no other account than I received from his relations; by whom I am informed, that he was born in the year 1605, in the city of London."

(Then follows the text, to foot of p. xliv.)

* Moses, Josephus, Antoninus, Cardan, Junius, Bishop Hall, &c. † 1 Cor. ii, 11.

tonius reports of Augustus, enough to clothe a good family.

"The horizon of his understanding was much larger than the hemisphere of the world: all that was visible in the heavens he comprehended so well, that few that are under them knew so much. He could tell the number of the visible stars in his horizon, and call them all by their names that had any; and of the earth he had such a minute and exact geographical knowledge, as if he had been by Divine Providence ordained surveyor-general of the whole terrestrial orb, and its products, minerals, plants, and animals. He was so curious a botanist, that besides the specifical distinctions, he made nice and elaborate observations, equally useful as entertaining.

"His memory, though not so eminent as that of Seneca or Scaliger, was capacious and tenacious, insomuch as he remembered all that was remarkable in any book that he had read; and not only knew all persons again that he had ever seen at any distance of time, but remembered the circumstances of their bodies, and their particular discourses and speeches.

"In the Latin poets he remembered every thing that was acute and pungent; he had read most of the historians, antient and modern, wherein his observations were singular, not taken notice of by common readers; he was excellent company when he was at leisure, and expressed more light than heat in the temper of his brain.

"He had no despotical power over his affections and passions, (that was a privilege of original perfection, forfeited by the neglect of the use of it,) but as large a political power over them as any stoick or man of his time, whereof he gave so great experiment,

that he hath very rarely been known to have been overcome with any of them. The strongest that were found in him, both of the irascible and concupiscible, were under the controul of his reason. Of admiration, which is one of them, being the only product, either of ignorance, or uncommon knowledge, he had more, and less, than other men, upon the same account of his knowing more than others; so that though he met with many rarities, he admired them not so much as others do.

"He was never seen to be transported with mirth, or dejected with sadness; always cheerful, but rarely merry, at any sensible rate, seldom heard to break a jest; and when he did, he would be apt to blush at the levity of it: his gravity was natural without affectation.

"His modesty was visible in a natural habitual blush, which was increased upon the least occasion, and oft discovered without any observable cause.

"They that knew no more of him than by the briskness of his writings, found themselves deceived in their expectation when they came in his company, noting the gravity and sobriety of his aspect and conversation; so free from loquacity, or much talkativeness, that he was something difficult to be engaged in any discourse; though when he was so, it was always singular, and never trite or vulgar. Parsimonious in nothing but his time, whereof he made as much improvement, with as little loss as any man in it, when he had any to spare from his drudging practice, he was scarce patient of any diversion from his study; so impatient of sloth and idleness, that he would say, he could not do nothing.[8]

[8] *do nothing.*] Here Dr. Johnson has omitted the following passages:—

"In his papers left behind him, which were many, nothing was found that was

"Sir Thomas understood most of the European languages, viz. all that are in Hutter's bible, which he made use of. The Latin and Greek he understood critically; the oriental languages, which never were vernacular in this part of the world, he thought the use of them would not answer the time and pains of learning them; yet had so great a veneration for the matrix of them, viz. the Hebrew, consecrated to the Oracles of God, that he was not content to be totally ignorant of it; though very little of his science is to be found in any books of that primitive language. And though much is said to be written in the derivative idioms of that tongue, especially the Arabick, yet he was satisfied with the translations, wherein he found nothing admirable.

"In his religion he continued in the same mind which he had declared in his first book, written when he was but thirty years old, his Religio Medici, wherein he fully assented to that of the church of England, preferring it before any in the world, as did the learned Grotius. He attended the publick service very constantly, when he was not withheld by his practice. Never missed the sacrament in his parish, if he were in town. Read the best English sermons he could hear

vulgar, but all savouring of much ingenuity and curiosity; some of them designed for the press, were often transcribed and corrected by his own hand, after the fashion of great and curious wits.

"He had ten children by his surviving only wife,* a lady of such a symmetrical proportion to her worthy husband, both in the graces of her body and mind, that they seemed to come together by a kind of natural magnetism.

"Four of his children survived, a son and three daughters, all of them remarkably partakers of his ingenuity and virtues; who were left behind to propagate that εὐφυΐα, that excelled in his person. Though health, grace, and happiness, are no hereditary portions, yet good nature generally is.

"His surviving son† was his eldest child, a person of eminent reputation in the city of London; and hath seen the best part of Europe—France, Italy, Lower and High Germany, Croatia, and Greece, as far as Larissa—has been in four of the greatest princes' courts that border upon the Mediterranean, viz. that of the Emperor, that of France, the Pope, and the Grand Signior."

* Whose maiden name was Mileham, a gentlewoman of a very considerable family in the county of Norfolk.

† Dr. Edward Browne, late President of the College of Physicians.

of, with liberal applause; and delighted not in controversies. In his last sickness, wherein he continued about a week's time, enduring great pain of the cholick, besides a continual fever, with as much patience as hath been seen in any man, without any pretence of stoical apathy, animosity, or vanity, of not being concerned thereat, or suffering no impeachment of happiness. *Nihil agis dolor.*

"His patience was founded upon the Christian philosophy, and a sound faith of God's providence, and a meek and humble submission thereunto, which he expressed in few words. I visited him near his end, when he had not strength to hear or speak much; the last words which I heard from him were, besides some expressions of dearness, that he did freely sub mit to the will of God, being without fear. He had oft triumphed over the king of terrors in others, and given many repulses in the defence of patients; but when his own turn came, he submitted with a meek, rational, and religious courage.

"He might have made good the old saying of *dat Galenus opes*, had he lived in a place that could have afforded it. But his indulgence and liberality to his children, especially in their travels, two of his sons in divers countries, and two of his daughters in France, spent him more than a little. He was liberal in his house entertainments, and in his charity; he left a comfortable, but no great estate, both to his lady and children, gained by his own industry, having spent the greatest part of his patrimony* in his travels.

"Such was his sagacity and knowledge of all history, antient and modern, and his observations thereupon so singular, that it hath been said by them that knew

* He was likewise very much defrauded by one of his guardians.

him best, that if his profession, and place of abode, would have suited his ability, he would have made an extraordinary man for the privy council, not much inferior to the famous Padre Paulo, the late oracle of the Venetian state.

"Though he were no prophet, nor son of a prophet, yet, in that faculty which comes nearest it, he excelled, i. e. the stochastick,[9] wherein he was seldom mistaken, as to future events, as well publick as private; but not apt to discover any presages or superstition."[1]

It is observable, that he who in his earlier years had read all the books against religion, was in the latter part of his life averse from controversies. To play with important truths, to disturb the repose of established tenets, to subtilize objections and elude proof, is too often the sport of youthful vanity, of which maturer experience commonly repents. There is a time, when every wise man is weary of raising difficulties only to task himself with the solution, and desires to enjoy truth without the labour or hazard of contest. There is, perhaps, no better method of encountering these troublesome irruptions of scepti-

[9] *stochastick.*] On the predictive power expressed by this term, I meet with the following passage in *D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature*, 2nd series, vol. ii, 425:—"This faculty seems to be described by a remarkable expression employed by Thucydides in his character of Themistocles, of which the following is given as a close translation. 'By a species of sagacity peculiarly his own, for which he was in no degree indebted either to early education or after study, he was supereminently happy in forming a prompt judgment in matters that admitted but little time for deliberation; at the same time that he far surpassed all in his *deductions of the future from the* PAST; or was the best *guesser of the future* from the past.*' Should this faculty of moral and political prediction be ever considered as a science, we can even furnish it with a denomination; for the writer of the life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to his works, in claiming the honour of it for that philosopher, calls it 'the Stochastic,' a term derived from the Greek and from archery, meaning, 'to shoot at a mark.' This eminent genius it seems, often 'hit the white.' Our biographer declares, that 'though he were no prophet, yet in that faculty, &c.'"

[1] *superstition.*] *End of Whitefoot's Minutes.*

* Οἰκείᾳ γὰρ ξυνέσει, καὶ οὔτε προμαθὼν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐδὲν, οὔτ' ἐπιμαθων, τῶν τε παραχρῆμα δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπιπλεῖστον το γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής.—THUCYDIDES, lib. I.

cism, with which inquisitive minds are frequently harrassed, than that which Browne declares himself to have taken: "If there arise any doubts in my way, I do forget them; or at least defer them, till my better settled judgment and more manly reason be able to resolve them: for I perceive, every man's reason is his best Oedipus, and will, upon a reasonable truce, find a way to loose those bonds, wherewith the subtilties of error have enchained our more flexible and tender judgments."

The foregoing character may be confirmed and enlarged, by many passages in the Religio Medici; in which it appears, from Whitefoot's testimony, that the author, though no very sparing panegyrist of himself, has not exceeded the truth, with respect to his attainments or visible qualities.

There are, indeed, some interior and secret virtues, which a man may sometimes have without the knowledge of others; and may sometimes assume to himself, without sufficient reasons for his opinion. It is charged upon Browne by Dr. Watts, as an instance of arrogant temerity, that, after a long detail of his attainments, he declares himself to have escaped "the first and father-sin of pride." A perusal of the Religio Medici will not much contribute to produce a belief of the author's exemption from this father-sin: pride is a vice, which pride itself inclines every man to find in others, and to overlook in himself.

As easily may we be mistaken in estimating our own courage, as our own humility; and, therefore, when Browne shews himself persuaded, that "he could lose an arm without a tear, or with a few groans be quartered to pieces," I am not sure that he felt in himself any uncommon powers of endurance; or, indeed, any

thing more than a sudden effervescence of imagination, which, uncertain and involuntary as it is, he mistook for settled resolution.

"That there were not many extant, that in a noble way feared the face of death less than himself," he might likewise believe at a very easy expence, while death was yet at a distance; but the time will come to every human being, when it must be known how well he can bear to die; and it has appeared, that our author's fortitude did not desert him in the great hour of trial.

It was observed by some of the remarkers on the Religio Medici, that "the author was yet alive, and might grow worse as well as better:" it is, therefore, happy, that this suspicion can be obviated by a testimony given to the continuance of his virtue, at a time when death had set him free from danger of change, and his panegyrist from temptation to flattery.

But it is not on the praises of others, but on his own writings, that he is to depend for the esteem of posterity; of which he will not easily be deprived, while learning shall have any reverence among men: for there is no science, in which he does not discover some skill; and scarce any kind of knowledge, profane or sacred, abstruse or elegant, which he does not appear to have cultivated with success.

His exuberance of knowledge, and plenitude of ideas, sometimes obstruct the tendency of his reasoning, and the clearness of his decisions: on whatever subject he employed his mind, there started up immediately so many images before him, that he lost one by grasping another. His memory supplied him with so many illustrations, parallel or dependent notions, that he was always starting into collateral considera-

tions: but the spirit and vigour of his pursuit always gives delight; and the reader follows him, without reluctance, thro' his mazes, in themselves flowery and pleasing, and ending at the point originally in view.

To have great excellencies, and great faults, "*magnæ virtutes nec minora vitia*, is the poesy," says our author, "of the best natures." This poesy may be properly applied to the style of Browne: It is vigorous, but rugged; it is learned, but pedantick; it is deep, but obscure; it strikes, but does not please; it commands but does not allure: his tropes are harsh, and his combinations uncouth. He fell into an age, in which our language began to lose the stability which it obtained in the time of Elizabeth; and was considered by every writer as a subject on which he might try his plastic skill, by moulding it according to his own fancy. Milton, in consequence of this encroaching licence, began to introduce the Latin idiom: and Browne, though he gave less disturbance to our structures and phraseology, yet poured in a multitude of exotick words; many indeed, useful and significant, which, if rejected, must be supplied by circumlocution, such as 'commensality' for the state of many living at the same table; but many superfluous, as 'a paralogical' for an unreasonable doubt; and some so obscure, that they conceal his meaning rather than explain it, as 'arthritical analogies' for parts that serve some animals in the place of joints.

His style is, indeed, a tissue of many languages; a mixture of heterogeneous words, brought together from distant regions, with terms originally appropriated to one art, and drawn by violence into the service of another. He must, however, be confessed to have augmented our philosophical diction; and in defence of his uncommon words and expressions, we must

consider, that he had uncommon sentiments, and was not content to express in many words that idea for which any language could supply a single term.

But his innovations are sometimes pleasing, and his temerities happy: he has many "*verba ardentia*," forcible expressions, which he would never have found, but by venturing to the utmost verge of propriety; and flights which would never have been reached, but by one who had very little fear of the shame of falling.

There remains yet an objection against the writings of Browne, more formidable than the animadversions of criticism. There are passages, from which some have taken occasion to rank him among deists, and others among atheists. It would be difficult to guess how any such conclusion should be formed, had not experience shewn that there are two sorts of men willing to enlarge the catalogue of infidels.

It has been long observed, that an atheist has no just reason for endeavouring conversions; and yet none harrass those minds which they can influence, with more importunity of solicitation to adopt their opinions. In proportion as they doubt the truth of their own doctrines, they are desirous to gain the attestation of another understanding; and industriously labour to win a proselyte, and eagerly catch at the slightest pretence to dignify their sect with a celebrated name.*

The others become friends to infidelity only by unskilful hostility: men of rigid orthodoxy, cautious conversation, and religious asperity. Among these,

* Therefore no hereticks desire to spread
Their wild opinions like these epicures.
For so their stagg'ring thoughts are computed,
And other men's assent their doubts assure.

DAVIES.

it is too frequently the practice, to make in their heat concessions to Atheism, or Deism, which their most confident advocates had never dared to claim or to hope. A sally of levity, an idle paradox, an indecent jest, an unseasonable objection, are sufficient, in the opinion of these men, to efface a name from the lists of Christianity, to exclude a soul from everlasting life. Such men are so watchful to censure, that they have seldom much care to look for favourable interpretations of ambiguities, to set the general tenor of life against single failures, or to know how soon any slip of inadvertency has been expiated by sorrow and retractation; but let fly their fulminations, without mercy or prudence, against slight offences or casual temerities, against crimes never committed, or immediately repented.

The infidel knows well, what he is doing. He is endeavouring to supply, by authority, the deficiency of his arguments; and to make his cause less invidious, by shewing numbers on his side: he will, therefore, not change his conduct, till he reforms his principles. But the zealot should recollect, that he is labouring, by this frequency of excommunication, against his own cause; and voluntarily adding strength to the enemies of truth. It must always be the condition of a great part of mankind, to reject and embrace tenets upon the authority of those whom they think wiser than themselves; and, therefore, the addition of every name to infidelity, in some degree invalidates that argument upon which the religion of multitudes is necessarily founded.

Men may differ from each other in many religious opinions, and yet all may retain the essentials of Christianity; men may sometimes eagerly dispute,

and yet not differ much from one another: the rigorous persecutors of error, should, therefore, enlighten their zeal with knowledge, and temper their orthodoxy with charity; that charity, without which orthodoxy is vain; charity that "thinketh no evil," but "hopeth all things," and "endureth all things."

Whether Browne has been numbered among the contemners of religion, by the fury of its friends, or the artifice of its enemies, it is no difficult task to replace him among the most zealous professors of Christianity. He may, perhaps, in the ardour of his imagination, have hazarded an expression, which a mind intent upon faults may interpret into heresy, if considered apart from the rest of his discourse; but a phrase is not to be opposed to volumes: there is scarcely a writer to be found, whose profession was not divinity, that has so frequently testified his belief of the sacred writings, has appealed to them with such unlimited submission, or mentioned them with such unvaried reverence.

It is, indeed, somewhat wonderful, that he should be placed without the pale of Christianity, who declares, that "he assumes the honourable style of a Christian," not because it is "the religion of his country," but because "having in his riper years and confirmed judgment seen and examined all, he finds himself obliged, by the principles of grace, and the law of his own reason, to embrace no other name but this:" who, to specify his persuasion yet more, tells us, that "he is of the reformed religion; of the same belief our Saviour taught, the apostles disseminated, the fathers authorised, and "the martyrs confirmed:" who, though "paradoxical in philosophy, loves in divinity to keep the beaten road;" and pleases himself, that

"he has no taint of heresy, schism, or error:" to whom "where the Scripture is silent, the church is a text; where that speaks, 't is but a comment;" and who uses not "the dictates of his own reason, but where there is a joint silence of both:" who "blesses himself, that he lived not in the days of miracles, when faith had been thrust upon him; but enjoys that greater blessing, pronounced to all that believe and saw not." He cannot surely be charged with a defect of faith, who "believes that our Saviour was dead, and buried, and rose again, and desires to see him in his glory:" and who affirms, that "this is not much to believe;" that "as we have reason, we owe this faith unto history;" and that "they only had the advantage of a bold and noble faith, who lived before his coming; and, upon obscure prophecies and mystical types, could raise a belief." Nor can contempt of the positive and ritual parts of religion be imputed to him, who doubts, whether a good man would refuse a poisoned eucharist; and "who would violate his own arm, rather than a church."[2]

The opinions of every man must be learned from himself: concerning his practice, it is safest to trust the evidence of others. Where these testimonies concur, no higher degree of historical certainty can be obtained; and they apparently concur to prove, that Browne was a zealous adherent to the faith of Christ, that he lived in obedience to his laws, and died in confidence of his mercy.

[2] *rather than, &c.*] To the foregoing arguments in vindication of Browne's attachment to Christianity, may well be added his own resolutions for the guidance of his conduct, and the regulation of his heart.—See vol. iv, 420.

I should be glad to know the authority of the following assertion attributed to Dr. Johnson:—"I remember the remark of Sir Thomas Browne;—'Do the Devils lie?' No; for then hell could not subsist."—*Croker's Johnson*, vol. iv, p. 152.

Memoirs

OF

SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

AD CLARISSIMUM VIRUM,

THOMAM BROUNUM, EQUITEM ET DOCTOREM MEDICUM,

DE SUA RELIGIONE MEDICI ET PSEUDODOXIA EPIDEMICA.[1]

Relligio Medici si cui suspecta videtur,
Te legat, et discat téque, librumque tuum.
Inter communes, *Errata Epidemica*, morbos,
Non est deterius suspicione malum.
Error hic est inter malesani *dogmata vulgi*,
Hippocratis socios non nimis esse pios.
Hoc crimen, *Medici* tu *Relligione* refellis:
Et medicum certè quid vetat esse pium?
Juramentum utinam, Christi qui castra sequuntur,
Sic sanctè colerent, *Cous* * ut ille senex!
Disce mori, sanctæ est non ultima regula vitæ:
Quique timet mortem, perdidit ille fidem. †
At morbi ante oculos cui sic versantur et umbræ,
Illum quis credat non didicisse mori?
Tam bene conveniunt, et in uno corde morantur,
Corporis alterius cura, animæque suæ.

* Vid. Hippocr. *Juramentum.* † Augustin.

1 This address is from *Duporti (Jac.) Musæ Subsecivæ, seu Poetica Stromata*, 8vo. *Cantab.* 1676, p. 210. I believe this Mr. Duport was master of the college to which Edward Browne was admitted.—*See* p. lxxv, *note*. And probably it might be the same who was rector of Brixton in 1645.—*See Blomefield*, i, 633.

SUPPLEMENTARY MEMOIR.

SCARCELY a trace remains of the earlier events of Browne's life; nor are we possessed of any memorials whatever, from his own pen, respecting those travels and various adventures which preceded his residence at Norwich. An interesting piece of autobiography must, therefore, have perished; for it is impossible to suppose, that he travelled without observing, or that he observed without recording. And, although (as Johnson has remarked) "he traversed no unknown seas or Arabian deserts," Browne was not the man to have visited even "France and Italy, or resided at Montpellier and Padua," without having stored his note books with much that would have amply repaid the perusal. Besides which, his family connexions were sufficient to have provided him with introductions to foreigners of character and eminence, of which he would eagerly have availed himself. To all these we should have been introduced, and every thing worth remembering in his intercourse with them, would have been preserved. It has, indeed, been conjectured, that "he was an absent and solitary man;"[1] but I can by no means adopt this opinion:

[1] I refer to a series of papers in the *Athenæum*, No. 93, 1829, entitled *The Humourists*, the first of which is devoted to Sir Thomas Browne; from which I subjoin the following passage:—"We have endeavoured to rescue Sir Thomas Browne from the imputation of being merely a '*curious thinker*,' while we have ever admitted that the philosopher and the humourist are strangely blended in his character. Of his domestic manners and relations little is known. But we may conjecture, from various passages in his works, that the same melancholy enthusiasm and eternal speculation which appear in them, tinged, also, with sad and solemn colours, his daily habits. In all likelihood, he was an absent and solitary man, extracting the

on the contrary, I am persuaded, that his social deportment must have been distinguished by the kindliest courtesy; and, though "free from loquacity," he was too ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, not to have improved to the utmost every opportunity of increasing his stores, by conversation with those who were capable of enriching them. I am satisfied, in short, that had his earlier journals been preserved, they would have exhibited him to us as a traveller, in just as striking a point a view, as that in which "his diligence and curiosity," his originality of thought and fervour of feeling, and the creative richness of his fancy, have placed him under other characters.

Nor do we find either journals, or correspondence, (except a very few letters on scientific or literary subjects,) to guide us through the first twenty years of his residence at Norwich. To account for this almost total absence of autobiographical memoranda, I have sometimes felt inclined to suspect, that Browne might have occasionally indulged himself in the expression of opinions relating to the political aspect of affairs in his own country, which his subsequent position, especially when the civil war actually broke out, led him to think it most prudent to suppress. For though a royalist, he was utterly averse to all that was arbitrary, especially in matters of religion; and, therefore, might have seen much to disapprove in the measures of the court, as well as in the subsequent outrages of the popular party, which he was very likely, both in his private memoranda and in his confidential correspondence, to have denounced in terms which would have rendered him obnoxious to both parties, if "the liberty of those times had committed them to the press." But let this

food of serious contemplation from all objects indifferently, and busied in perpetual abstractions. Ceremonious in observing times and seasons, as reverencing the inner mysteries of custom. Attached to old manners, as apprehending hidden wisdom in their properties, and as connecting him with remembrance and speculations on the past; curious, probably, in casting the fashion of uncertain evil, and, therefore, little inclined to innovation. He was at once Sir Roger de Coverley, directing the psalmody of the village church, and the melancholy humourist of Milton,—

'Whose lamp at midnight hour
Is seen in some high lonely tower,
Where he may oft outwatch the bear
With thrice great Hermes, or unsphere
The spirit of Plato, to unfold
What worlds, or what vast regions hold
The immortal mind that hath forsook
Her mansion in this fleshly nook, &c.'"

pass as an idle speculation: it is just as useless to regret the want of these materials, as it is to conjecture whether they ever existed, or what has become of them. We have them not; and must, therefore, proceed to do our best without them.

It appears, that when Browne left the university, he took up his first residence somewhere (but we are not informed where) in Oxfordshire, and practiced physick probably for about two years, from the end of 1629 or beginning of 1630. He then commenced his travels, by visiting Ireland with his father-in-law, Sir Thomas Dutton. Mr. Le Neve, in his pedigree of the Browne family, has (erroneously) called this gentleman Sir Ralph Dutton. The epithet bestowed on him by Mrs. Lyttleton[2] does not agree with the account with which Dr. Birch has given[3] of a Sir Thomas Dutton, whom he elsewhere affirms to be the individual here spoken of; "the same Sir Thomas Dutton who killed Sir Hatton Cheke in a duel."[4] In allusion to which, very possibly, it was, that Browne composed the following lines, preserved in *MS. Sloan.* 1869:—

[2] "A worthy person."—See her account of her father, in *Preface to the Life.*

[3] In his *Life of Prince Henry*, 8vo. Lond. 1760, p. 199, 200; where he gives a letter from Sir Edward Cecil, commander of "the English forces employed in the war about the succession to the deceased Duke of Cleves, written on the 29th of July, 1610, from the camp before Juliers, to Prince Henry, relating to the progress of the siege; in which letter is the following passage:—'I am only unhappy in one thing, that the mutinous and unworthy carriage of Sir Thomas Dutton, whom your highness was pleased to favour beyond his merit, hath from time to time disturbed the course of the service; having even, at his first arrival here, braved me at the head of the troops, daring to tell me, to my face, that it seemed his majesty had given me a commission to abuse men, when there was nothing in question but the doing of the duty of a captain, which he ought not to dispute amongst us, seeing it was the first time that even he or his company came into the field amongst us: and ever since, in all meetings, he hath disputed my commission and authority so far, and with so much scorn, that, though hitherto, in respect to your highness, I have contained myself; yet seeing that now again, in a public assembly, he hath contemptibly spoken of my commission, and, upon base advantage, hurt Sir Hatton Cheke, his colonel, who took upon him the defence of it, I most humbly beseech your highness will be rather pleased to allow of that which justice here shall allot him; presuming that your highness's princely judgment will find it expedient that I be discharged of such a bad member, which, in the heat of his majesty's service, dare contest with me, and be content, upon any terms, to murder his commander.'" Dr. Birch adds, in a note, that Sir Hatton Cheke was, soon after the surrender of Juliers, killed in a duel, on Calais sands, by Sir Thomas Dutton. The *Biographia Brittanica* says, "that he enjoyed an honourable post in the government of Ireland:" what this post was he does not say, nor can I.

[4] In a copy of *Christian Morals*, presented by Dr. Johnson to Birch, is this memorandum, in the hand-writing of the latter.

Diseases are the arms whereby
We naturally do fall and die.
What furie is't to take a death part,
And rather than by nature, die by art.
Men, for me, again shall chime
To Jared's or Mathuselah's time.
That thread of life the Fates do twine
Their gentle hands shall clip, not mine.
O let me never know the cruel
And heedless villany of duel;
Or if I must that fate sustain,
Let me be Abel, and not Cain.

From the same biographer, I learn that Sir Thomas died May 16th, 1634; so that Browne's mother was probably left a widow the second time.

His continental travels in France, Italy, and Holland, immediately followed his Irish tour, and the whole may be supposed to have occupied about two years, terminating in his return to England, after having obtained his degree of M. D. in the university of Leyden, in 1633. He then settled as a physician at Shipden Hall, near Halifax. None of his biographers, indeed, have mentioned this fact; but I cannot see the slightest reason for refusing the testimony of Bently, who published the following account of him, during the life of his son, Dr. Edward Browne. After enumerating Dr. Power and other physicians who resided at Halifax, he proceeds thus:—"And unto whom I cannot forbear adding the learned Dr. Browne, (who, for his worth and fame, was thought worthy of knighthood by his prince,) because, in his juvenile years, he fixed himself in this populous and rich trading place, wherein to shew his skill and gain respect in the world: and that during his residence amongst us, and in his vacant hours, he writ his admired piece, called by him *Religio Medici*."[5] This account is confirmed by the Rev. Thomas Wright; who wrote for the express purpose of revising Bently's work and correcting its errors, and, therefore, had he not believed the account of Browne to be correct, he would have omitted it: whereas he has adopted and amplified it; informing us that "about the year 1630 he lived at Shipden Hall, nigh Halifax; at which time he composed that excellent piece, &c."[6]

[5] *Halifax and its Gibbet-law placed in a true light*, 12mo. Lond. 1708, p. 88, 89.
[6] *Wright's Antiquities of the Town of Halifax, &c.* 12mo. Leeds, 1738, p. 152. His date, however, is certainly too early by two or three years.

Dr. Watson,[7] and, more recently, Dr. Whitaker,[8] have adopted the statement, which derives additional countenance from the fact, that Dr. Henry Power and Mr. J. Brearcliffe, both resident at Halifax, were among Browne's correspondents.

In such a spot, and especially at the commencement of his professional career, he must have had considerable leisure; which it is very natural to suppose he would endeavour to improve, by reviewing and preparing some memento of the events of his past life. We may regard *Religio Medici* as the result of such retrospect; for though not pretending to the character of a narrative, it makes frequent allusion to incidents and conversations which had occurred in the course of his travels; and exhibits to us the impressions made on him by the imposing ceremonies of the Romish church, which he had witnessed abroad. It was not, however, Browne's object to draw up a narrative; but to compose "a treatise upon the spirit and form of his religious belief, and it may claim (as one of his reviewers has well said[9]) a high rank among the fairest monuments of English mind." It has always appeared to me, that it was Browne's great aim, in the conduct of his understanding, and in the regulation of his feelings, to assign just limits to the respective jurisdictions of faith and reason; asserting, on the one hand, his right to the free exercise of his understanding on those subjects of which it is the legitimate province of reason to judge; but, on the other hand, submitting both intellect and feeling wherever the decisions of revelation have commanded the exercise of faith. This was his rule; and if he fell into false philosophy, it was less through the fallacy of his reason than the erroneous or overstrained application of his rule. For example, he too hastily deemed the language of scripture opposed to the tenets of Copernicus; and, therefore, rejected instead of examining them. He found witches and inchantments mentioned in the Bible, as well as various forms of spiritual existence and agency; all these he therefore placed at once among the articles of his faith, scarcely allowing his reason either to investigate the meaning of terms, or even to inquire whether that which was

[7] *Antiquities of Halifax*, 4to. p. 459.
[8] *Loidis and Elmete*, fol. p. 370.
[9] *Athenæum*, 1829, No. 93.

permitted in those days might not, like miracles, long ago have ceased to exist. To advocate the principle just stated, and thus (as Browne quaintly says) endeavour to "compose those feuds and angry dissentions between affection, faith, passion," was his object in his first and most celebrated work; in which we admire no less "the universal charity of his spirit, the catholic humanity of his feelings, and his strong assurance of hopeful faith," than that force of genius and fervour of imagination, those glowing sentences, and noble flights of fancy, with which it abounds.

It is not improbable, however, that the leisure, so favorable to the accomplishment of this work, was more ample than suited his professional aspirations; and inclined him to seek for a wider sphere of action. This was soon supplied by his migration, after a residence of about three years, to Norwich; whither, as Anthony a Wood informeth his readers, he "was induced in 1637 to remove, by the persuasions of Dr. Thomas Lushington,[1] formerly his tutor, then rector of Burnham Westgate, in Norfolk. Whitefoot does not mention Dr. Lushington, but attributes his removal to the joint solicitations of Sir Nicholas Bacon, of Gillingham,[2] Sir [or rather Dr.][3] Justinian Lewyn, and Sir Charles Le Gros, of Crostwick.[4] Both these accounts, I have no doubt are correct; and the

[1] Dr. Lushington, "a famous scholar of his time," born in 1589, at Sandwich, in Kent; matriculated at Oxford, as a member of Broadgate's Hall in 1606-7. Bp. Corbet (then of Oxon.) first made him his chaplain, obtained for him a prebendal stall at Salisbury, and on his own translation to Norwich, bestowed upon him the rectory of Burnham-Westgate, in Norfolk, and got him appointed one of Charles the first's chaplains. During the Commonwealth, he lost his spiritualities, and lived obscurely, publishing several books for his maintenance. At the Restoration, he had the offer of great dignities in the church, "but being then aged and infirm, he chose rather to keep what he had with quietness, than be a dean with riches." He accordingly ended his days in retirement, among his relations at Sittingbourne, in Kent, on 22nd Dec. 1661—aged 72—and was buried in the parish church there, and a comely monument was erected to his memory, exhibiting his bust to the middle, in his doctor's gown.—*Wood's Athenæ, by Bliss*, iii, 526. Browne, in a letter to Aubrey, says that Lushington was born at Canterbury; and was chaplain to Prince Charles in his minority. He also enumerates other works besides the *Treatise on Logic.*—See p. 467 of this vol.

[2] He was then *Mr.* Bacon:—see note to the dedication of the *Garden of Cyrus*, vol. iii, 381.

[3] I find Justinian Lewyn, LL.D. mentioned as commissary in the archdeaconries of Norfolk and Norwich in 1633 and 1660; but no *Sir* J. L.—See *Blomfield*, ii, 474.

[4] This was the father of Thomas Le Gros, Esq. to whom *Hydriotaphia* was dedicated. The grandfather, Sir Thomas, was knighted by James, in 1603. See vol. iii, 451. The *Biog. Brit.* says, on what authority I know not, that the grandson was afterwards knighted. The writer, probably, confounded the two.

question immediately arises, why did these men take so lively an interest in the affairs of Browne? His acquaintance with Dr. Lushington is explained by Wood; it was a college connection:—and I believe that of the others to have been the same. They were all probably at college together, and I suspect Dr. Lushington to have been tutor to more than one of the party: Mr. Bacon held him in such high regard and admiration, that he published a work of his on Logick in 1650, when he was living in obscurity and subsisting on his pen, having been deprived of his spiritualities. From the anxiety thus evinced by both tutor and friends to place Browne within their reach, we are entitled to infer that his university career was distinguished by that attractive amenity of disposition, which conduced not less than his rare intellectual qualifications to secure him the attachment and admiration of all who knew him.

It was possibly in compliance with the suggestions of these friends that Browne, in a few months after he settled at Norwich, was incorporated Doctor of Physick at Oxford, July 10, 1637.[5] When settled at Norwich," says Whitefoot, "he was much resorted to for his admirable skill in physick:" and we may presume, that the zealous recommendations of his powerful friends were not wanting to bring him into notice. In short, the advantages of connexion with which he started in this county were very considerable; and he was well calculated to improve them to the utmost. He very soon contracted an alliance with a family of some antiquity and well connected in the county, by marrying, in 1641, Dorothy, the fourth daughter of Edward Mileham, Esq. of Burlingham St. Peter,[6]

[5] In the annals of the College of Physicians, the date of this incorporation is July 13, 1635. But I find it thus entered by Wood, among those which occurred in 1637. "July 10. Thomas Browne, lately M. of A. of Pemb. Coll. now Doct. of Phys. of the University of Leyden, in Holland, was then incorporated Doct. of that faculty." Attached to this entry is a note, by Bp. Kennet; quoting a passage from the preface to *Master Blundevile his Theoriques of the Seven Planets*, 4to. 1602;—in which he expresses his obligations to his good friend, M. Doctor Browne, (one of the ordinarie physicians to her Majestie) in Norwich." Who this Dr. Browne was, I cannot say with certainty; it might be Dr. Launcelot Browne, physician to the Queen, who wrote a commendatory letter to *Gerarde's Herbal* of 1597. In this letter he calls himself *Launcelotus Brunius, Medicus Reginens.* It is dated, not from Norwich, but *ex Aula Reginea Westmonast. ipsis Kal. Dec.* 1597.

[6] In the church of Burlingham St. Peter, I find the monuments of Robert, the grandfather of this gentleman, who had six children, and of Gregory his

and grand-daughter (as I suppose) of John Hobart, Esq. By this marriage Dr. Browne's connexions were greatly extended, his father's family being numerous. I have not been able to trace his collateral alliances, but he asserts a relationship to several families of note in the county:—for example, those of Hobart, Townsend, Astley,[7] &c. and it is highly probable that his marriage was the connecting link.

The unexpected publication of *Religio Medici* in the following year, his avowal of it, and his consequent correspondence with Digby, contributed no little to his fame and success. From that time he took that distinguished rank among the literary men of his day, which he ever after maintained. Respecting the occasion and circumstances of this his first appearance before the public, I shall say nothing here, having already spoken of it in my preface to the *Religio Medici*. No sooner was the book printed, than the public commenced operations upon it. Merryweather[8] placed it more fully before the continental critics, by his excellent version into Latin, printed at Leyden in 1644, and immediately reprinted at Paris. In the following year came forth Ross's *Medicus Medicatus*, of which Johnson drily remarks, that it was "universally neglected by the world.[9] Editions with copious an-

father, who had but two, a son and daughter. In the registers of the parish, which I had the opportunity of consulting, through the kindness of the present minister, the Rev. Jer. Burroughes, I find no entry of the marriage of Dr. Browne: but one marriage occurring in 1641, and none from that time till 1648. Mr. Mileham, I find from these registers, married twice, and had eight children by the first wife, and five by the second.

[7] Dean Astley married into the Hobart family.—*Blomfield*, ii, 451.

[8] This gentleman was of Magdalen College, Cambridge, and became B. D. before 1652, in which year is dated "*Some short Directions for a Student in the University;*" a MS. in the Bodleian, by him. Johnson attributes to him the authorship of "a small treatise for the instruction of young persons in the attainment of a Latin stile." Mr. Crossley pointed out to me some years ago the following article in the catalogue of Mr. Ford, a Manchester bookseller, for 1811:—"No. 11701: *Directions for the Latin Tongue, by the Author of Religio Medici (Sir Thomas Browne)*, VERY SCARCE, *and not in his collected Works; 4s. 6d. London*, 1681." In all probability this was the work spoken of, written not by the author, but by the translator of *Rel. Med.*

[9] This remark stands in very pleasant contrast with the mention which Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, in his *Jewel*, hath made of this remarkable personage. "I must salute that most learned and worthy gentleman, and most endeared minion of the muses, Mr. Alexander Ross, who hath written *manyer* excellent books in Latine and English, what in prose, what in verse, than he hath lived yeers." After a formidable list of these books, he says, "Besides all these volumes, books, and tractates, he composed above 300 exquisite sermons, which were by the merciless fury of Vulcan destroyed all in one night, to the great grief of many preachers, to whom they would have been every whit as useful as Sir

notations soon appeared,—by Moltke in Latin in 1652, and Keck in English, two years later; and these were followed at short intervals by translations into several of the modern languages of Europe. No less various were the opinions expressed. By one of the translators Browne was announced in the preface as a Catholic; by another, as a Protestant: while the Holy See settled the question by consigning him to the *Index Expurgatorius.* From Samuel Duncon, a member of the Society of Friends, resident at Norwich, he received a most obliging communication, in which the writer seems to have been led, by some passages in *Rel. Med.*, to entertain hopes of winning Browne over to his own opinions. It would, indeed, seem singular, that in the narrow compass of this little volume, Browne should have so expressed himself as to be claimed for a brother by such antipodes to each other as Roman Catholics and Quakers:—did we not consider, that in some of their vital characterics, these extremes in practice may be said to have almost met in point of principle. It is not difficult to find passages in which the author has indulged himself in expressions so imaginative, if not hyperbolical, as to lead easily to conclusions the very reverse of his real sentiments. Dr. Jortin[1] has happily selected an instance in this remarkable passage:—"Methinks there be not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith. I can answer all the objections of Satan and my rebellious reason, with that odd resolution I learned of Tertullian, *Certum est, quia impossibile est.* I am thankful that I lived not in the days of miracles, &c."[2] To this Abp. Tillotson had alluded when he said,[3] "I know not what some men may find in themselves; but I must freely acknowledge, that I could never yet attain to that bold and hardy degree of faith, as to believe any thing

Edward Coke's reports are to the lawyers." Sir Thomas proceeds to deplore the loss of other precious *MSS.* the work of him "who for his piety, theological endowments, philosophy, eloquence, and poesie, is so eminently qualified, that (according to the metempsychosis of Pythagoras) one would think that the souls of Socrates, Chrysostome, Aristotle, Ciceron, and Virgil, have been transformed into the substantial faculties of that entelechy, wherewith, by such a conflated transanimation, he is informed and sublimely inspired." *Tracts, by Sir T. U.* 12mo. 1782, p. 108-110. Alas for the person of poor Master Ross, which must, on this theory, have been rather thickly peopled with souls!

[1] In his *Remarks on Tillotson.—Tracts,* v. i, p. 373.

[2] *Rel. Med.* p. 13.

[3] *Sermon* 140th, vol. iii.

for this reason—*because it was impossible.* So that I am very far from being of *his* mind, that wanted not only *more difficulties,* but even *impossibilities,* in the Christian religion, to exercise his faith upon." "But by *impossibilities,*" replies Jortin, "Sir Thomas Browne, as well as Tertullian, meant *seeming,* not *real,* impossibilities: and what he says should be looked upon as a *verbum ardens,* a rhetorical flourish, and a trial of skill with Tertullian; in which, however, he had little chance to come off superior. Both of them were lively and ingenious; but the *African* had a warmer complexion than the *Briton.* Tillotson, however, judging that the Papists would make an ill use of this, and such passages as this, in *Protestant* writers, was willing to pass a gentle animadversion upon it. Sir Kenelm Digby, a Roman Catholic, who criticises several things in the *Religio Medici,* yet gives his loud approbation to these pious sallies. 'I am extremely pleased with him, when he saith, there are not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith, &c.' Extremely pleased, without question; and full of hopes, that this young author might at last *unreason* himself into *implicit belief,* and go over to the church which would feed his hungry faith with a sufficient quantity of impossibilities!—*Tendimus in Latium!*" In the *Biographia Brit.* there is a short critique on the work from a MS. entitled *A Century of Short Characters of Books and Authors:* but it does not seem to me to deserve insertion.

In the mean time, so industriously was Browne employed in completing and arranging his materials, (the accumulation, no doubt, of many years,) that in 1646 he published the first edition of his great work, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica;* which speedily attracted the notice of those who had attacked his former book. Ross again took the field in his *Arcana Microcosmi, &c.*[4] and with him a new adversary, Robinson, who published a pedantic book with a *suitable* title:—*Endoxa, or a Calm Ventilation, &c.*[4] Against these the following remark seems to have been levelled by Richard Whitlock,[5] who enumerates, "among writers, first some that write to eat;—inke must earn ale, and three-penny ordinarys; write they

[4] See vol. ii, 169, *Preface to Ps. Ep.*

[5] In his *Zootomia, or Observations on the Present Manners of the English,* 12mo. Lond. 1654. p. 232.

must, against things or men, sparing neither Bacons, Harveys, Digbys, Brownes, or any the like—of *Improvement College*, &c." It is to be supposed, too, that a number of private communications were made to our author on his two books, the far greater part of which were complimentary; and few have reached us. Some I have omitted, especially five Latin letters from Isaac Gruter, (who translated some of Lord Bacon's works,[6]) respecting a projected (but never accomplished) Latin translation of *Pseudodoxia*.

But it was on the continent that our author received the greatest share of attention: and truly it must be confessed, that he presented a front of some breadth to their attacks; standing before them as he did, not only in the character of a theologian, but as a philosopher of almost every class. So early as 1645 did the foreign critics notice *Religio Medici*. I have (in vol. ii, p. 15,) printed Guy Patin's epistolary animadversions on it,[7] which, however, Niceron[8] thus condemns as too harsh. "*Patin en a jugé trop malignement à son ordinaire. Les Journalistes de Leipsic*[9] *en parlent d'une manière plus juste, lorsquils disent que c'est un livre rempli d'excellens préceptes, parmi lesquels sont melés plusieurs paradoxes.*" Bayle also cites this slashing criticism of Guy Patin's, in reviewing his *Lettres Choisies*, with a similar observation, that he was accustomed to speak very unceremoniously, both of books and men, and that he seemed not aware that the author of the book was an English physician.[10] Kippis, after adverting to the same censure, goes on thus:[1]—"Yet this stroke of French censure is but gentle, in comparison to the correction given our author and his writings, by German pens. One Tobias Wagner is pleased to say, that the seeds of atheistical impiety are so scattered through this book, that it can hardly be read without danger of infection.[2] The same writer, in

[6] See his letters on the subject to Dr. Rawley, in Dr. Tenison's *Baconiana*, 8vo. 1679.

[7] Dated Paris, April 7, 1645. See *Patin, Lettres Choisies*, 12mo. Frankfort, 1681, p. 12.

[8] *Niceron, Nouvelles de la Republique de Lettres, Avril*, 1684.

[9] *Acta Eruditorum, Sup.* vol. i, Leips. 1692.

[10] *Bayle, Œuvres Diverses*, 3 vols. fol. vol. i, p. 25.

[1] *Biogr. Brit.* p. 629, note G.

[2] *Wagner, Examen Elenchticus Atheismi Speculativi*, 4to. Tubing. 1677, c. v. p. 11.

reference to a passage in *Rel. Med.* commencing "I confess there are in scripture, &c."[3] asks, "*Quis hujus Medici, ita de S. S. judicantis, religionem cum religione Galeni, qui nullam religionem curavit, eandem esse,—non suspicaretur?*"[4] He had not the candour to couple, with that passage, the orthodox and most satisfactory reflection, uttered in the very same breath:—"Yet is all this of an easy possibility, if we conceive a *divine* concourse (concurrence), or an influence but from the little finger of the Almighty." Kippis proceeds thus:—"Two other learned men of the same nation, Muller[5] and Reiser,[6] agree with Wagner in passing sentence on our author as an Atheist. The very learned John Francis Buddeus[7] is a little more moderate; for though he puts Sir Thomas Browne's name in the list of English Atheists, in conjunction with Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Thomas Hobbes, and John Toland, yet he is pleased to add, that as for Thomas Browne, though he is not free from the suspicion of absolute indifference in religion, yet from the charge of Atheism he ought certainly to be acquitted. Yet the no less learned John Frederick Reimmannus, who also wrote very largely on Atheism, and of such as have been justly or unjustly suspected thereof, has taken great pains to wipe off, not only the latter, but the former aspersion from our author, and has very fairly shewn the true state of the case; that the *Religio Medici* has been condemned by some without reading it carefully, and by others for want of understanding what they did read."[8] He thus mentions Browne:—"*Thomas Browne, Med. Doct. et Poliater Norvicensis, vir exquisitæ doctrinæ, a quibusdam in suspicionem atheismi adductus est ob libellum mole exiguum, acumine vastum, qui Religio Medici inscriptus, &c.*" The same writer in another work[9] says, "*Hic auctor non omnisprorsus expers est maculæ et anomaliæ; sed eidem non ita*

[3] Vol. ii, p. 29, 30.

[4] *Wagner, Exam. &c.* p. 15.

[5] *Muller, Examen Atheismi*, c. vi, § 34.

[6] *Reiser, Dissertatio de Atheismo*, p. 35. To Muller I have not been able to refer. Kippis's reference to Reiser is erroneous. The passage he quotes is at p. 886. But from a passage at p. 349, I presume a still more extended notice of our author will be found in Reiser's *Vindiciæ Anti-Thomisticæ*—which I have not seen.

[7] *Buddeus, Theses Theologicæ de Atheismo et Superstitione*, p. 136.

[8] *Reimman. Hist. Univers. Atheismi*, p. 448.

[9] *Reimman. Bibliothecæ Theologicæ Catalogus*, 2 tom. 12mo. *Hildesiæ*, 1731, p. 1052.

immersus tamen, ut Patronus Syncretismi universalis dici mereatur, (quo nomine in indice hujus editionis appellatus est) vel in Atheorum familiam conjici, quod fecit J. Micrælius, in H. E. L. iii, s. ii, p. 864, *vel æternis tenebris, una cum ipso libello, obduci, quæ Adami Reichenbergii*[1] *mens est. Multa spargit in hoc libello paradoxa, non diffitemur; sed multa etiam habet sana, sobria, præclara, et non cottidiani commatis, quæ lectori pensare poterunt, quam eidem perlustrando impendit operam.*" Morhof remarks thus:[2]—"*Sunt et, qui Atheismi crimine infamare volunt autorem Religionis Medici, cui nomen* Thomas Browne." . . . . . "*Quod ejus sententiam et dogmata attinet, quanquam liberius forte judicet de nonnullis religionis articulis, pro atheo tamen habere nolim, quod mihi videor ex ejus multis sententiis, quæ serio prolatæ sunt, deprehendere.*" Another eminent foreigner, the celebrated Herman Conringius,[3] professed himself always a great admirer of our author, and was wont to say he had read his *Religio Medici* with fresh delight; and in respect to that imputation of Atheism, or indifferency in point of religion, which had been circulated with such industry by certain supercilious critics, he delivered his sentiments of it in these words:—"*Utinam nemo Medicorum, imo Theologorum, illo homine sit minus religiosus.*" The learned and judicious Frederick Heister, son of the celebrated Laurentius Heister, whose *System of Surgery* has made him known to all the learned world, thought himself obliged, on Buddeus's publishing a large work against Atheism and Superstition, to vindicate the physicians in general, and our author in particular, from the injurious aspersions cast upon him in that book. His defence of Dr. Browne takes up the whole 19th section, in which, from a great variety of passages in our author's works, he demonstrates the cruelty of this calumny, as well as its notorious falsehood.[4] An excellent defence of the professors

[1] *In Euremati Hobbesiano*, c. iii, § 7, p. 209. This Adam Reichenberg published a small 4to. tract of 32 pages, entitled *De Gemmis Errores Vulgares, Leips.* 1687.

[2] *Morhof, Polyhistor, cura J. A. Fabricii*, 3 tom. 4to. *Lubecæ*, 1747, tom. iii, lib. v, § 10.

[3] *Conringiana*, p. 10.

[4] *Eliæ Frederici Heisteri, Laurentii filii, Apologia pro Medicis; qua eorum depellitur cavillatio, qui Medicinam in Atheismum aliosque in Theologia errores abducere perhibent, et qua simul præcipui Medici et nominatim Hippocrates, Galenus, Cardanus, Taurellus, Vannius, et Brownius, qui Atheismi crimine commaculati sunt, defenduntur. Amstel.* 1736, 8vo.

of medicine against the charge of impiety was written, towards the close of the 17th century, by Charles Drelincourt, Professor of Anatomy in the University of Leyden, under the title of *Oratio Doctoralis, qua Medicos Dei, operum consideratione atque contemplatione permotos, cæteris hominibus religione astrictiores esse, demonstratur: atque adeo impietatis crimen in ipsos jactatum diluitur.*"[5] With equal reprobation Dr. Aikin speaks of these critics:—"The German divines treated [*the Religio Medici*] with severe censure; and *more theologico* represented the author as an infidel, and even an Atheist, though almost every page displays the fervour of his piety, and the docility of his belief."

Respecting *Pseudodoxia*, "the judicious Morhof speaks with all possible marks of approbation and esteem:—'No modern author, says he, has treated this subject more accurately or copiously. In his first book he learnedly inquires into the general causes of error; and in his succeeding books he not only discourses of the mistakes which are crept into natural philosophy, but such also as have corrupted history, theology, mechanic arts and physick.' Reimman says,[6] 'As he excelled in theoretical and practical divinity, so he shone no less in philosophy, wherein he emulated Hercules; and undertaking by his *Pseud. Ep.* to clear the sciences from error, he fell nothing short of the other's labour, in cleansing the Augean stable.'" Niceron remarks, that "it is an excellent work and contains abundance of curious things." The inuendo of Lilienthal, mentioned by Kippis, is almost beneath notice. "In his *Dissertation on Literary Machiavelism*,"[7] under the head *Novitatis pruritus*, declaiming against those who were disposed to underrate antiquity, "*tantoque quemque sententiam magis suspectam esse, quanto sit antiquior et pervulgatior, crepantes*," he adds in a note, "*Ita quondam existimavit Th. Browne in Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, lib. i, c. 6, p. 28:" in the index he has thus nicknamed him:—"Browne

[5] Note in Drake's *Evenings in Autumn*, vol. ii, p. 73. My kind friend, E. H. Barker, Esq. has just sent me the following notice, in *Songs and other Poems, by Alexander Brome, Gent.*, 8vo. London 1668, p. 182:—

"Thou next wouldst have me turn *Divine*,
And *Doctor* too;—indeed 'tis fine!
Physick and *preaching* ill agree;—
There is but one *Religio Medici*."

[6] *Hist. Univ. Atheismi*, p. 448. [7] [illegible] v. p. 39.

Thom. *novaturiens*." I have preserved this reference, because a former biographer has taken the pains to supply it; but may safely leave it to its own refutation.

Amidst the attacks of his enemies, and commendations of his admirers, the reputation of Browne became so established and extended, that he was applied to on all hands for professional, literary, and scientific advice and assistance, and as he thoroughly enjoyed to oblige and assist others, his leisure, it may be readily imagined, became very soon too fully occupied to leave him much opportunity for further authorship.

Among the earliest of these correspondents was Dr. Henry Power, who afterwards attained considerable eminence as a physician at Halifax. I apprehend that the long letter of professional recommendation,[8] inserted from *Biogr. Britan.* and which is there said to have been first published by Dr. Massey, was addressed to Dr. Power. He seems for many years to have kept up his intercourse with Browne, who probably communicated much curious information; though, unfortunately, we are not enabled to refer to his letters for proof. Some MSS. of Power's remain in the British Museum, and he is known by several works, especially by one on experimental philosophy.

It was probably in 1650, or soon after, that Browne was enabled to open a communication with Iceland, through the medium of a party to whom he had rendered valuable professional assistance. He addressed some inquiries to Theodore Jonas, minister of Hitterdale, in Iceland, respecting the natural history and geography, &c. of that island, and the diseases to which its inhabitants were liable. Several very agreeable letters were sent in reply by his reverend friend, who has therein placed himself in a most amiable point of view. From these materials Browne drew up, for the Royal Society, a few years after, a sketch of that singular and then almost unknown spot; which paper was printed in the *Posthumous Works*, and is reprinted at page 254, vol. iv.[9]

[8] See page 356.

[9] In running my eye over it, I find a choice specimen of the havock which a single letter too much will sometimes make in the common sense of a passage. Browne, in describing a horse "of mean stature,"—an Iceland *poney* we may call him—brought over to Yarmouth, informs us that it "could not for many months be brought to feed upon OATHS!"—Gentle reader, be pleased to read *oats!*

Another of Browne's correspondents, and one of his personal friends in the county, was Sir Hamon L'Estrange, of Hunstanton, a man of real love for natural history, and most zealous in its pursuit. From him Browne received, in Jan. 1653, a letter, enclosing a most substantial proof of the estimation in which his works were held—a MS. of eighty-five pages of *Observations on the Pseudodoxia:* some of them highly interesting. This MS. is preserved in No. 1830 of the *MS. Sloan.* I have given some extracts.[1] About the same time he appears to have rendered some assistance to a botanist of considerable note, (or as Wood calls him,) a noted herbalist of his day—Mr. William How, commonly called Dr. How; who, after having served as a captain in King Charles the First's cavalry, took up his residence in London, first in Lawrence Lane, then in Milk Street, as a physician, though he does not seem to have qualified by taking a degree. How was distinguished among the earlier English botanists for his love of the science, and for his published contributions to it. Some local catalogues, enumerating the plants of certain districts in England, had already been published by Dr. Johnson, the learned editor of *Gerard's Herbal;* but How was the first who brought out a general list of the plants of Great Britain, as distinguished from those of foreign countries: under the title of *Phytologia Britannica, natales exhibens indigenarum stirpium sponte emergentium,* 12mo. London, 1650. In 1655 he edited a portion, which had fallen into his hands, of Lobel's MSS. for his projected large work, entitled, "*Illustrationes Plantarum:*" of which Parkinson had used another portion in his *Theatrum Botanicum.* From a letter, which he addressed to Dr. Browne in that year,[2] it would appear, that he contemplated, and had made considerable preparation for, another botanical work; but his death, which took place a year afterwards, prevented its completion. The said letter must be admitted abundantly to justify the character given of this writer by Dr. Richard Pulteney:[3] it is, indeed, written "in a flowery and bombast stile," and in terms

[1] See *Preface to Pseud. Ep.* [2] See *Correspondence,* p. 394.
[3] In his *Sketches of the Progress of Botany in England,* 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1790, vol. i, p. 173.

so affectedly figurative, that it seems not at all clear, whether he is speaking of a botanical work which he was writing, or of a botanical garden which he was engaged in superintending. Perhaps it was a *catalogue raisonné* either of his own garden or of some other in which he was concerned.

Browne's learning and science, however, soon added to his acquaintance two of the most distinguished men of his day—Evelyn and Sir Wm. Dugdale. In 1657, through the intervention of Mr. (afterwards, Sir) Robert Paston, created Earl of Yarmouth in 1673, a correspondence commenced between Browne and Evelyn. The latter being much interested with his favourite pursuit of gardening, and just then busily occupied in preparing for the press a work to be entitled *Elysium Brittanicum*, sought the assistance of our author, as a man well known for his extensive acquaintance with natural history; and we have sufficient evidence that Browne's contributions were considerable:—Tract 2, *Of Garlands, &c.*[4] and probably the *Observations on Grafting*[5] were written for the use of Evelyn. It is, however, very much to be regretted, that so little of their correspondence has descended to us; for we must suppose that it was kept up for many years. Evelyn's *Silva* contains an extract from a communication received in 1664, which I shall insert here, though somewhat out of the order of date.

"But whilst I am on this perod, see what a *Tilia* that most learned and obliging person Sir Thomas Browne, of Norwich, describes to me in a letter just now received.

"An extraordinary large and stately *Tilia*, Linden, or Lime-tree, there groweth at Depeham, in Norfolk, ten miles from Norwich, whose measure is this:—The compass, in the least part of the trunk or body, about two yards from the ground, is at least eight yards and a half; about the root, near the earth, sixteen yards; about half a yard above that, near twelve yards in circuit; the height, to the uppermost boughs, about thirty yards. This surmounts the famous *Tilia* of Zurich, in Switzerland; and uncertain it is, whether in any *Tilicetum*, or Lime-walk, abroad, it be considerably exceeded: yet was the first motive I had to view it, not so

[4] Vol. iv, p. 174. [5] Vol. iv, p. 365.

much the largeness of the tree, as the general opinion that no man could ever name it; but I found it to be a *Tilia fœmina;* and (if the distinction of Bauhinus be admitted, from the greater and lesser leaf) a *Tilia platyphyllos* or *latifolia;* some leaves being three inches broad; but, to distinguish it from others in the country, I called it *Tilia colossæa Depehamensis.*"[6]

I think it very probable, that Browne derived from his distinguished correspondent some hints which availed him in his *Garden of Cyrus,* which he published in the year 1658, with *Hydriotaphia.* In this latter work he announced his discovery of the singular substance, called by the French chemists *adipocire,* and which M. Du Petit Thouars, the writer of the article *Browne,* in the *Biographie Universelle,* thus mentions: —"On y trouve, entre autres, la première observation sur la substance singulière provenant de la décomposition des cadavres, retrouvée depuis, par Fourcroy, dans le cimetière des Innocents, à Paris, et connue maintenant sous le nom d'*adipocire.*"—See vol. vi, 62.

Towards the close of the same year, 1658, Sir William Dugdale applied to Dr. Browne for critical as well as historical and scientific contributions to his work, *On Embanking and Draining,* then in progress. And several of their letters are preserved. Sir William has acknowledged his obligations to his learned and zealous friend, in the following passage, at p. 175 of his work:—"Touching which kind of urne buriall see further in that excellent discourse of the learned Dr. Thomas Browne, of Norwich, (printed at London in An. 1658,) from whom I acknowledge to have received much direction for my better guidance in this present work." And to show that this was not a mere compliment, it will be sufficient to compare Browne's critical remarks,[7] in reply to Sir

[6] *Hunter's Evelyn,* vol. ii, p. 196. This celebrated Linden-tree stood upon the property of Mr. Amias; it was cut down nearly a century ago.—*Excursions through Norfolk,* vol. ii, p. 111. But the village of Deepham is still distinguished for *a single tree.* There is a very lofty elm, said to be of great age, growing alone on the top of a hill, about half a mile from the church. Having been always shorn of its boughs, except at the head, it looks like a reversed *broom-stick* of colossal dimensions, forming a most conspicuous object for many miles around; and is sometimes called *Deepham High Tree.* The Hill has obtained the name of *Deepham One-tree Hill.*

[7] *Correspondence,* p. 383-4.

William Dugdale's inquiries respecting the meaning of the term *paludibus emuniendis*, used by Tacitus in speaking of the labour to which the Britons were compelled by their Roman conquerors, with Dugdale's remarks thereon, at p. 17 of his work. Again,[8] Browne, at his friend's request, sends him a direction where to find a quotation from Lelandus, which had been given by himself in the Tract he had sent Dugdale on *Tumuli;* and this quotation, together with that of Wormius from Adolphus Cyprus, we find in Dugdale, p. 174. For want of several important letters from Browne to Dugdale, (which it seems very singular should never yet have made their appearance, if they still exist,) we cannot so distinctly trace his hand further in this valuable work; but it appears[9] that the chapter on Holstein, p. 15, was Browne's; and the same letter of thanks would afford ground for suspecting that the *History of Foreign Imbanking and Drayning* (pp. 7 to 14) is largely indebted to him. Very probably, indeed, Browne complied with Sir William's desire, (p. 392,) that he would see the entire MS. before it went to press. I referred to *MS. Harl.* 5011—the original manuscript of the work—in the hope of gaining further information; but I only met with a fragment, in Browne's hand writing, which is at foot.[1]

But it is time to take up the thread of his domestic history. As years passed on, there arose other claims, which not even his professional avocations, added to the pursuits of literature, the wide and increasing range of his acquaintance, and the conduct of a correspondence whose limits were daily extending, could enable him to evade or resist. His family was large, and rapidly coming into life; and they must have more and more engrossed his thoughts and his care. We have, it must be lamented, but scanty means of judging what was his system of management and education; though it is probable, that if he erred, it was not in the exercise of too great aus-

[8] *Correspondence*, p. 387. [9] *Correspondence*, p. 389.

[1] "The reason given by the inhabitants of Malabar and their neighbours how Malabar became a gayned land:—'*Uno ore affirmatur, Malabarrorum regionem, etiamnum humilem et palustrem, crebrisque interruptam insulis, olim totam mari fuisse contectam. Defluente vero continuo materia e montibus Delhi, totam se extulisse supra undas; et denudasse tractum trecentorum fere pass. millium, excusso longè atque abacto oceano.*'—*Isaacus Vossius in Pomponium Melam de situ orbis*, p. 277. Malabar you shall find a remarkable country in the East Indies."

terity. His ambition was, their accomplishment; and there is sufficient evidence that he spared neither expense, nor trouble, neither admonition, example, nor encouragement, to attain it. One remarkable feature in his plan is, however, very evident, that he did not keep them at home; but endeavoured to form them to habits of independence, and to give them, in a wide sense, a knowledge of the world, by sending them abroad. Some of his daughters visited France, though, in all probability, they were accompanied by himself. We have a single and imperfect allusion to a visit which he paid to Holland, on which occasion, I suspect that one or more of his daughters accompanied him, going probably or returning through France.[2] But he certainly must be considered to have put his system in practice at rather an early age, and in a most perilous manner, when he sent his second son, Thomas, to France in 1660, at the age of fourteen, and sent him thither *alone*. We are not told that he had any particular plan of education in view for the boy in so doing, nor have we the intimation of any special motive which led to it. He exhorted him, in his letters, to learn all he could, to take notice of every thing remarkable, "to cast off *pudor rusticus*," to put on a "commendable boldness," and to "have a good handsome garb of his body." It is, moreover, to be especially observed, how earnestly he enjoins him to "hold firm to the Protestant religion, and be diligent in going to church:" "be constant," he adds, "not negligent in your daily private prayers, and habituate your heart in your tender days unto the fear and reverence of God." Excellent as is the advice, it must be apprehended that he did not place his boy in circumstances the most favourable to its adoption, when he sent him, so young, and unattended, amidst such scenes as he would be sure to meet with. Probably he contemplated, if he had not resolved on, the profession into which his son afterwards entered, and deemed it essential to his excelling therein, that he should early learn to "shift for himself." If so, the event justified the plan, for it seems that his boy did not fail to acquire that laudable boldness and freedom of carriage which his father was anxious to see in him, and which

[2] Vol. ii, p. xii.

he told him, "he that learneth not in France travelleth in vain." He was a spirited and talented young man, and would, in all probability, have risen to eminence in the navy, had he lived. He was remarkable, withal, for kindness and frankness of disposition. His "*Tour in Derbyshire*,"[3] (for there is internal evidence that he wrote that journal,) sufficiently shews that he had acquired some taste for adventure, and was ready enough to play his part. The greater part of the following year he passed at college, and at the close of 1664, entered the navy. A brief sketch of his subsequent career, till about the middle of 1667, will be found at pp. 114 to 152, to which I have not been able to make any addition.[4]

With his eldest son, whom he destined for his own profession, Browne somewhat modified his plan, though it was substantially similar. He sent him abroad, but not at so early an age; choosing, probably, to keep his education in his own hands, or, at least, within reach of his own controul. With this view, after passing through the Free School at Norwich, Edward was sent to Cambridge, where he entered at Trinity College, Oct. 27, 1657, and took the degree of bachelor in physic in the middle of 1663.[5] In the autumn of 1663 he

[3] With his brother Edward, towards the close of the year 1662.—See p. 22.

[4] Unless, indeed, I may offer a conjecture as to the date of his death. It can only be conjecture, resting on a pedigree of the family by Le Neve; who asserts his burial to have taken place at St. James's, Clerkenwell, "*on Wednesday, Sept.* 1;" but leaving the year blank. Now September 1st fell on a Wednesday in 1624 and 1669—but not in any intermediate year. The register of the parish in question affords no help. If he died in 1669, it is most unaccountable that we have no mention of him after the summer of 1667. I am strongly tempted to suggest, as a various reading of Le Neve's MS. either the 4th or 11th September, both which days fell on a Wednesday in 1667, the year in which I have always supposed Lieut. Browne to have died.

[5] The convenience of its greater nearness to Norwich is supposed by the writer of the article in *Biogr. Brit.* to have been Browne's motive for sending his son to Cambridge. But that writer has placed his degree M. B. two years later than the fact; and in several other points has committed errors in his life. To the admission and degree of M. B. I am enabled to assign correct dates, by the kindness of Professor Sedgwick, who has given the following copy of Browne's admission:—1657, Oct. 27. *Edwardus Brown admiss. Pension. sub Mro. Duport.* The Master of Trinity College, in his note to the Professor, has added the following interesting information:—"I consulted the register, to see if he had ever been elected scholar; but, unfortunately, during the troubles, that book was kept very irregularly," (or rather very regularly *unkept?)* "and there are no admissions of scholars recorded from 1643 to 1661." "We have, in my dining room, (in the lodge,) a drawing in crayons of the Poet Cowley, which was given in the year 1824, by Mr. Richard Clark, Chamberlain of the city of London. When he put it in my hands he told me it had belonged to Sir Thomas Browne, and Mr. C. brought it from Norwich." During the *unkept* period, however, may we not conjecture that he took his degree of A. B.? See his mother's letter, p. 6.

returned to Norwich, and probably commenced his professional studies with his father, who seems to have infused into him some portion of his own spirit, if we may judge from the diligence with which Edward devoted himself to the study of his profession, and to the collateral pursuits of comparative anatomy and natural history. He spent the winter of 1663-4 in Norwich; and his journal, describing the amusements of the city at that period, is interesting.[6] Mr. Henry Howard, afterwards sixth Duke of Norfolk, (grandson of the celebrated Thomas, Earl of Arundel, who made those splendid collections which have immortalized him,) then resided there; and his munificence and urbanity are evinced by the frequency of the parties given at the Duke's Palace, as well as by the freedom of access which young Browne obtained to them. But the public spirit of Mr. Howard vied with the splendour of his entertainments. He purchased, and devoted to the amusement of the public, the gardens in King Street, which were long afterwards (and, as I am assured by Dr. Sutton, of Norwich, even within his recollection,) designated "My Lord's Gardens."

In the spring of 1664, Mr. Edward Browne commenced his foreign travels, first spending a short time among his relations and friends in London. And here he seems to have formed his first acquaintance with the family of Dr. Terne, whose daughter he afterwards married. He took up his residence, while in London, at the house of his relation, Mr. Barker, in Clerkenwell, where his sister Ann was then living. Here he met "Madam Fairfax," probably the mother of Mr. Henry Fairfax,[7] whom his sister Ann afterwards married, and who was the grandson of Thomas, Lord Viscount Fairfax. He also mentions his "dear sister Cottrell" as being of the party; and says that he afterwards "waited upon Madam Cottrell home to her house in St. James his Park, &c."

[6] See p. 43, &c.

[7] Henry Fairfax, Esq. of Burlington, in the county of York, second son of Thomas, Lord Viscount Fairfax, of Emely, in Ireland, married Frances, the only daughter of Henry Barker, of Hurst, Esq.; and died in 1656, leaving his widow, (this Madam Fairfax, as I suppose,) who was buried at Hurst, March 25, 1668-9. They had three children, Henry, (who married Ann Browne,) John, (mentioned by Dr. Edward Browne, vol. i, p. 194?) and Frances. Thus is the relationship of the Fairfax and Barker families made out; but how Mr. Barker became the cousin of Edward Browne, before his sister's marriage to Mr. Fairfax, does not appear.

Hence I concluded, perhaps too hastily, that Sir Charles Cottrell married a daughter of Sir Thomas Browne. More probably it was a son of Sir Charles's; but I cannot give the slightest authority for the conjecture beyond the present passage. From London he proceeded to Paris, and thence to Italy, visiting Genoa, Rome, Naples, Bologna, Venice, and Padoa, returning to Paris through Arles, Montpellier, Thoulouse, and Rochelle. He travelled in company with Sir William Trumbull, (afterwards Secretary of State,) Sir Samuel Tuke, Sir Christopher Wren, and other distinguished characters. At Paris he incidentally became acquainted with Guy Patin, one of his father's earliest criticks, who received him with great urbanity, and spoke in the most courteous terms of his father. A portion of this tour has been printed at the end of the folio edition of his *Travels.*[9] The whole is preserved in his journal, *MS. Sloan.* 1906, and extends, in the present volume, from p. 57 to 114, partly printed from the just-mentioned journal, and partly from his letters in *MS. Sloan.* 1868. The last letter of the series is dated Paris, Sep. 30, 1665; soon after which I suppose him to have returned to Norwich. I find him incorporated of Merton College, Oxford, June 16, 1666; and in the following year, July 4, 1667, he took his doctor's degree.

In the same year he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society;—whether from the influence of his father's name, or from his own recently formed acquaintance with Dr. Wren, Mr. Ray and other distinguished fellows, we are not told. It is, however, highly probable, that his admission into that learned body had some connexion with his determination to

[8] At present, I have been disappointed in my search for earlier registers of Sir Thomas Browne's family, than 1650. The daughter in question must have been born some years earlier. But Whitefoot informs us, that Edward, (born in 1644, according to his monumental inscription at Northfleet, and his father's pedigree, preserved in the College of Arms,) was the "eldest child." Besides him, I trace four children born before 1650; viz. Thomas, Elizabeth, (afterwards Mrs. Lyttleton,) Anne, (afterwards Mrs. Fairfax,) and Dorothy, (buried at Norwich in 1652.) In order, then, to account for the passage quoted above, we must suppose Sir Thomas to have had another daughter, between 1644 and 1650, besides the four children just named. I have taken various means (hitherto in vain) to find the registers, or even to ascertain where he resided, during that period. Should I meet with better success, it will appear in my pedigree of his family.

[9] It is singular, that in *Biog. Brit.* though this journey is mentioned, it is expressly asserted that Dr. Edward Browne was never abroad till 1668.

renew his travels, and even induced him ultimately to extend them (in opposition to his father's decidedly expressed wish,[1]) to countries peculiarly rich in those natural productions to which the society's attention was then directed. In the absence of journals, or other positive information respecting the three years which intervened between the termination of his first and beginning of his subsequent travels, we may conjecture, that if a part was spent at the University, and a part in the improvement of the advantages which he enjoyed under his father's roof at Norwich, no inconsiderable portion of the remainder was devoted to that circle of scientific and literary friends to which he had obtained access in London. Among these were several distinguished travellers, whose society must have had its influence in reviving and strengthening his own taste for foreign adventure. And it was in all probability as much on their recommendation, as from his own inclination, that in August, 1668, he commenced those travels which have contributed so much, and on the whole so justly, to his reputation. For though he did not inherit his father's high intellectuality, he was, like him, ardent in pursuit of knowledge, and strongly attached to the studies to which he made his travels principally subservient: and his literary attainments, as might be supposed, were considerable. But above all, he was an accurate observer and a veracious narrator of what he met with. He was, in short, a *conscientious* traveller, not supplying from imagination what was wanting in the reality. His pen was under the guidance of his senses; not carried away by his fancy. Hence, notwithstanding the somewhat contemptuous terms in which his travels are mentioned by Dr. Johnson, who neither understood nor cared for the subjects on which Browne wrote, he acquired by his work, and has retained to the present day, a character for which travellers are not proverbial :—viz. that whatever he has related, may be received with implicit confidence.

Having embarked at Yarmouth on the 14th August, he landed at Rotterdam; and thence proceeded through Delft, the Hague, Leyden, and Haarlem, to Amsterdam; through Utrecht, Boisleduc, Breda, and Dort, to Flushing, and up the

[1] See p. 163, 166.

Scheldt by Antwerp, Brussels, and Maestricht to Aix-la-Chapelle, which he reached on the 7th Oct. From "Aken," he went direct through Juliers to the Rhine; along which river he travelled from Cologne to Bingen, Mayence, and Frankfort; and thence, passing through Darmstadt, Heidelberg, Nurnberg, Ratisbon, and Lintz, he reached Vienna on the 20th November. There he passed the winter of 1668-9; visiting and examining every object within and around it, worthy his notice; and making excursions in several directions.

The Imperial Museum and Library were his great attractions; and his acquaintance with Peter Lambecius, the librarian, gave him special facilities. Through his influence he was allowed the privilege of withdrawing books to his lodgings, and he has preserved a list of some which he read, which I subjoin.[2] He speaks of the Emperor Leopold, as a man of considerable literary attainments, and a patron of learning and learned men. Lambecius was in the habit of suggesting books for his Imperial master's reading, and it happened on one occasion, that he put *Religio Medici* into the Emperor's hands, wherewith, says Browne,[3] "the Emperor was exceedingly pleased, and spake very much of it unto Lambecius, insomuch that Lambecius asked me whether I knew the author, he being of my own name, and whether he

[2] [FROM MS. SLOAN. 1922, FOL. 50.]

Books which I borrowed out of the Emperor's library:—

Vernherius de Admirandis Hungariæ aquis.
Georgius Agricola de re metallica lib. xii. De Animalibus subterraneis.
De Ortu et causis subterraneorum, lib. v.
De natura eorum que effluunt ex terra, lib. iiij.
De natura fossilium, lib. x.
De veteribus et novis metallis, lib. ij.
Bermannus sive de re metallica dialogus.
De mensuris et ponderibus Romanorum et Græcorum.
De externis mensuris et ponderibus.
Ad ea quæ Andreas Alciatus denuo disputavit de mensuris et ponderibus, brevis defensio.
De mensuris quibus intervalla metimur.
De restituendis ponderibus atque mensuris.
De pretio metallorm et monetis.
Lucæ Poeti jurisconsul. de mensuris et ponderibus Romanis et Græcis cum his quæ hodie Romæ sunt collatis, lib. v.
Ejusdem variarum lectionum liber unus.
Mundus alter et idem; sive terra Australis antehac semper incognita longis itineribus peregrini Academici nuper lustrata. Authore Mercutio Britannico. Accessit, propter affinitatem materiæ, Thomæ Campanellæ Civitas Solis, et Nova Atlantis Franc. Baconi Bar. de Verulamio.

[3] *Travels*, folio, p. 141.

were living. And when he understood my near relation to him, he became more kind and courteous than ever, and desired me to send him that book in the original English, which he would put into the Emperor's library, and presented me with a neat little Latin book, called *Princeps in Compendio*, written by the Emperor's father, Ferdinandus the Third." Dr. Browne also received from Lambecius a curious catalogue of some hundreds of alchymical manuscripts, for the Royal Society, with the remarkably liberal permission to have any of them copied in Vienna, or even brought into England for transcription. He was so fortunate as to obtain also introductions to individuals of high rank, from several of whom he received great kindness. He especially mentions Counts Lesly and Souches, the latter of whom afforded him essential assistance during his travels, in the capacity of governor of the fortress of Leopoldstadt.

While at Vienna, he received a communication from Dr. Oldenburg, the secretary of the Royal Society, requesting such information as he might be able to obtain for them in the course of his proposed Hungarian excursion. For his guidance a paper was enclosed, which we find printed at large in the *Philosophical Transactions*,[4] under the following title:—"Directions and inquiries as they were sometime since recommended by the publisher to the care of the ingenious and learned Dr. Edward Browne, (son to that deservedly famous physician Dr. Thomas Browne, and Fellow of the Royal Society,) travelling in Germany, Hungary, Turkey, &c." To these queries, Dr. Browne gave very copious answers, which were also printed at large in the *Transactions*.[5]

Very early in the spring of 1669 Browne made an excursion through Baden and Mannersdorf, across the Newsidler Sea to Raab and Komora, and thence, after visiting the marble quarry at Dotis, he went by Leopoldstadt to the gold, silver, and copper mines of Cremnitz, Schemnitz, Newsol, &c. and returned to Vienna in the middle of April. His next excursion was through Styria, Carinthia, &c. to see the Zirchnitzer lake and quicksilver mines at Idria, whence, after

[4] *Phil. Trans.* No. lviii, p. 1159. See also vol. i, p. 171.
[5] See a list of these papers in a note at p. 203.

again visiting Vienna and Padua, he returned to the Imperial Capital at the close of July. His last excursion was to visit the Ottoman Court, which was then held at Larissa in Thessaly. This occupied from the 1st of September to the end of October, when he regained Vienna, to take a final leave of it. Early in November he started on his journey homeward, through Prague and Dresden, at which latter city he took particular notice of the Elector of Saxony's collections, both in natural history, mechanics, and works of art. He then visited the silver and sulphur mines of Freiburg, and after passing through Leipsig and Magdeburg, he embarked at Hamburg, and reached England at the close of the year 1669.

Nor was this safe return of his son from long and distant travels the only circumstance which enlivened Dr. Browne's fireside this Christmas. His family circle had at the same time to welcome a further addition to its numbers, in the marriage of his daughter Anne, to Henry Fairfax, Esq.[6] and their arrival at Norwich. The visit seems either to have been protracted, or repeated;—for I find in St. Peter's, Norwich, the registers of the birth and burial of their first child, Barker Fairfax, on the 30th of August and 5th of September, 1670. Their subsequent residences were at Shiplake, near Henley, in Oxfordshire, and lastly at Hurst,[7] a seat on the borders of Wiltshire and Berkshire, inherited from the Barkers.[8]

Dr. Edward Browne soon proceeded to London, where, after some hesitations, he determined to fix his permanent residence. On the 30th of April, 1672, he married Henrietta Susan, the daughter of Dr. Christopher Terne, a physician of eminence, and lecturer at Chirurgeon's Hall in 1662-3,[9] who lived in Lime Street. There Dr. E. Browne

[6] Before mentioned as the grandson of Thomas Lord Viscount Fairfax.—See page lxxvi.

[7] Hurst—a parish comprising the liberties of Whistley-Hurst, (Hund. Charlton,) Newland and Winnersk, (Hund. Sonning,) Co. Berks; and that of Broad Hinton, (Hund. Amesbury,) Co. Wilts. An hospital was founded here by William Barker, Esq. (who died in 1685,) for eight poor, to whom he gave 3s. 6d. weekly.

[8] They had eight children, who all died in infancy, except two daughters, Frances and Alethea. The younger, Alethea, married her cousin, Thomas, only surviving son of Dr. Edward Browne, but they died without issue in 1704 and 1710. From the elder daughter Frances, who married David Erskine, Earl of Buchan, descended Lord Chancellor Erskine, and his nephew, David Henry, the present Earl, the only representative, I believe, of Sir Thomas Browne's family.

[9] See *Pepys's Memoirs*, p. 204.

resided till the decease of his father-in-law, Dec. 31st, 1673: soon after which time, he removed to Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, where he remained during the rest of his father's life.

Having thus pursued the history of Dr. Browne's family, uninterruptedly, to the death of his younger son and marriage of his elder son and daughter, comprising nearly fourteen years, from 1660 to 1673, I must now return to collect and arrange the scattered passages of his own life during the same period. In introducing the earliest and most remarkable of these, I cannot help observing, that the striking influence which has sometimes been exerted on the institutions, the history, or the character of an entire age, by the genius of one man, or the importance of a single event, may occasionally be paralleled by the effect which a solitary action or incident has produced upon the character or estimation of an individual. Such an incident occurred in the history of Sir Thomas Browne in the year 1664; and it is not a little singular that his principal biographers, Whitefoot, Johnson, and Kippis, have all passed over, in silence, a circumstance which has unquestionably given rise to more reflections on his character, both for discernment and feeling, than any other circumstance in his life. I refer to the part which he took in the trial of Amy Duny and Rose Cullender, at Bury St. Edmund's, on the 10th March, before Sir Matthew Hale, then Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. I shall introduce it in the words of Dr. Aikin:—"Fancy and feeling," says he in his biography of Browne, "were, in his mind, predominant over judgment, and his tendency to superstition and enthusiasm is plainly evinced by other instances. He was fully possessed with the belief of the existence of invisible beings, holding an intermediate rank between the human and angelic natures; favored the notion of guardian angels; was persuaded of the reality of apparitions, and of diabolical illusions; and affirms, from his own knowledge, the certainty of witchcraft. This last article of his belief was not so harmless as his other fanciful opinions; for Dr. Hutchinson, in his sensible *Essay on Witchcraft*, animadverting upon a trial of two supposed criminals before Lord Chief Justice Hale, at St. Edmund's Bury, in 1664, mentions that 'Sir Thomas Browne

of Norwich, the famous physician of his time, was in court, and was desired by my Lord Chief Baron, to give his judgment in the case: and he declared, that he was clearly of opinion *that the fits were natural, but heightened by the Devil's co-operating with the malice of the witches, at whose instance he did the villanies.*' And he added, that 'in Denmark there had lately been a great discovery of witches, who used the very same way of afflicting persons, by conveying pins into them.' This declaration, from a man of such authority, was thought to have had no small influence in occasioning the condemnation of the wretched victims, whose execution was one of the latest instances of the kind, by which the English annals are disgraced." *Aikin's Biographical Dictionary.*[1]

The reflection conveyed in the remarks of Dr. Aikin has been echoed and re-echoed; and this solitary incident has gone far in the estimation of many, who in other respects have held Browne in the highest admiration, to detract from his character as an acute and philosophical investigator of deep-rooted and long-established errors, and to place him rather among those who, while they can detect and will condemn the false philosophy and extravagant notions of others, are yet led, by mere caprice or prejudice, obstinately to defend opinions just as absurd, and perhaps far more pernicious.

But let us be cautious and slow to pronounce judgment on such a man. In the first place, it must surely be admitted that he had nothing whatever to do with the justice or injustice

[1] I also here subjoin another account from a small volume of pieces relating to Sir Matthew Hale, entitled, *A Short Treatise touching Sheriff's Accounts, to which is added, A Tryal of Witches, &c.* 8vo. London, 1716, p. 96:—"There was also Dr. Browne, of Norwich, a person of great knowledge; who, after this evidence given, and upon view of the three persons in court, was desired to give his opinion, what he did conceive of them: and he was clearly of opinion that the persons were bewitched; and said, that in Denmark there had been lately a great discovery of witches, who used the very same way of afflicting persons, by conveying pins into them, and crooked, as these pins were, with needles and nails. And his opinion was, that the devil in such cases did work upon the bodies of men and women, upon a natural foundation, (that is,) to stir up and excite such humours superabounding in their bodies to a great excess, whereby he did in an extraordinary manner afflict them with such distempers as their bodies were most subject to,—as particularly appeared in these children; for he conceived, that these swooning fits were natural, and nothing else but that they call the mother, but only heightened to a great excess by the subtilty of the devil, co-operating with the malice of those which we term witches, at whose instance he doth these villanies."

of the law which made witchcraft a capital offence. Hutchinson, therefore, has committed a flagrant injustice in attempting to make him accountable for the blood of these women. —Can I with a safe conscience acquit a man whom I believe to be proved guilty, solely because I deem the law unjust which makes his offence capital?—Can my conscientious verdict make me a party to the injustice of that law?—Most certainly not. So must not Browne be condemned for giving his opinion, on the sole ground "that it was a case of blood." It must be shown, either that he was wrong in believing that witchcraft *had ever existed;* or, if this cannot, IN THE VERY TEETH OF SCRIPTURE, be shown, then, *secondly*, it must be proved that he was wrong in his opinion that cases of witchcraft *still existed; or, thirdly*, that he erroneously deemed the present to be a genuine instance of it. On the first of these questions, be it remembered, his biographer (Dr. Aikin) stood on very different ground from that occupied either by Browne or by the great man before whom he was examined. These believed, firmly and *literally*, the witchcraft and sorcery, and incantations, as well as the demoniacal possessions related in the Bible. And, from their regarding alleged cases of witchcraft in their days as being liable to investigation, and open to evidence, it is clear that they knew of no proof satisfactory to their minds, that what existed in the days of the Bible, had at any subsequent period totally and universally ceased. We know that Browne had previously considered this question. More than 20 years before, he had published his conviction thereon in these terms;—"for my part, I have always believed, and do now know, that there are witches,"[2] and in one of his common-place books there occurs a passage on possession and witchcraft, beginning with a similar assertion,— "we are no way doubtful that there are witches, &c."[3] He believed, in short, *on the highest of all testimony*, that witchcraft *had* existed: and—in the absence of either argument or evidence *satisfactory to him* that it had at some defined period altogether ceased—he also believed that it *still* existed. These sentiments he declared openly, and has been the victim of his

[2] *Rel. Med.* p. 43. [3] Vol. iv, 389.

opinions, as every man must expect to be, who does not flinch from their avowal. But they were opinions, as I have elsewhere remarked, which he held in great and good company; —in common with Bacon, Bishop Hall, Baxter, Hale,[4] Lavater, &c. &c. I shall take the liberty of extracting some highly interesting passages on this subject from *Ellis's Polynesian Researches*;[5] which agree also remarkably with an opinion still more decidedly and very recently expressed to myself, by a missionary who has had the advantage of many years' residence in India; and who declared to me his perfect conviction, that there still exist, and that he has seen on that continent, instances of possession, strikingly similar in all their phenomena to those mentioned in Scripture, and which he has no doubt are as truly demoniacal.

[4] "The judge in giving his direction to the jury, told them, that he would not repeat the evidence unto them, least by so doing, he should wrong the evidence on one side or on the other. Only this he acquainted them, that they had two things to enquire after. *First*, whether or no these children were bewitched? *Secondly*, whether the prisoners at the bar were guilty of it?—

"That there were such creatures as witches he made no doubt at all; *first*, the Scriptures had affirmed so much. *Secondly*, the wisdom of all nations had provided laws against such persons, which is an argument of their confidence of such a crime. And such hath been the judgment of this kingdom, as appears by that act of parliament which hath provided punishments proportionable to the quality of the offence. And desired them, strictly to observe their evidence; and desired the great God of heaven to direct their hearts in this weighty thing they had in hand; for to condemn the innocent, and to let the guilty go free, were both an abomination to the Lord." *Tryal of Witches*, p. 102.

[5] Mr. Ellis says, "No people in the world, in ancient or modern times, appear to have been more superstitious than the South Sea Islanders, or to have been more entirely under the influence of dread, from imaginary demons, or supernatural beings. They had not only their major but their minor demons, or spirits, and all the minute ramifications of idolatry. Sorcery and witchcraft were extensively practised. By this art, the sorcerers pretended to be able to inflict the most painful maladies, and to deprive of life the victims of their mysterious rites.

"It is unnecessary now to enquire whether Satanic agency affects the bodies of men. We know this was the fact at the time our Saviour appeared on earth. Many of the natives of these islands are firmly persuaded, that while they were idolaters, their bodies were subject to most excruciating sufferings, from the direct operation of Satanic power. In this opinion they might be mistaken, and that which they regarded as the effect of superhuman agency, might be only the influence of imagination, or the result of poison. But, considering the undisputed exercise of such an influence, recognized in the declarations and miracles of our Lord and of his apostles, existing not only in heathen, but Jewish society, and considering, in connection with this, the undisputed dominion, moral and intellectual, which the powers of darkness held over those that were entirely devoted to the god of this world, it does not appear impossible, or inconsistent with the supreme government of God, that these subordinate powers should be permitted to exert an influence over their persons, and that communities, so wholly given to idolatry of the most murderous and diabolical kinds, should be considered corporeally, as well as spiritually, to be lying 'in the wicked one.' In addition to the firm belief which many who were sorcerers, or agents of the infernal powers, and others who were the victims of incantation, still

In the summer of this year (1664) a little work made its appearance, which might seem to have some claim to a place in the *Correspondence*, were its value equal to its extent. The title is as follows:—*Mercurius Centralis: or a Discourse of Subterraneal Cockle, Muscle, and Oyster-Shels, found in the digging of a Well at Sir William Doylie's*[6] *in Norfolk, many foot underground, and at considerable distance from the Sea.*

maintain, some of the early missionaries are disposed to think this was the fact. Since the natives have embraced Christianity, they believe they are now exempt from an influence to which they were subject during the reign of the evil spirit.

"Individuals, among the most intelligent of the people, sometimes express their deliberate conviction, that it is because they live under the dispensation or government of Jesus Christ, that they are now exempt from those bodily sufferings to which they were exposed while they were willing and zealous devotees of the devil. It is, I believe, also an indisputable fact, that those kinds of violent, terrific, and fatal corporeal agony, which they attributed to this agency, have altogether ceased, since the subversion of that system, of which it was so dreadful a part. I am not prepared to pronounce the opinions many of the natives still hold, as altogether imaginative: at the same time, the facts that have come to my knowledge, during my residence among them, have led me to desire the most satisfactory evidence for rejecting their sentiments.

"Witchcraft and sorcery they considered the peculiar province of an inferior order of supernatural beings. These were the kinds of beings invoked by the wizards or sorcerers. Different names were applied to their arts, according to the rites employed, or the effects produced.

"Incantations sometimes commenced with an imprecation or curse, either by the priest or the offended party, and it was usually denounced in the name of the gods of the party, or of the king, or some oramatua. This was generally employed in revenge for an injury or insult, which the party using the imprecation imagined they had received; and the poor people entertained the greatest horror of this mode of vengeance, as it was generally considered fatal, unless by engaging a more powerful demon, its effects could be counteracted.

"On one occasion, Mr. Nott sent two native boys, who were his servants, from Eimeo to Tahiti, for *taro*, or arum-roots. The man, under whose care it was growing, was a sorcerer: he was from home, I believe; but the boys, according to the directions they had received, went to the field, and procured the roots for which they had been sent. Before they had departed, the person who had charge of the field returned, and was so enraged, that he pronounced the most dreadful imprecations upon one, if not both of them, threatening them with the *pifao*. The boys returned to Eimeo, but apparently took no notice of the threatening. One of them was shortly afterwards taken ill; and the imprecation of the sorcerer being made known to his friends, it was immediately concluded that he was possessed by the evil spirit. Alarming symptoms rapidly increased, and some of the missionaries went to see him in this state. On entering the place where he lay, a most appalling spectacle was presented. The youth was lying on the ground, writhing in anguish, foaming at the mouth, his eyes apparently ready to start from his head, his countenance exhibiting every form of terrific distortion and pain, his limbs agitated with the most violent and involuntary convulsions. The friends of the boy were standing round, filled with horror at what they considered the effects of the malignant demon; and the sufferer shortly afterwards expired in dreadful agonies. In general, the effects of incantation were more gradual in their progress, and less sudden, though equally fatal in their termination."—*Polynesian Researches*, vol. ii, pp. 225—230.

[6] Sir William D'Oyley resided at Shottisham, near Norwich. He was knighted in 1642, returned M. P. for Great Yarmouth at the Restoration, and created a Baronet in 1663.

Sent in a letter to Thomas Browne, M.D. by Tho. Lawrence, A.M.—London: Printed by J. G. for J. Collins, and are to be sold at the Angel in Ivie-Lane, 1664, 12mo. 94 pages. Opposite to the title-page is the "*Imprimatur*" of *Roger L'Estrange,* dated *June* 13, 1664.[7] The author's alleged object is to assign "the truest cause of that vein of cockle and muscle-shells that was digged up in Norfolke, so many foot deep under the surface of the earth." After a long, rambling, discussion of 94 pages, he sums up in the following delectable series of propositions. "And thus (Doctor) you have my opinion of the way by which those *cockle, muscle,* and *oyster-shells* you mentioned, were brought and lodged in that place. If they were truly *shells,* they were conveyed either *above* or *underground;* but not so usually *above,* therefore *under.* If *under*-ground, then by *natural* or *voluntary agents.* If by *natural* and necessary, then either by *vapours, exhalations,* or *waters;* but this is done *usually* and *commonly,* by none of the former, therefore by the last; which is the more *likely* to effect it. 1. Because there are *numerous generations* in the earth. 2. Where many *generations* are, much *water* is necessary. 3. No *fountain* can supply the *earth* to these purposes but the *sea,* which is the *original* of all *waters.* 4. Though the *sea* communicate his *waters* to places near it by *percolation;* it must and doth supply that afar off by whole *flouds, gulphs,* and *indraughts.* 5. Where *mighty flouds* come with *violence,* they will carry very *weighty bodies* with them. 6. *Heterogeneous bodies* are not easily brought back again when they are *forced* into a *narrow place.* 7. But in a little time gather *slime,* and *earth* about them, and so are lodged in firm ground. Psal. cxxxix, 14. *Marvellous are thy works, (O Lord) and that my soul knows right well.* FINIS."

Dr. Browne was admitted *Socius Honorarius* of the College of Physicians, *cum multis aliis,* in the December of this year;—but for some reason, which appeareth not, he did not receive his Diploma till July 6, 1665. It occurs in the *Pos-*

[7] In 1668 the following title-page was substituted for the former and the *imprimatur* omitted:—*A Discourse of Subterraneal Treasure, occasioned by some late Discoveries thereof in the County of Norfolk, and sent in a letter to Thomas Browne, M.D. London, Printed for J. Collins, at the King's Head in Westminster Hall,* 1668.

thumous Works, and I find in Dr. Rawlinson's copy in the Bodleian, a MS. note, saying that the original was in his possession, having been presented to him by Owen Brigstocke, Esq.[8]

In the year 1666 Browne presented to the Royal Society some fossil bones found at Winterton, on the coast of Norfolk;—then a much greater rarity than they have since been, and perhaps the more valued, as they were less understood. Hooke mentions the fact in his *Posthumous Works*, and I record it, though unimportant, in order to show Browne's early connexion with the Royal Society, as a correspondent, though (probably from local considerations) he never became a fellow. He was certainly acquainted with several leading fellows, and was known to, if not acquainted with, the Hon. Rob. Boyle. It is evident, from a passage in Mr. Boyle's *Second Essay upon Unsucceeding Experiments*, that he held Dr. Browne in very high estimation, as an accurate experimentalist. "In that essay, two things are proposed. First, to render people cautious of establishing any doctrine of consequence upon single experiments, all the circumstances of which they have not particularly observed. The other is, that practical writers should not be too hastily censured on the score of experiments by them related, failing upon repetition. After mentioning various instances in support of these positions, he proceeds thus with regard to our author.[9] 'And as having been informed that the learned Dr. Browne somewhere delivers, that aquafortis will quickly coagulate

[8] *The Diploma given to Sir Thomas Browne, by the College of Physicians, London, when he was chosen an Honorary-Fellow thereof:—Cum jam per Lustra admodum quadraginta, Regum, Reginarum, et Parliamentorum gratia, data sit Collegio Medicorum Londinensium potestas, de Medicis domi forisque Doctoratus gradum adeptis cognoscendi, et cum ijsdem pro merito communicandi prærogativas, quibus ipsi fruerentur nos Edvardus Alston, Eques Auratus Medicinæ Doctor, et Collegij Præses, faventibus Electorum et Sociorum suffragiis, ante aliquot menses adscivimus in ordinem Sociorum Honorariorum virtute et literis ornatissimum virum Thomam Browne, jampridem in celeberrima Oxoniensi Academia Doctorali purpura insignitum Eundemque dignum judicavimus, qui per totam Angliam Artem Medicam exerceat, atque hic etiam Londini, præter praxeos libertatem, omnium nobiscum immunitatum atque privilegiorum beneficio gaudeat. Inque plenam hujus rei fidem, hoc Instrumentum Collegii nostro Sigillo munivimus, sexto Calendas Julij Anno Christi supra millesimum sexcentesimum sexagesimo quinto, Regisque nostri Caroli Secundi decimo septimo. Geo. Ent, Eq. Aur. M.D. Coll. Med. Lond. Socius, Elector, et Registarius.*

[9] *Boyle's Works*, vol i, p. 224, or p. 345, Ed. 1772.

common oil, we poured some of those liquors together, and let them stand for a considerable space of time in an open vessel, without finding in the oil the change by him promised, (though we have, more than once, with another liquor, presently thickened common oil.) Whereupon, being unwilling that so faithful and candid a naturalist should appear fit to be distrusted, we did again make the trial, with fresh oil and aquafortis, in a long-necked phial left open at the top, which we kept both in a cool place, and after in a digesting furnace; but after some weeks, we found no other alteration in the oil, than that it had acquired a high and lovely tincture; notwithstanding which, being still concerned for the reputation of a person that so well deserves a good one, the like contingencies we have formerly met with in other experiments made us willing to try whether or no the unsuccessfulness we have related, might not proceed from some peculiar, though latent quality, either in the aquafortis, or the oil, by us formerly employed. Whereupon, changing those liquors, and repeating the experiment, we found, after some hours, the oil coagulated almost into the form of a whitish butter.'" This quotation is made in *Biogr. Britan.* by the writer of the article "*Dr. Edward Browne*," who supposes him to be alluded to, and on this supposition proceeds in the following terms. "It appears clearly from hence, how great an opinion so good a judge, as Mr. Boyle was, had of our author's abilities, and more especially how just a sense he had of his intetegrity in reporting, as well as capacity in making experiments. But at this distance of time, it has not been possible for us to recover the original experiment, as made and delivered by Dr. Browne; and, therefore, this as well as other circumstances, seems to justify what we have hinted in the text, that there may be several communications of our author's preserved in the archives of the Royal Society, exclusive of those that are to be met with in the printed Transactions, which I have very carefully examined, and find no papers bearing his name later than 1673." All this, however, is corrected by the date of Mr. Boyle's Essay,—1661; at which time Dr. Browne was but a young man at Cambridge. It was his father, whose experiment Mr. Boyle took so much pains to verify.

The next correspondence of interest in which Browne engaged was in 1668, with Dr. Christopher Merrett, librarian to the College of Physicians; who had brought out, in 1666 and 1667, two editions (or rather re-impressions[1]) of his *Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum:* and was contemplating a third. In an auspicious moment he sought the assistance of Browne, who had been most industriously employed in collecting materials for an account of the Natural History of Norfolk, at the request of some friend. But that friend having died, the work remained unfinished; and the *collectanea* were placed at the disposal of Dr. Merrett. The greater part of the correspondence has been preserved, and, on comparison, will be found to comprise a considerable portion of the papers on *Norfolk Birds and Fishes, &c.*, in our fourth volume. But, unhappily, Browne's liberal readiness to render his knowledge serviceable to others, again failed of its object. Either superseded by the more learned labours of Ray and Willoughby, or laid aside on account of the perplexities in which its author became involved with the College of Physicians, the *Pinax* never attained an enlarged edition. Had Browne completed and published his own Natural History of Norfolk, he might have contended for precedency among the writers of County Natural Histories, with Dr. Robert Plot, who published the earliest of such works—those of Oxfordshire and Staffordshire, in 1677 and 1679. He seems, however, to have preferred to contribute to the labours of those whom he considered better naturalists than himself; and in his third attempt thus to render his observations useful he had somewhat better success. He placed his materials, including a number of coloured drawings, at the disposal of Ray, the father of systematic natural history in Great Britain, who has acknowledged the assistance he derived from him in his editions of Willoughby's *Ornithology and Ichthyology*,[2] especially the former. But Browne, it seems, found it more easy to lend than to recover such materials;

[1] They are mere reprints—one is in the British Museum; of the other I have a copy.

[2] In the first (Latin) edition of the *Ornithologia*, (fol. 1676,) I find the following acknowledgment in the preface; it occurs also in English in the translation which

for he complains, several years afterwards, that these drawings, of whose safe return he was assured, both by Ray and by their mutual friend, Sir Philip Skippon, had not been sent back to him.

On the 28th of September, 1671, Charles II, who had been carousing with his profligate court, at Newmarket, made an excursion to Norwich, attended by the Queen, the Dukes of York, Monmouth, and Buckingham, and others of his nobility. It was the last royal visit,[3] with which the city has been *honoured!*—Would that the royal visitor had possessed those exalted qualities, which alone can stamp on such a visit the value which truly belongs to it! Johnson remarks that with all his frailties and vices he yet had skill to discover excellence, and virtue to reward it, *at least with what cost him nothing!*[4] Whether he discovered the excellencies of Browne by his own skill, and rewarded them from the impulse of his own virtue, those may question, who doubt. It would appear from Blomfield's account, that the king was not content to leave the city without knighting some one, and therefore, on Mr. Mayor's declining the honour, it was thrust upon Browne. After relating other particulars of the king's progress,—his visit to Mr. Howard, his attendance on divine service at the cathedral, his review of the trained bands, his feasting in the New Hall, at an expense of £900 to the city, and his visits to Blickling, Oxnead, and Rainham, the historian proceeds to inform us that "when his majesty was at the New Hall, he was earnest to have knighted the mayor, who as earnestly begged to be excused; but at the same time, conferred the honour on that deserving physician, Dr. Thomas Browne, &c."[5] The fact however probably was, that

Ray published of the work in 1678. "*Tandem celeberrimus Vir D. Thomas Brown, eques auratus et medicinæ professor Norvicensis, avium aliquot rariorum picturas sane elegantes, additis etiam notis et descriptionibus nonnullis, pro suo Historiæ Naturalis promovendæ studio liberaliter nobis communicavit.*" In the *Historia Piscium*, which appeared in 1686, we find so little trace of Browne, as to leave some doubt whether his ichthyological notes had been used. Sir Philip Skippon's name occurs in both works, and it is very evident that he was a most zealous naturalist. Dr. Edward Browne (as well as the other fellows of the Royal Society) communicated one of the plates to the work, which was printed at the cost of the society.

[3] James II, when Duke of York, lodged a night at the Bishop's Palace in Norwich, when he landed at Yarmouth, on his return from Scotland.

[4] See p. xxxviii. [5] *History of Norfolk*, vol. ii, 291.

though the literary celebrity of Browne must have been well known, his loyalty was the crowning excellence in the eyes of Charles. In perilous times, Dr. Browne had steadily adhered to the royal cause. He was one of the 432 principal citizens who, in 1643, refused to subscribe towards a fund for regaining the town of Newcastle. Charles was not likely to have been ignorant of this, and he had the good feeling to express his sense of it, by a distinction, which was no doubt valuable as well as gratifying to Sir Thomas Browne.[6] It is remarkable that he has never recorded it, and only once made a slight allusion to it, in his *Repertorium;* where among royal visits to Norwich, he mentions that of Charles II, adding, "of which I had particular reason to take notice." But though he never boasted of his distinction, I strongly suspect that he has left a costly memorial of it. In the drawing room of the house in which he lived, there is, over the mantel-piece, and occupying the entire space to the ceiling, a most elaborate and richly ornamented carving of the royal arms of Charles the Second:—who will undertake to disprove my assertion, that this was placed there by Sir Thomas, to express his loyalty, and to commemorate his knighthood?[7]

In *Matthew Stevenson's Poems*, 12mo. 1673, there is a long poem on this progress of Charles II into Norfolk, in which the honour conferred on Browne is noticed, as well the royal

[6] The prefix has not been without its use, to distinguish our Browne from others; though it has not always sufficed to prevent confusion. A *learned* book-auctioneer, in selling a copy of the folio edition of Sir Thomas (1686,) called him "the facetious Tom Browne" and assured his bidders that they would find "lots of fun in him, that would make their sides shake again!" So much for the efficiency of titular distinction!

[7] In support of this position, I ought perhaps to point out the house in which I suppose Browne to have resided. Blomfield asserts that he lived where Dr. Howman then lived, (vol. ii, 391;) and that he succeeded Ald. Anguish in that house, (vol. ii, 647.) I have ascertained, by reference to title-deeds, that the last house at the southern extremity of the Gentleman's Walk, Haymarket, in the parish of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, (which has for very many years been occupied as a china and glass warehouse, and which tradition has always asserted to have been Sir Thomas Browne's residence,) belonged in Blomfield's time, to Dr. Howman. Still further I find that "*Sep.* 22, 1650, *Katherine, the wife of Mr. Alex. Anguish, was buried* in St. Peter's; and that, *July* 26, 1654, *Mr. Alex. Anguish was there buried, from St. Julian's Parish.* The earliest register of a birth in Browne's family in St. Peter's, occurs in Nov. 1650. I conclude therefore, that the Alderman left the parish on the decease of his wife, and that Browne took immediate possession of his house.—Of Browne's previous residence, I regret to say I find not the smallest trace.

visits to Blickling, Rainham, and Oxnead, in the following lines:—

> " *Paston* and *Hobart* did bring in the meat,
> Who the next day at their own houses treat.
> *Paston* to *Oxney* did his sovereign bring,
> And, like Araunah, offered to the king.
> *Blickling* two monarchs and two Queens has seen,
> One King fetch'd there, another brought a Queen.
> Great *Townshend* of the treats brought up the rear,
> And doubly was my Lord Lieutenant there.
> And now with *Norwich*, for whose sake I writ,
> Let me conclude. *Norwich* did what was fit;
> Or what with them was possible at least;
> That city does enuff, that does its best.
> *There the King knighted the so famous Browne*,
> Whose worth and learning to the world are known." &c.

Early in October, Evelyn went down to the Earl of Arlington's (then Lord Chamberlain) at Euston, in company with Sir Thos. Clifford, to join the royal party. Lord Henry Howard arrived soon after and prevailed on Mr. Evelyn to accompany him to Norwich, promising to convey him back after a day or two.—" This," says he, " as I could not refuse I was not hard to be persuaded to, having a desire to see that famous scholar and physitian, Dr. T. Browne, author of the '*Religio Medici*' and '*Vulgar Errors*,' &c., now lately knighted. Thither then went my lord and I alone, in his flying chariot with six horses; and by the way, discoursing with me of severall of his concernes, he acquainted me of his going to marry his eldest sonn to one of the king's natural daughters by the Dutchesse of Cleaveland, by which he reckon'd he should come into mighty favour.

" Being come to the ducal palace, my lord made very much of me; but I had little rest, so exceedingly desirous he was to shew me the contrivance he had made for the entertainment of their majesties and the whole court not long before, and which, tho' much of it was but temporary, apparently fram'd of boards only, were yet standing. As to the palace, it is an old wretched building, and that part of it newly built of brick is very ill understood; so as I was of opinion it had been much better to have demolish'd all, and set it up in a better place, than to proceede any farther; for it stands in the very market place, and tho' neere a river, yet a very narrow muddy one, and without any extent.

"Next morning I went to see Sir Tho. Browne (with whom I had some time corresponded by letter, tho' I had never seen him before). His whole house and garden being a paradise and cabinet of rarities, and that of the best collections, especially medails, books, plants, and natural things. Amongst other curiosities, Sir Thomas had a collection of the eggs of all the foule and birds he could procure, that country (especialy the promontary of Norfolck) being frequented, as he said, by severall kinds, which seldome or never go farther into the land, as cranes, storkes, eagles, and variety of waterfoule. He led me to see all the remarkable places of this ancient citty, being one of the largest, and certainly, after London, one of the noblest of England, for its venerable cathedrall, number of stately churches, cleanesse of the streetes, and buildings of flints, so exquisitely headed and squared, as I was much astonished at; but he told me they had lost the art of squaring the flints, in which they once so much excell'd, and of which the churches, best houses, and walls, are built. The castle is an antique extent of ground, which now they call Marsfield, and would have been a fitting area to have placed the ducal palace on. The suburbs are large, the prospects sweete, with other amenities, not omitting the flower gardens, in which all the inhabitants excel. The fabric of stuffs brings a vast trade to this populous towne.

"Being returned to my Lord's, who had ben with me all this morning, he advis'd with me concerning a plot to rebuild his house, having already, as he said, erected a front next the streete, and a left wing, and now resolving to set up another wing and pavilion next the garden, and to convert the bowling-greene into stables. My advice was, to desist from all, and to meditate wholly on rebuilding an handsome palace at Arundell House in the Strand, before he proceeded farther here, and then to place this in the castle, that ground belonging to his lordship.

"I observed that most of the church-yards (tho' some of them large enough) were filled up with earth, or rather the congestion of dead bodys one upon another, for want of earth, even to the very top of the walls, and some above the walls, so as the churches seemed to be built in pitts.

"18 Oct. I returned to Euston in my lord's coach, leaving him at Norwich."[8]

In the succeeding year, 1672, the name of Sir Thomas occurs as having given his testimony, in the following terms, to the extraordinary precocity of Wotton, afterwards the friend of Bentley:—

"I do hereby declare and certify, that I heard Wm. Wotton, son to Mr. Henry Wotton, of Wrentham, of the age of six years, read a stanza in Spencer very distinctly, and pronounce it properly. As also some verses in the 1st Eclogue of Virgil, which I purposely chose out, and also construe the same truly. Also some verses in Homer, and the *Carmina Aurea* of Pythagoras, which he read well and construed. As he did also the 1st verse of the 4th ch. of Genesis in Hebrew, which I purposely chose out.

"July 20, 1672. THO. BROWNE."[9]

In the same year, in compliance with the request of Anthony Wood, the Oxford historian, Sir Thomas communicated, through his friend John Aubrey, some information respecting Dr. Lushington, his former tutor, and several other persons, together with those few biographical particulars respecting himself, which have formed the basis of all subsequent notices of him. These letters were detected in the Ashmolean Museum, by Mr. Black, who has had the kindness to transmit them just in time for insertion, with some others: one from Sir Thomas to Lilly, the astrologer, and two to Ashmole, in reference principally to Dr. John Dee and his son, Dr. Arthur Dee, who resided for many years on terms of the kindest friendship with Browne at Norwich, and there died. Sir Thomas, in these letters, bears testimony most unequivocally to the sincerity of Dr. Arthur Dee's belief in the power of alchymy to transmute the baser metals into gold and silver; which he assured Sir Thomas he had "ocularly, undeceivably, and frequently" beheld. He was even on the point of

[8] *Memoirs of Evelyn*, vol. i, p. 444–6.

[9] See *An Essay on the Education of Children in the first Rudiments of Learning, together with a Narrative of what Knowledge Wm. Wotton, a child under six years of age, had attained unto, upon the Improvement of those Rudiments in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Tongues. By Henry Wotton, of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Minister of Wrentham, in Suffolk. London*, 1753, 8vo. p. 59.

going to the continent in pursuit of such riches, had not the death of the artist, with whom he was about to hazard his property, most opportunely prevented him.

Sir Thomas had also another zealous alchymist among his correspondents, in the person of one of his earliest friends, Sir Robert Paston, with whom he corresponded from 1663 to 1672, principally on experiments which Sir Robert was making in alchymy. Blomfield speaks of this gentleman as "a person of good learning, who, travelling into foreign countrys, collected many considerable rarities and curiosities, and being an accomplished fine gentleman, entertained King Charles II, his queen, and the Duke of York at Oxnead, with the nobility that attended them." [1]

But though Sir Thomas was willing enough to afford all the assistance in his power to those who sought it, in pursuit of astrology and alchymy, (as on every other subject within his range,) it does not follow, nor do his writings justify our supposing, that he placed any reliance on the one, or entertained any hopes from the other, of those pseudo-sciences; which, indeed, ought rather to be regarded as the cradles of astronomy and chemistry. Sir Isaac Newton is said to have been at one time on the hunt after the philosopher's stone: and he himself owned that it was his pursuit of the idle and vain study of astrology which led him into the love of astronomy. Lord Bacon speculated on the making of gold; but this, it is contended, arose from his lofty conceptions of the yet untried resources of experimental science.

Our history now fast approaches its conclusion. The remaining ten years of Sir Thomas's life afford us few incidents of importance or interest. His leisure seems to have been very considerably occupied with rendering professional and literary assistance to his son Edward; with whom he kept up a constant correspondence to the very close of his life.

The marriage of Dr. Edward Browne, in 1672, had settled him in London; and he naturally availed himself of every means, whether derived from his own exertions, or from the celebrity of his father's name, to extend his connexions, which were already considerable. In the summer of 1673 he went

[1] *Blomfield's Norfolk*, vol. iii, p. 699.

over to Germany with Sir Joseph Williamson and Sir Leoline Jenkins, the English plenipotentiaries who were sent over to Cologne to negociate a treaty of peace between England, France, and Holland. This, although but an excursion of pleasure, probably enabled him to make some valuable additions to his circle of influential and ttiled friends.

Having thus terminated his travels, (which he never subsequently resumed,) he soon brought out his first account of them in 4to. under his father's advice, and, four years afterwards, published a second collection. They were very well received; as will appear from a brief sketch of his works which I have subjoined below.[2] In 1675 he was chosen, on

2 During his absence from England, Dr. Edw. Browne had transmitted to the Royal Society, in reply to their inquiries, some curious information, together with a collection of minerals, &c.—See *Correspondence*, p. 447. These communications were published at different times in the *Philosophical Transactions:* of which see a list at page 202, *note*. On his return to England, his first work was a translation of "*A Discourse of the Original, Countrey, Manners, Government, and Religion of the Cossacks, with another of the Precopian Tartars. And the History of the Wars of the Cossacks against Poland, London, &c.* 1672," 12mo.; with a preface, signed "Edward Brown," in which he informs his readers that "The author of this work was a commander, and employed his sword in foreign countreys, as well as his pen, and his living long in Poland gave him sufficient opportunity to make these observations, &c. &c." The volume is, as its title-page announces, divided into three parts; the first (31 pp.) a sketch of the history, &c. of the Cossacks of the Ukraine; the second (pp. 32—54) on the Præcopian (or Crim) Tartars, the inhabitants of the Lesser Tartary; the third, (pp. 55—195), a history of the first and second wars of the Cossacks against Poland, from 1648 to the Peace of Bialacierkiew, Sep. 28, 1650. In 1673 he published, in 4to., *A Brief Account of some Travels in Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thessaly, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Friuli. As also some Observations on the Gold, Silver, Copper, Quicksilver Mines, Baths, and Mineral Waters, in those parts: with the figures of some habits and remarkable places.* This work he divided into distinct subjects, which are arranged in the following order:—1. *The General Description of Hungary.* 2. *A Journey from Vienna in Austria to Larissa in Thessaly.* 3. *The Description of Larissa and Thessaly.* 4. *Some Occurrences and Observations in this Journey.* 5. *A Journey from Komara or Gomora to the Mine Towns in Hungary, and from thence to Vienna.* 6. *A Journey from Vienna into Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Friuli, unto the strange Lake of Zirchnitz, to the Quicksilver Mines at Idria, and to other remarkable places in the Alpes.* This arrangement cannot be commended; for the last of the three journies in point of time (having occupied him from Sep. 1, to Oct. 27, 1669) is placed before the visit to Komara, (which took place in March and April,) and the tour through Styria, &c. (which extended from May 31, to July 31, in the same year.) To this collection he was induced, in 1677, to add, *An Account of several Travels through a great part of Germany; in four journies.* 1. *From Norwich to Colen.* 2. *From Colen to Vienna, with a particular description of that imperial city.* 3. *From Vienna to Hamburg.* 4. *From Colen to London, &c.* 4to. The first three chapters, together with his former volume, complete the history of his travels from Dec. 1668 to Dec. 1669; The 1st and 2nd recording their commencement, the 3rd their termination. The 4th narrates his short tour in the Netherlands in the summer of 1673. In 1685 he reprinted these volumes in a thin folio, with this title:—*A brief Account of some Travels in divers parts of Europe, viz. Hungaria, &c. Through a great part of Germany and the Low Countries.*

the 14th June, Lecturer in Chirurgeon's Hall, Sir Nathaniel Herne being then Master;[3] and, on the 29th July, Fellow of the College of Physicians. From this time we are constantly meeting with evidence, in the *Correspondence*, of the large assistance he received from his father, in the preparation of his lectures; which it seems gave very general satisfaction, and did him great credit.[4]

In the following year Sir Thomas sustained a domestic affliction in the death of his daughter Mary, about twenty-four years of age. It may be supposed that she did not die under her father's roof, from the fact of her burial not occurring in the register of the parish in which he resided. My information is derived from Blomfield, who enumerates, among "the stones below the rails, in the church of St. Peter's, Norwich, one to the memory of Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Browne, Knt., 1676."[5]

In 1678, I find an instance of Browne's compliance with a custom very prevalent with authors in his day,—that of

Through Marca Trevisana, and Lombardy, on both sides the Po, &c. &c. London, &c. 1685. (The British Museum copy has a reprint title, dated 1687.) But instead of arranging his various excursions, in this edition, according to the order of their dates, he most absurdly printed them just as they had stood in the former edition, adding, at the close of the volume, (to complete the confusion,) a tour which he had taken in 1664, four years before the earliest of the preceding journies.

As soon as these travels made their appearance, they were noticed with high commendation by the Royal Society in their *Transactions*, No. xciv, p. 6049, and No. cxxx, p. 707 (or 767?). They are also highly spoken of in the Introductory Discourse to *Churchill's Voyages*, written by, or under the direction of, Locke. They were translated into French; and are recommended by Du Fresnoy, *Methode pour étudier l'Histoire*, tom. iv, p. 328. The last edition was translated into Dutch, by Jacob Leeuwe Dirkx, and published in 4to. at Amsterdam in 1696. The arrangement was somewhat improved, by the translation of the commencement of the travels of 1668-9 to the beginning of the volume; but the visit to Larissa still precedes, instead of following, those to the Mine Towns of Hungary and to Styria, &c. and the volume closes where it ought to have begun, with the Italian tour of 1664. The Dutch translator has incorporated a number of additions to the text of 1685-7;—to mention but one; he has asserted that Dr. B. saw a splendid procession which was annually held at Antwerp; of which he has taken occasion to give a very spirited and elaborate plate, by Jan Luyken—the *Callot* of Holland. The plates which accompany this work are far superior to those of the English edition; some are the same subjects, others original illustrations.

To complete this account of Dr. Edward Browne's works, must be added his translations of the life of Themistocles in 1683, and that of Sertorius in 1684, for that edition of *Plutarch's Lives* which was published in 5 vols. 8vo. 1683, &c. There is a work which has been confounded with Dr. Edward Browne's travels, under the following title:—*The Travels and Adventures of Edward Brown, Esq. formerly a Merchant in London, &c. 8vo. London*, 1739. It was reprinted in 2 vols. 12mo. in 1753; but without even the announcement, *Second Edition.*

[3] See *MS. Sloan.* 1833, fol. 46.

[4] See *Correspondence*, p. 212, 218, &c. [5] Vol. ii, p. 625.

prefixing to their works recommendatory letters from persons of literary eminence. *King's Vale Royal of Chester* contains such a letter, signed *Thomas Brown*, and supposed to be Sir Thomas's. In the present year he addressed a brief note of cautious recommendation to Mr. John Browne, a surgeon residing at Norwich, who had published a work on *Preternatural Tumours*. This gentleman afterwards became surgeon to the King, to whom he paid his court, by publishing, in 1684, a book entitled, *Adenochoiradelogia, or a Treatise of Glandules, and the Royal Gift of Healing them.* In this work he relates a number of marvellous cases of cure: in one of which Sir Thomas makes rather a prominent figure.[6] He was not living to contradict the story, or even to disclaim his participation in the *Vulgar Error* of believing in such royal miracles. We find from his letters[7] that he was in the habit of giving medical certificates, to such as wished to be touched, that their cases were genuine. But this would involve no opinion as to the efficacy of the touch;—and probably, in the present instance he only believed in that of *the journey*.

[6] The following is the story adverted to.—"Being in the society of many persons of quality I had this remarkable following observation from an eminent person of this strange cure. A nonconformist's child in Norfolk, being troubled with scrophulous swellings, the late deceased Sir Thomas Browne of Norwich being consulted about the same, his majesty being then at Breda or Bruges, he advised the parents of the child to have it carryed over to the King, (his own method being used ineffectually:) the father seemed very strange at his advice, and utterly denied it, saying the touch of the King was of no greater efficacy than any other man's. The mother of the child adhering to the doctor's advice, studied all imaginable means to have it over, and at last prevailed with her husband to let it change the air for three weeks or a month; this being granted, the friends of the child that went with it, unknown to the father, carried it to Breda, where the King touched it, and she returned home perfectly healed. The child being come to its father's house, and he finding so great an alteration, enquires how his daughter arrived at this health, the friends thereof assured him, that if he would not be angry with them, they would relate the whole truth; they having his promise for the same, assured him they had the child to the King, to be touched, at Breda, whereby they apparently let him see the great benefit his child received thereby. Hereupon the father became so amazed, that he threw off his nonconformity, and exprest his thanks in this method; 'Farewell to all dissenters, and to all nonconformists: if God can put so much virtue into the King's hand as to heal my child, I'll serve that God and that King so long as I live with all thankfulness.'" *Browne's Adenochoiradelogia*, 3rd part, p. 187-9.

Nearly a century later, the avowal (or seeming avowal) of a belief in this kingly gift cost poor Carte the historian his annual subsidy from the chamber of London. See *Nichols's Literary Anecdotes*, vol. ii, p. 495, where is collected much curious information on the point. So general was the belief in Charles II's reign, that no fewer than 92,107 persons are asserted by Browne, to have been "touched" from 1660 to 1683. See *Tables* at the end of his work.

[7] "*Corresp.* p. 159, 162."

In the same year he subscribed towards building a new library in Trinity College, Cambridge, at the instance of the masters and seniors of that College, who, in their letter[8] urged the following argument; "We doubt not but that God will bless the rest of your substance the better for what you shall conferr towards this; and we shall pray that he may, &c. &c."

In the same MS. I also find the acknowledgement of £12 subscribed "towards the building of a new school in the Colledge near Winton,"—where his education commenced. Kennet[9] has preserved another instance of his public spirit; he contributed £130 to the repairs of Christ Church, Oxford.

It was probably about 1680 that Sir Thomas completed his *Repertorium, or Account of the Tombs and Monuments in the Cathedral Church of Norwich,* by continuing it up to the time. The basis of the work was a sketch hastily drawn up, 20 years previously, on the information of "an understanding singing man, 91 years old;"[1] not under the impulse of an antiquarian taste, (which he has himself informed us he did not possess,[2]) but in order to preserve some remembrance of the many monumental antiquities, which blind and barbarous zeal had mutilated or destroyed. The reckless character of these ravages has been exhibited in a description made on the spot, and at the moment, by one who suffered, in his person, property, and health, from a lawless rabble,—perpetrating, in the sacred name of liberty, the most outrageous deeds of despotism. Bp. Hall, in his *Hard Measure,* has given a most touching account of the brutal treatment which he experienced from the republicans of his day,—treatment which acquired a deeper degradation and a fouler stain from the very elevation and purity of his own character: Browne attended him for many years, and even to his dying hour; a fact which the editor of the volume containing the account to which I advert,[3] has noticed in these quaint and simple terms. "After his prevailing infirmities had wasted all the strengths

[8] "Preserved in the Bodleian Library, *MS. Rawlinson.* 391."
[9] *Kennet's Register,* p. 345. [1] *Corresp.* p. 467. [2] Vol. iii, p. 452.
[3] *The Shaking of the Olive Tree. The Remaining Works of that incomparable prelate, Joseph Hall, D.D. late Lord Bishop of Norwich. With some Specialties of Divine Providence in his Life, noted by his own hand. Together with his Hard Measure, written also by himself,* 4to. Lond. 1660. Curll, in publishing the *Repertorium,* has most appropriately though inaccurately prefixed the following quotation

of nature, and the arts of his learned and excellent physician, D. Browne of Norwich, (to whom, under God, we and the whole church are ingaged for many years preserving his life as a blessing to us,)—after his fatherly reception of many persons of honour, learning, and piety, who came to crave his dying prayers and benedictions,—he roused up his dying spirits, to a heavenly confession of his faith, which ere he could finish, his speech was taken from him, so that we cannot here insert it." [4]

At the close of the same year Sir Thomas's daughter Elizabeth married Capt. George Lyttleton, the 12th and youngest son of Sir Thomas Lyttleton, Bart. afterwards major in Prince George of Denmark's regiment of dragoons; who

from this work, which (having omitted it in that place) I shall insert here, *verbatim* from Bp. Hall.

"It is no other then tragical to relate the carriage of that furious sacriledge, whereof our eyes and ears were the sad witnesses under the authority and presence of Linsey, Tofts the sheriffe, and Greenwood; Lord, what work was here, what clattering of glasses, what beating down of walls, what tearing up of monuments, what pulling down of seates, what wresting out of irons and brass from the windows and graves, what defacing of armes, what demolishing of curious stone-work, that had not any representation in the world, but only of the cost of the founder, and skill of the mason, what toting and piping upon the destroyed organ pipes, and what a hideous triumph on the market day before all the countrey, when in a kind of sacrilegious and profane procession, all the organ pipes, vestments, both copes and surplices, together with the leaden crosse, which had been newly sawne downe from over the greenyard pulpit, and the service books and singing books that could be had, were carried to the fire in the publick market place; a leud wretch walking before the train, in his cope trailing in the dirt, with a service book in his hand imitating in an impious scorne the tune, and usurping the words of the letany used formerly in the church: neer the publick crosse, all these monuments of idolatry must be sacrificed to the fire, not without much ostentation of a zealous joy in discharging ordinance to the cost of some who professed how much they had longed to see that day. Neither was it any newes upon this guild-day to have the cathedrall now open on all sides to be filled with muskatiers, wayting for the majors returne, drinking and tobacconing as freely as if it had turne'd alehouse." *The Shaking of the Olive Tree, &c.* p. 63.

[4] From the following certificate, (which I find in *MS. Sloan.* 1848, fol. 166,) it would appear that he also attended a successor of Bishop Hall's, Anthony Sparrow, D.D. translated to the See of Norwich, in 1676: on what occasion the certificate was required, I have not been able to ascertain; and I insert it, on the bare possibility that it may be of some interest to some one engaged in hunting for incidents, however minute, in the life of that Bishop. It was probably drawn up but a short time before Sir Thomas's death:—"By these wee humbly certifie, that the Right Reverend father in God, Anthonie L. Bishop of Norwich, hath been for divers yeares afflicted with the dysurie, acrimony of urine, and paynfull diseases of the bladder and urinary parts, so that hee hath not been able to make use of horse or coach without great payne and torture presently ensuing; and therefore wee do not apprehend how his lordship can performe a long journey, or as farre as London; and if hee should undertake it, it would in all probability bring such affliction and paynes, and ill symptomes upon him, that it might endanger his life, or at least shorten his dayes."

died in 1717, at Windsor, in the 77th year of his age. This was probably thought a desirable alliance; but it deprived Sir Thomas of a daughter who had resided with him far longer than any other of his children, and of whom he has expressed himself in terms of very high commendation. She went to reside in the island of Guernsey, where the captain then had some military employment.

Sir Thomas had now the satisfaction of seeing his son Edward daily adding to his honours, his connexions, and his practice. In 1678 he had been chosen Censor of the College of Physicians; an office which he again filled in 1685 and 1686. In 1680 he attended the dying illness of the celebrated Earl of Rochester, at Woodstock Park: as well as that of the Marquis of Dorchester, a patron and amateur of the medical profession, and a Fellow of the College of Physicians; who had long been his great friend; to whom he had dedicated his first travels in 1672; and with whom he had sufficient influence to prevail on his lordship to bequeath his library to the college. We also find among Dr. Browne's patients, the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Aylesbury, Sir Joseph Williamson, &c. In February, 1682, he was engaged to translate the life of Themistocles, for an edition of *Plutarch's Lives*, of which the first volume was published in 1683; and for the second of which, in the following year, he translated that of Sertorius. In this occupation, also, he enjoyed the advantage of his father's assistance; the sheets being successively transmitted to Norwich for revision. On the 7th of September, 1682, he was appointed, by the express recommendation of his royal master, Physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, on the death of Sir John Micklethwayte. He entered upon the duties of this office with characteristick diligence, and, as it appears, in his accustomed reliance upon the aid of his father; to whom, on the 3rd of Oct., he addressed the last letter which has come down to us; communicating some particulars relative to the appointment, and requesting his advice as to the hospital practice. Ever prompt as Sir Thomas was to comply with such applications, especially from his son, it may be doubted whether he was permitted to do so in the present instance:—for on the 19th

Decemb 2. 1679

In the name of God Amen. I Thomas Browne Knight and Dr of physick of the city of Norwich do make this my last will and testament Imprimis I give and bequeath unto my dearewife Dame Dorothie Browne all my Lands leases and tenements all my bonds bills moveables money plate Jewells and all my goods whatsoever Kearly to Save a provision for her self and my Ordinary maintenance and portions for my dearer daughters Elizabeth Browne and Frances Browne Excepting such Lands and tenements as were assigned and made over into my sonne Edwan Browne upon marriage and to be entred upon my eave after my decease I then I appoynt and make my wife Dame Dorothie Browne my sole Executrix and give her power to sell all leases all my goods moveables money plate Jewells bonds and all goods valuable whatsoever for the provision of her self and of my daughters Elizabeth and Frances Browne and for the payment of my debts legacies and charitable gifts a kere with she is fully acquainted and will I doubt not performe my will keeping and if it shall please god that my wife Dame Dorothie should dye before me I then I make my daughters Elizabeth and Frances Browne my Executrixes and give them the sure bo enjoyment power in my estate as I have before given unto my wife Dame Dorothie this is my last will and testament which I have will with my owne hand confirmed it with my hand and seale.

witnesses

Thomas Browne

[illegible] Buckerdike

Anthony Hingay

Aug. Briggs Junr

of the same month, the day on which he completed his 77th year, a severe attack of colick terminated the life of this great man, after a few days' illness. He left considerable property, real[5] as well as personal; which he had devised three years before his decease in the following will:[6]—

Decemb. 2, 1679.

In the name of God. Amen. I, Thomas Browne, Knight and Dr. of Physick, of the citty of Norwich, do make this my last will and testament. Imprimis, I giue and bequeath vnto my deare wife, Dame Dorothie Browne, all my Lands, Leases, and Tenements, all my bonds, bills, moueables, money, plate, jewells, and all my goods whatsoeuer, thereby to haue a provision for herself, and make liberall maintenance and portions for my deare daughters Elizabeth Browne and Frances Browne. Excepting such lands and tenements as were assigned and made ouer vnto my sonne Edward Browne upon marriage, and to bee entered upon a yeare after my decease. Item. I appoynt and make my wife, Dame Dorothie Browne, my sole executrix, and give her power to sell all leases, all my goods, moueables, mony, plate, jewells, bonds, and all goods valuable whatsoeuer, for the the[7] *prouision of herself and of my daughters Elizabeth and Francis Browne, and for the payment of my debts, legacies, and charitable gifts, wherewith she is fully acquainted, and will, I doubt not, performe my will therein. And if it shall please God that my wife Dame Dorothie should dye before mee, then I make my daughters, Elizabeth and Frances Browne my executrixes, and giue them the same enjoyment and power in my estate as I haue before giuen vnto my wife, Dame Dorothie. This is my last will and testament, which I haue writt with my owne hand, and confirmed it with my hand and seale.*

THOMAS BROWNE.

Witnesses, Nicho: Bickerdike
Anthony Mingay
Aug: Briggs, Junior.

[5] I have great pleasure in acknowledging the courtesy of Mr. John Bruce, who has had the kindness to transmit to me, through my friend Mr. Amyot, the following proof that Sir Thomas was a landed proprietor. What would be said by the present possessor of "*The Great Lady Howe*," and "*The Little Lady Howe*," were such a sum as £130 tendered in purchase of their ladyships in this our day?

Indre. dated "the thirtieth day of March, in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and sixty. Between Edward Mileham, of North Burlingham, in the Countye of Norff. Esq. of the one part, and Thomas Browne, of the Cittye of Norwich, Doctor of Phisicke, Robert Bendish, of the Cittye of Norwich, Merchant, and John Robbins, of the said Cittye, Gent, (they the said Robert Bendish being psons named in trust on the behalfe of the said Thomas Browne,) being a conveyance of certain Marshes at Aldebye, in the County of Norfolk, called "Great Lady Howe and Little Lady Howe," in consideration of £130. Signed "Edw. Mileham."

[6] Through the kindness of my friend, John Kitson, Esq. of Norwich, I am enabled to present an engraved fac simile of this will, from a copy by Mr. S. Woodward.

[7] *Sic.* in MS.

Of the two daughters named in this will, only one (Frances) remained single at the time of his death. Whether she married afterwards or not I cannot say with certainty. In the pedigree drawn up by Le Neve—among the daughters of Mr. Fairfax are enumerated two of the name Frances, both married, the latter to Mr. Bosville, a Yorkshire gentleman. This I suppose to have been the daughter of Sir Thomas, and to have been confounded by Le Neve with his grand-daughter. But I cannot bring any evidence whatever to support my suggestion, which must, therefore, remain mere hypothesis. His widow, Lady Dorothy, survived him little more than two years. Her monument, in St. Peter's church, bears the following inscription:—

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
THE LADY DOROTHY BROWNE,
OF NORWICH,
IN THE COUNTY OF NORFF.
SHE DIED FEBR. 24, MDCLXXXV.
IN THE SIXTY-THIRD YEAR OF HER AGE.

Reader thou maist believe this pious stone,
It is not common dust thou treadst upon,
'Tis hallowed earth, all that is left below
Of what the world admired and honoured too;
The prison of a bright celestial mind,
Too spacious to be longer here confined;
Which after all that virtue could inspire,
Or unaffected piety require,
In all the noblest offices of life,
Of tendrest benefactress, mother, wife,
To those serene abodes above is flown,
To be adorned with an immortal CROWN.

It is very remarkable, that although Sir Thomas Browne had forty children and grand-children, (including those who were so by marriage,) yet, in the second generation, within thirty years after his decease, the male line became extinct; and of the third generation, none survived their infancy, excepting in the family of his eldest daughter, Anne;[8] of whose eight children, none left any descendants but the third daughter, Frances Fairfax, married to the Earl of Buchan; whose daughter, Lady Frances Erskine, married the cele-

[8] Always excepting, also, the possible result of the supposed marriage of his daughter Frances to Mr. Bosville, of Yorkshire; and that of another (supposed) daughter to Mr. Cottrell.

brated Colonel Gardiner, killed at Preston-pans in 1745;—whose grandson was the late Lord Erskine, one of the most splendid ornaments of the English bar, created Lord Chancellor in 1806;—and from whom are thus lineally descended Henry David, the present and 12th Earl of Buchan, and David Montague, the present and 2nd Lord Erskine of Restormel Castle. I shall insert here some monumental inscriptions relating to the family, from the church of Hurst, in Berkshire. I understand from the Rev. Mr. Cameron, minister of that parish, (who has favoured me with the transcripts, together with a folio sheet of most valuable information respecting the Barker and Fairfax families,) that tradition ascribes the poetical inscription to the pen of Waller, who lived there.

On a flat stone immediately on the N. side of the altar:

HERE LYETH FRAN. . . .
YE GRANDCHILD OF HENRY FAIRFAX,
OF BURLINGTON, IN YE COUN. OF YORKE, ESQ.
BY HIS
ELDEST SON HENRY AND ANN HIS WIFE
DAUGH. TO SIR THOM. BROWNE, OF NORWICH, KT.
WHO DIED SEPT. YE 15TH, 1678,
ANNO ÆTATIS SUÆ 5.

Directly above this, on a tablet on the wall:

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
WILLIAM FAIRFAX, SON TO HENRY FAIRFAX, ESQ.
BY ANN HIS WIFE,
DAUGHTER TO SIR THOMAS BROWNE, KT.
WHO DIED JULY THE 27TH, 1684.

This little silent, gloomy monument
Contains all that was sweet and innocent:
The softest prattler that ere found a tongue;
His voyce was music, and his words a song,
Which now each listening Angell smiling heares,—
Such harmony composed the spheres;—
Fair as young Cherubins, as soft and kind,
And tho' translated, could not be refined.
The seventh deare pledge ye nuptiall joys had given,
Toyld here with play, retired to rest in heaven,
Where they the shining host of Angells file,
Spread their gay wings before the throne and smile.

IN THE SAME GRAVE RESTETH ALSO ANN ALETHEA,
THEIR DAUGHTER.

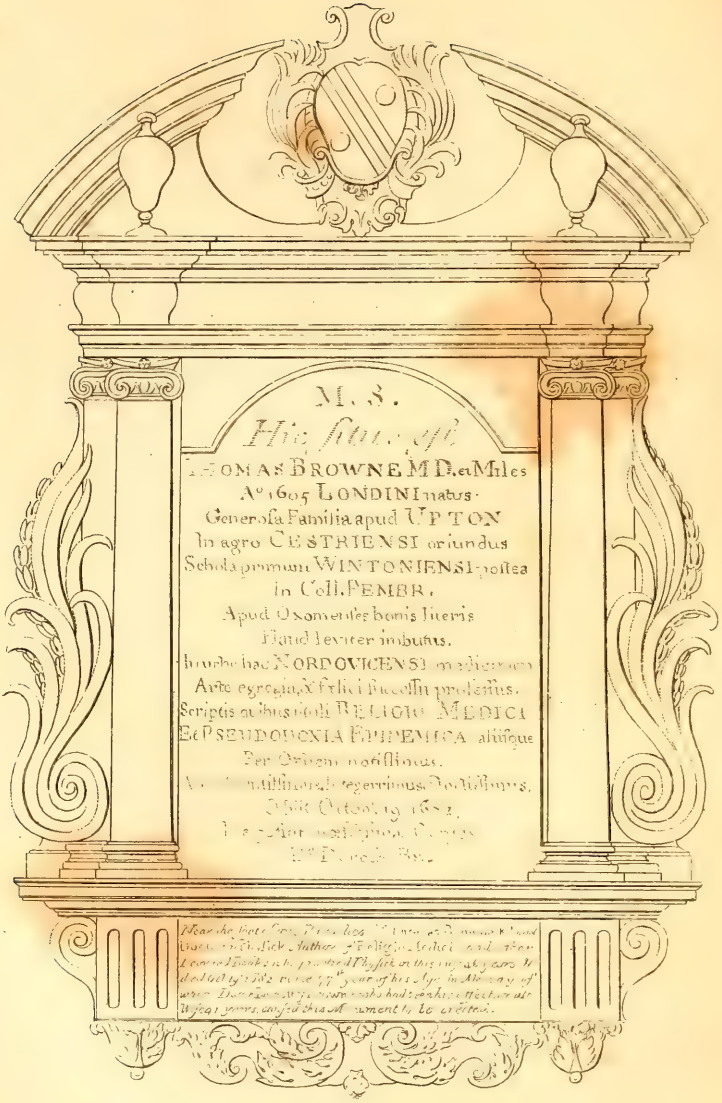
On a flat stone in front of the altar:

HERE LYETH
THE BODY OF HENRY FAIRFAX, ESQ.
SECOND SONNE OF THOMAS VISCOUNT FAIRFAX, OF EMELY, IN IRELAND,
WHO MARRIED FRANCES, THE ONLY DAUGHTER OF HENRY BARKER, OF HURST, ESQ.
BY WHOM HE HAD TWO SONNES AND ONE DAUGHTER, HENRY, JOHN, AND FRANCES.
HE DYED THE 4TH DAY OF JULY, ANNO DNI. 1656, BEING THE 50TH YEAR OF HIS AGE.

None of Dr. E. Browne's numerous family left any children. Eight died unmarried, the greater part in their infancy. Of the remaining three, Susannah, the eldest daughter, died soon after her marriage to Arthur Moore, Esq., M. P. for Grantham, and was buried with her two infant daughters at Northfleet. Thomas, the eldest son, and Anne, the sixth daughter, survived their father. Thomas resided for many years at Norwich with his grandfather; whose correspondence is not a little enlivened by the very orthographic postscripts of Dame Dorothy, touching this her most especial favourite and grandson, "litle Tomey;" setting forth his excellencies and defects, his demeanors and misdemeanors, his maladies, and his literary progress. Of the doings and writings of "litle Tomey" I can find very little to record. He took his doctor's degree in medicine, and probably practised with his father. He was a Fellow of the College of Physicians, and in 1699 was admitted F.R.S. He was intimately acquainted with Dr. Robert Plot, and was his companion in one of those "journies," which he undertook "for the discovery of antiquities and curiosities in England." I believe that the only original production of Dr. T. B. Jun. is an account of this tour, in his own hand-writing, preserved in *MS. Sloan.* 1900; which I have printed, vol. iv, p. 457.[9]

In 1698 he married his cousin Alethea, fourth and youngest daughter of his uncle, Henry Fairfax, Esq.; but she died in 1704, and was buried at Hurst, leaving no children. His own death occurred in 1710, in a manner much to be deplored, if

[9] See D'Israeli's notice of Dr. Plot, in *Second Series of Curiosities, &c*, vol. iii, page 28.


M. S.
Hic situs est
THOMAS BROWNE M.D. et Miles
Aº 1605 LONDINI natus.
Generosa Familia apud UPTON
In agro CESTRIENSI oriundus
Schola primum WINTONIENSI postea
in Coll. PEMBR.
Apud Oxonienses bonis literis
Haud leviter imbutus.
In urbe hac NORDOVICENSI medicinam
Arte egregia, & felici successu professus.
Scriptis quibus titoli RELIGIO MEDICI
Et PSEUDODOXIA EPIDEMICA aliisque
Per Orbem notissimus.
Ob. Octob. 19 1682.

we may credit the account given in Le Neve's pedigree of the family. But that document exhibits so many inaccuracies, that we may, in charity, hope the story is not true. However this may be, he was in every respect a man so greatly inferior both to his father and grandfather, that the first line of the Horatian apostrophe, "*Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit nos nequiores*," may not unfitly be applied to him, though we must omit the "*mox daturos, &c.;*" as his race ended with himself.

Anne, the sixth daughter of Dr. Edward Browne, married Owen Brigstocke, Esq. of Llechdenny, Co. Carmarthen. But his great grandson, Augustus Brigstocke, Esq. of Blaenpant, Co. Cardigan, has done me the favour, in reply to my inquiries, to inform me, that she had no children; and that his ancestor's family was the result of his second marriage to Mary, only daughter and sole heiress of Francis Gwynne, Esq. of Glyn Abbey, M.P.

The writer of the memoir of Dr. Edward Browne, in the *Biographia Britannica*, has collected some further and interesting particulars respecting him, and has subjoined a character of him, drawn up by a contemporary. These I shall give in a note; but without vouching for their accuracy, especially as I find that several of the statements in that life are erroneous. I have, indeed, in this extract, corrected his age and the date of his death.[1] In the parish church of Northfleet are the following inscriptions to his memory and that of his

[1] "He attended his royal master, King Charles II, in his last illness and to the time of his decease. Upon the coming of the Duke of York to the crown, he was left out of the number of his physicians; but his practice still continued as great as ever, or rather increased. After the revolution, he remained, likewise, at a distance from the court, but his great success in his profession made him known and considered both at home and abroad, and that too by men of all parties and persuasions; as appears by a letter of his to the celebrated M. le Clerc, in favour of one Mr. Beverland, a man of great learning, and particularly remarkable for writing a most excellent latin style; in which, however, he had exercised his pen, on subjects that occasioned his being banished his country; on the repeal of which sentence this letter of recommendation was written, at the request of Mr. John Locke and the Earl of Carberry. It is, without doubt, as elegant a piece of latin as can well be seen, and may be therefore considered as a proof of our author's excellence in that respect. In 1701, about the month of May, when King William was preparing for his last voyage to Holland, Dr. Browne, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Millington, Sir Richard Blackmore, and Dr. Lawrence, was called to a consultation on the state of his health; but it does not appear that he attended him in his last illness. In the spring of the year 1705, upon the death of Sir Thomas Millington, Dr. Browne, who had risen gradually through all the honours of the faculty, and was at that

son; followed by an (incorrect) extract from his will, bequeathing his Northfleet estate equally between the College of Physicians and Hospital of St. Bartholomew, in the event (which soon happened) of failure of heirs to his son and daughter. There are also inscriptions to his three daughters, Susanna, Henrietta, and Mary.

H. S. E.
EDVARDUS BROWNE NORDOVICENSIS, M. D.
THOMÆ BROWNE MILITIS, ET MEDICI CELEBERRIMI
FILIUS PATRE NON INDIGNUS.
QUIPPE QUI IN ARTE SUA USQUE ADEO EXCELLUIT
UT REGI CAROLO IIDO.
E MEDICIS PRIMARIIS FUERIT UNUS.
ET COLLEGIO MEDICORUM QUOD EST LONDINI
SUMMA CUM LAUDE PRÆFUERIT.
QUI ETIAM SCRIPTIS SUIS
(IN QUIBUS ITINERA SUA PER PRÆCIPUAS EUROPÆ REGIONES
ET RES UBIQUE NOTATU DIGNIORES
PULCHRE PARITER AC FIDELITER DESCRIBIT,)
MAGNAM AB OMNIBUS LITERATIS INIVIT GRATIAM.
DE CÆTERIS ANIMI DOTIBUS SI QUÆRAS
CUM SUMMA ERUDITIONE PAREM SEMPER MODESTIAM CONJUNXIT.
LAUDI AC DIGNITATE HAUD NIMIUM,
PECUNIÆ AC DIVITIIS PARUM, AUT NIHIL STUDUIT.
ALIIS VERO QUAM MAXIME POTUIT BENEFACERE
HÆC RES EI SUMMÆ FUIT VOLUPTATI.
QUAM NON TANTUM SUORUM PRIVATO COMMODO,
VERUM ETIAM PUBLICÆ UTILITATI CONSULUIT—
VERBA EX TESTAMENTO INFRA DESCRIPTA
PRÆCLARO ERUNT DOCUMENTO.
OBIIT VICESIMO OCTAVO DIE MENSIS AUGUSTI
ANNO DOMINI MDCCVIII,
ÆTATIS LXIIII.
HIC ETIAM SITUS EST THOMAS BROWNE, M. D.
EJUSDEM EDVARDI BROWNE
FILIUS UNICUS. EX HAC VITA MIGRAVIT
ANNO ÆTATIS 36TO ANNOQUE DOMINI 1710.

[*Then follows the passage from Dr. Edward Browne's will.*]

time one of the elects, and treasurer, succeeded him as president of the Royal College of Physicians, which office he filled with great abilities, and discharged it with universal approbation, to the time of his death, which happened on the twenty-eighth of August, 1708, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, after a very short illness, at his seat at North Fleet, near Greenhithe, in the county of Kent. He was extremely regretted by such as were best acquainted with his merits, as appears by

The library and manuscripts of Sir Thomas passed into the hands of his son and grandson; on whose decease his library was sold by auction.[2] But the far greater portion of his MSS. together with those added by his son, were sold, I suppose, to Sir Hans Sloane. A catalogue of them is preserved in the Bodleian Library; by means of which, with the help of Sir Hans Sloane's MS. catalogue of his own immense collections, I have succeeded in identifying nearly all the articles, in our National Library at the British Museum. But this memoir has already extended so far beyond my intention, that I must refer my readers to the close of the fourth volume for my *Account of the MS. Collections of Sir Thomas and Dr. Edward Browne.*

a very large character, which (says the writer of the article in the *Biographia Britannica)* I have been favoured with, and which was drawn up for the use of Dr. Harris, in case he had lived to publish the second part of his history of Kent. It was written by an old clergyman in Kent, out of pure zeal for the honour of that county; after whose death, it fell into the hands of the Rev. Mr. Knipe, from whom I had it several years ago. 'Though this gentleman was no native of Kent, yet having settled, and lived therein many years, and seeming to have fixed his family there, in case God had been pleased to continue it in the male line, he may well deserve a place amongst the Kentish worthies. He received from his father an earnest desire after useful and extensive science, which was the best inheritance he left to his son. It is wonderful, that knowing so many things as he did, he should know them all so thoroughly well. He was well acquainted with Hebrew; he was a critic in Greek; and no man of his age wrote better Latin; High-Dutch, Italian, French, &c. he spoke and wrote with as much ease as his mother-tongue. Physic was his business, and to the promotion thereof, all his other acquisitions were referred. Botany, Pharmacy and Chemistry he knew and practised. As to the latter, he inherited from his father the MSS. of Dr. A. Dee, among which too were some of John's; but his own lights went farther, and taught him, as some have thought, the whole Arcana of that mysterious science. In the company of the learned, his discourses were so academical, that he might be thought to have passed his days in a college. Amongst politer company, his behaviour was so easy and disengaged, you would have judged that he lived all his life in a court. With all this fund of knowledge, he was inquisitive, patient, and modest, heard with great attention, and spoke with much circumspection. In religion, zealous without bigotry, in politics, inflexible but without asperity or rudeness; in private life, affable, beneficent, and cheerful. In a word, he justified what King Charles said of him on a particular occasion, *he was as learned as any of the College, and as well bred as any at Court.* The nobility were fond of his company, his house was the resort of strangers; and, as he acquired the prudence of age without gray hairs, so when they came he kept up all the cheerfulness of youth.'"

[2] The following advertisement of the sale is from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1830, pt. i, p. 515:—"Sir Thos. Browne, Dec. 26, 1710. A catalogue of the libraries of the learned Sir Thomas Brown, and his son Dr. Brown, deceased, consisting of many very valuable and uncommon books in most faculties and languages, with choice manuscripts, which will begin to be sold by auction at the Black Boy Coffee-house, in Ave-Mary-Lane, near Ludgate, on Monday, the 8th of January next, beginning every Monday at 4 o'clock till the sale is ended. Catalogues are delivered at most booksellers in London, at the two Universities, and at the place of sale, price 6d." A copy of this catalogue exists in the British Museum.

I shall subjoin, in conclusion, a paper, which was pointed out to me by John Chambers, Esq. of Norwich, and which seems to possess some claim to be regarded as a document of authority.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EUROPEAN MAGAZINE.

SIR,

In a copy of the works of Sir Thomas Brown, printed in 1686, *which formerly belonged to Dr. White Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough, I find the following memorandum, in the hand-writing of that prelate. It contains circumstances not generally known, and may afford some information to the readers of the European Magazine.* *I am, &c.* C. D.

"MEMDUM, In the time of my waiting at Windsor, in the latter part of Nov. 1712, Mrs. Littleton, a daughter of Sir Thomas Brown, of Norwich, lent me a short account and character of her father, written by John Whitefoot, a minister well acquainted with him, the same person who preacht and publisht a funeral sermon for Bishop Hall.* It was contained in one sheet, 4to. beginning thus. 'Had my province been only to preach a funeral sermon for this excellent person, &c.'

"All the matter of fact contained in the said account were in these words:—

[*I omit the bishop's epitome, having already printed at large, in Johnson's Life, the whole account of Whitefoot, from which it was abridged.*]

"Thus ended the account, and after it was written by Mrs. Littleton. 'This was part of the life of Sir Thomas Brown, by that learned and good man, Mr. John Whitefoot.' And then follows, in the same hand of Mrs. Littleton. 'His father dying left him young; his mother took her thirds, which was three thousand pounds, and married Sir Thomas Dutton, a worthy person, who had great places. The executors took care of his education at Winchester school and Oxford. He lived some time in Montpellier and Padua. His father-in-law shewed him all Ireland in some visitation of the forts and castles. He was born Oct. 19, 1605. He died Oct. 19, 1682, 77 years of age. His father used to open his breast when he was asleep, and kiss it in prayers over him, as 'tis said of Origen's father, that the Holy Ghost would take possession there. His picture is at the Duke of Devonshire's house in Piccadilly, in his mother's lap.† His father, mother, brother, and sisters, in it. A family picture, his father being nearly related to that countess of Devonshire whose picture is in the first room with her three sons by her, and very like to Sir Thomas Brown's father, as the servants shew to persons who go to see the picture, which is so good painting, that my lord duke values it at four hundred pounds.'

"Memdm, The said Mrs. Littleton reports that the MSS. papers of her father were in the hands of her late brother Dr. Edward Brown, who lent them in a box to Dr. Thomas Tenison, vicar of St. Martin's, in the reign of King James II, and that she herself, at her brother's request, went to fetch home the box, and accordingly brought it back, and delivered it to her brother, who soon after complained that he misst the choicest papers, which were a continuation of his Religio Medici, drawn up in his elder years, and which his son Dr. Brown had now intended to publish. She went back to Dr. Tenison, and desired him to look for those papers, which he could not find, but she hopes they may be still recovered, either as mislaid by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or by her brother, whose only daughter is married to Mr. Brigstock, a member of the House of Commons."—*Eur. Mag.* vol. xl, p. 89.

* His funeral sermon on Browne was never printed. In the Br. Mus. I find a MS. discourse of his on the question, "Whether the damned, after the last judgment, shall live in everlasting torments, or be utterly destroyed?"—in which, with great earnestness, he advocates the latter, as the more merciful alternative. It is among the *Additional MSS.* 6269, No. 31, with this title:—"*Arcanum Theologicum.* A Sceptical Discourse concerning the Everlasting Torments of Hell, by N. N. (Mr. Whitefoot, of Norwich.)"

† "This picture was probably destroyed when Devonshire House was burnt some years afterwards." Grove, in his Lives of the Devonshire family, expressly says that "the library and the admirable collection of pictures, &c." were saved from this fire. I have seen that which is still considered to be the picture, though, through the mistake of Lord Walpole, it is called the portrait of *Sir Thomas Browne and Family, by Dobson.* It could not have been by that artist; who died before Sir Thomas had such a family,—and was but ten years old at the date of the picture, supposing it that of Sir Thomas's father,—of which the present paper is a very strong evidence. It might have been by Vansomer, who painted for the Devonshire family at about that period.

END OF THE SUPPLEMENTARY MEMOIR.

Correspondence.

Domestic Correspondence.

THE earliest specimens of Sir Thomas Browne's family correspondence, which have been discovered, are his letters to his younger son Thomas, while in France; of which the following thirteen, preserved in No. 391 of the Rawlinson Collection of MSS., at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, seem to have been transcripts by Mrs. Elizabeth Lyttelton, his daughter. They are in the same hand-writing as those addressed to herself, which are inserted at the close of the Domestic Correspondence. The series is entitled, *Letters of my Father's, which he writ to my Brother Thomas when he went into France, at* 14 *years of age;* 1660. I have not thought proper to alter the spelling of these letters; but would observe that its faultiness must not be charged on Sir Thomas. He wrote so illegibly (as those are well aware who have been fated to decypher his hieroglyphics) that his orthography was left at the mercy of the copyist, who, in the present case, seems not to have been remarkably skilled in that accomplishment.

Mrs. Browne to her son Thomas.[1]

DEARE TOM,

We have thought very long to hear from [you]. We had a letter from the Isle of White, but not since. Pray let us hear as often as you can and give your father an account how you spend your time, you had need make the best use of it, for you find by this time I am confident some inconvenience, in the first place a troublesome journey, which I hope God have delivered you out of, and many things will seem strange to you at first, but be sure to put your trust in God and be civill to all that you have to doe withall, and find out all that you can in that place, for in the sommer I beleeve your father will have you goe to some other place. I hope you follow writeing and all elce can be learnd there. We are all in good health thanks to God. That God of his mercy would be pleased to send yours and continue his blessing to you is the dayly prayer of your affectionate Mother,

DOROTHY BROWNE.

Dr. Browne to his son Thomas.

Decr. *22*, Norwich, [1660.]

HONEST TOM,

I hope by Gods assistance you have been some weeks in Bourdeaux. I was yesterday at Yarmouth where I spoke with your uncle Charles Mileham who told me Mr. Dade[2] would accommodate you with what moneys were fitting for defray of your charges in any kind and therefore would not have mee at present send you any bill to receive any particular summ, but however when I hear from you I will take care for such a bill to be sent to Mr. Dade to whom in the mean

[1] Without date: probably written early in 1660,—before he had left the kingdom.
[2] Of Bourdeaux.

time present my true respects and service and be sure to be observant of what he shall advise you; be as good a husband as possible and enter not upon any cours of superfluous expences; be not dejected and malencholy because you can yet have litle comfort in conversation, and all things will seem strange unto you. Remember the camells back and be not troubled for any thing that other ways would trouble your patience here, be courteous and civil to all, put on a decent boldness and avoid *pudor rusticus*, not much known in France. Hold firm to the Protestant Religion and be diligent in going to church when you have any litle knowledge of the language. God will accept of your desires to serve him in his publick worship tho you cannot make it out to your desires; be constant not negligent in your dayly private prayers, and habituate your heart in your tender days unto the fear and reverence of God. It were good you had a map of France that you might not be unacquainted with the several parts, and to resort unto upon occasion for your information; view and understand all notable buildings and places in Bourdeaux or near it, and take a draught thereof, as also the ruind Amphitheatre, but these at your leisure. There is I think a book in french calld *Les Monuments* or *les Antiquites de Bourdeaux*, enquire of the same; read some books of french and latin, for I would by no means you should loose your latin but rather gain more.

Ned comes not home this Xtmas.[3] I shall God willing remember your new years gift. Give me an account of your voyage by sea as perticuler as you can, for I doubt you had a rough passage; be temperate in dyet and wary to over heat yourself; remember to *compremere et non extendere labra*. To God's Providence I commit you. I have sent a little box by this ship.

Vostre tres chere Pere,

THO: BROWNE.

[3] From Cambridge, where he then was, at Trinity College.

Dr. Browne to his son Thomas.

Jan: 31, Norwich, [1660-1.]

HONEST TOM,

I was glad to receive your letter, where you gave a good account of your voyage; take notice of all things remarkable, which will be pleasant unto you hereafter; if you goe to Saintes you may better learn the languadge and I think there is a protestant church; be as good an husband as you can; to write and cast account will be necesarie; for either singing painting or dancing if you learn let it be but for a while; painting will be most usefull if you learn to draw landskips or buildings, the other takes up much time and your own private practise will sufficiently advantage you. I would be glad you had a good handsome garb of your body, which you will observe in most there, and may quickly learn if you cast of *pudor rusticus*, and take up a commendable boldness without which you will never be fit for any thing nor able to show the good parts which God has given you. I would think it very happy if you had more Latin, and therefore advantage yourself that way if possible; one way beside learning from others will be to read the scripture or chapters thereof dayly in french and Latin and to look often upon the grammars in both languages. Since you went there was a little box with 4 knives and a pair of gloves &c. in it which I hope you received. Commend my humble service and respects to Mr. Dade and when you send unto him acknowledge your obligations to him, and how industrious you will be in all returns of gratitude which shall ever fall within your power. Sir Joseph Pain[4] writes often to Mr. Dade. Some riseings there have been in London of the Anabaptists, fift Monarchie men and others, but soon suppresd and 13 executed. Upon the King's letter 5 of our Aldermen were put out which had got in in the usurpers time in other mens places, Andrews, Allen, Davie, Ashwell &c. Yesterday was an humiliation and fast kept to divert the judgments of God upon us and our posteritie for the abominable murther

[4] Of Norwich.

of King Charles the first and is by act of Parliment to be kept yearly on that day for ever. Ned is at Cambridge. Nancy still in London. God's mercifull Providence guide and protect you.

Your ever loveing father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

When you goe to Saintes you are about a days journey from Rochell, which I would have you see.

Mrs. Browne to her son Thomas.

DEAR TOM,

I thought very long to hear from you and am now much joyd to hear you got so well to Bourdeaux, it was the 26 of february when we received your letter. I beseech God of his mercy continue your health, and be carefull to spend your time to the best advantage. I understand it is a chargable place which you are to live in; learn what you can tho it be something extraordinary now you are where you may improve yourself, if you like to sing or dance learn, or any thing elce you like. Your Unckle[5] will convey moneys to you. I thank God we are all well and want nothing but the hearing from you oftner; pray let us know if you want any thing and how you imploy your time; your father was well pleased with your account of your voiage and it will please very much if you continue informing of him still what you observe there. I suppose you can frequently send them to Mr. Dade and he to your Unckle Mileham. Be sure you omit not serving God and then you will [have] his Blessing upon all your endeavors, to whose protection I leave you with my Prayers for you.

Your loveing Mother,

D. BROWNE.

All the servants present their loves to you and are mighty joyd to hear of you and will observe your commands.

[5] Charles Mileham, of Yarmouth.

Your brother Ned is at Cambridge and is to commence Bachalar of arts this Christmas,[6] if you want any thing let me know and you shall be suplied. I hope you doe not forget your Painting. Pray be careful to serve God in the first place, and industrious to spend your time to your advantage that you may be the better for this Journey.

Dr. Browne to his son Thomas.

March the 10, stylo vet. [1660-1.]

HONEST TOM,

I presume you are by this time at Xaintes. If you live with an apothecairie you may get some good by observing the drugs and practise which will be noe burden and may somewhat help you in latin; I would be at some reasonable charge if any young man would assist you and teach you french and latin dayly as they are to be found commonly; you are not only to learn to understand and speak french but to write it which must be dun by practise and observation because they write and speak differently, and in what you write in English, observe the points and date your letters. Write whether you like the place and how language goes down with you, be not fearfull but adventure to speak what you can for you are known a stranger and they will bear with you, put on a desent boldness and learn a good garb of body, be carefull you loose not such books or papers wherein you take notes or draughts. Let nothing discontent or disturb you, trust in God to return you safe to us; by this time you may attempt to hear the Protestant preachers; live soberly and temperately, the heat of that place will otherwise mischief you and keep within in the heat of the day. Mr. Bendish is or was Mr. Johnson's prentice of Yarmouth, lives at Rochell. I will get Mr Johnson to write unto him about you; my respects and service to Mr Dade. I received a letter about 3 weeks agoe from you. The Amphitheatre

[6] It appears that he became Bach. of Phys. of Trinity Coll. Cambridge, in 1663. *Wood's Fasti*, ii, 293, *note*.

of Bourdeaux was built by the emperor Gallienus whose coyns you have seen, there is one also at Perigeaux in Perigort a neighbour Province; you live upon the river Charante within the compass of the old English possessions which was from the Pyrenean hills unto the river La Charante, to the mouth whereof Cognac wines are brought down, which we drink in summer. Frequent civill company.

God bless thee. Vostre tres chere pere,

T. BROWNE.

Your Mother and all commend them to you.

Dr. Browne to his son Thomas.

Aprill the *22*, Norwich, [1661.]

HONEST TOM,

I hope by this time thou art got somewhat beyond *plaist il*, and *ouy Monsieur*, and durst ask a question and give an answer in french, and therefore now I hope you goe to the Protestant Church, to which you must not be backward, for tho there church order and discipline be different from ours, yet they agree with us in doctrine and the main of Religion. Endeavour to write french; that will teach you to understand it well, you should have signified the Apoticary's name with whom you dwell, in such a place you may see the drugs and remember them all your life. I received your letter and like your description of the place, both the Romans and English have lived there; the name of Santonna now Xaintes is in the geographie of Ptolemie who lived under Antoninus, as also Porto Santonicus where Rochell stands, and Promontorium Santonicum where now Bloys. My coyns are encreased since you went I had 60 coynes of King Stephen found in a grave before Christmas, 60 Roman silver coyns I bought a month agoe, and Sir Robert Paston will send me his box of Saxon and Roman coyns next week, which are about thirtie, so that I would not buy any there except some few choice ones which I have not already; but you doe very well to see all such things,

some likely have collections which they will in courtesie show, as also urns and lachrimatories; any friend will help you to a sight thereof, for they are not nice in such things. I should be content you should see Rochell and the Isle of Rhee, salt works are not far from you, for the sommer will be too hot to travail and I would have you wary to expose yourself then to heats, but to keep quiet and in shades. Write some times to Mr. Dade civil letters with my service. I send at this time by Rochell whither the ships will be passing from Yarmouth for salt. Point your letters hereafter, I mean the ends of sentences. Christ church[7] is in a good condition much frequented, and they have a sweet organ; on Tuesday next is the Coronation day when Mr. Bradford preacheth: it will be observed with great solemnity especially at London: a new Parliment on the 8th of May and there is a very good choice almost in all places. Cory the Recorder, and Mr. Jay, 2 Royallists gained it here against all opposition that could possibly bee made; the voyces in this number, Jaye 1070, Corie 1001, Barnham 562, Church 436. My Lord Richardson and Sir Ralph Hare caryed it in the county without opposition. Lent was observed this year which made Yarmouth and fishermen rejoyce. The Militia is settled in good hands through all England, besides volunteer troops of hors, in this Citty Collonell Sir Joseph Pain, Lieutenant Coll. Jay, Major Bendish, Captain Wiss, Brigs, Scottow, 2 volunteer troops in the country under Mr Knivet and Sir Horace Townsend, who is made a Lord. Good boy doe not trouble thy self to send us any thing, either wine or bacon. I would have sent money by Exchange, but Charles Mileham would not have me send any certain sum, but what you spend shall be made good by him. I wish some person would direct you a while for the true pronunciation and writeing of french, by noe means forget to encrease your Latin, be patient civil and debonair unto all, be temperate and stir litle in the hot season: by the books sent you may understand most that has pasd since your departure, and you may now read the french Gazets which come out weekly. Yesterday the Dean preached and red the Liturgie or Common prayer, and had a Comunion at Yarmouth as haveing a right to doe so some times, both at

[7] Norwich Cathedral.

St Marys the great church at Lynn and St Nicholas church at Yarmouth as he is Dean. It is thought by degrees most will come to conformitie. There are great preparitions against tomorrow the Coronation day, the County hors came hither to joyn the Regiment of foot of this Citty, a feast at the new hall, generall contributions for a feast for the poor, which they say will be in the market place, long and solemn service at Christ Church beginning at 8 a Clock and with a sermon ending at twelve. Masts of ships and long stageing poles already set up for becon bonfires, speeches and a little play by the strollers in the market place an other by young Cityzens at Timber Hill on a stage, Cromwell hangd and burnt every where, whose head is now upon Westminster hall, together with Ireton and Bradshows. Have the love and fear of God ever before thine eyes; God confirm your faith in Christ and that you may live accordingly, Je vous recommende a Dieu. If you meet with any pretty insects of an[y] kind keep them in a box, if you can send *les Antiquites de Bourdeaux* by any ship, it may come safe.

(No Signature.)

Dr. Browne to his son Thomas.

Norwich June the 24, [1661.]

HONEST TOM,

I received yours dated in May, God continue thy health, no ships yet goeing for Rochell or Boardeaux, I cannot send an other box, I hope you have received the last, be as good an husband as possible; when the next ship goeith you shall have such things from your mother as are desired. Practise to write french and turn latin into french, be bold and adventrous now to speak; and direct yourself by grammar especially for the moods and tenses, now you have leisure observe the manner of the french courts, their pleading if there be any court in Xaintes. We wanted you at the Guild (where neither was Ned); Mr Osborn Mayor: and we were engaged in hanging our house, which was dun to purpose. Ned is at Cam-

bridge, Nancy we expect in July about the assises. By this time the ships are gon to convey hither[8] Donna Cathara infanta of Portugall the kings sister who is to be our Queen; the English are unwilling to part with Dunkirk and Jamaica and have about 6000 Souldiers in Dunkirk, so that we doubt how the Spaniards will take it; you may find such news in the french Gazzets if they come to your town. A parliment is now setting and a convocation of the Clergie made up of all the Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, and a minister chosen out of every County by the Clergie thereof; the Bishops are voted to set again in the house of Peers or Lords, the house of Comons received the Sacrament by the book of Common Prayers or liturgie in Westminster church. In Norwich the Court of Aldermen and Common Councell have made a law to resort to the Cathedrall every Sunday, and to be not only at sermon but at prayers, which they observe; these small things I write that you might not be totally ignorant how affairs goe at home. Thy writeing is much mended, but you still forget to make points. I have paid the bill drawn by Mr Dade upon Charles. Pray present my true respects to him. Remember what is never to be forgot, to serve and honour God. I should be very glad you would get a handsome garb and gate. Your mother and all send their good wishes. I rest your ever loveing father,

THO. BROWNE.

My respects to Mr Bendish.

Dr. Browne to his son Thomas.

July the 26, [1661.]

HONEST TOM,

Yours dated in March I received yesterday by Mr Gooch, and your other of July the 13th. this day, sent in Mr Johnsons letter of Yarmouth. Now bear up thy spirits and be

[8] The King had recently, in his opening Speech to the Parliament, May 8, 1661, adverted to his treaty of Marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, and intimated his intention of sending his Fleet to bring her over. He also spoke of the cession of Dunkirk and Jamaica—as objects likely to be contended for by Spain, in the event of the marriage taking place.

not malencholy sad or dejected, for the hot whether will be soon at an end, and haveing made good entrance into the languadge I would have you remove out of those parts and to aproach neerer England: to goe to Coniack will afford thee noe great content except it be for a time, and therefore I would have you to goe to some more emenent place, from whence you might come by help of the messenger, who may take care of and for you in the journey, untill you come to Paris, where you may remain a fortnight or month or more, and so come to Rouen and to Diep and so for England, and by this means you may see a notable part of France: now the more handsomly to contrive this, you may I think best goe a while to Rochell, for there you may contrive your journey by Poitiers, Orleans and other places to Paris, and both the messenger or post of Bourdeaux and Rochell meet at Poitiers, for if you goe by Rochell you may be advised and directed by friends: in such kind of travailing they use to agree with the Messenger for the whole journey, and if they desire may stay at some town in the way till the post in his second journey calls them to goe on again; in your travail thus by land you must carry nothing but a portmanteau or valise which may contain your linnen and some other things and may upon occasion be carried in coach or hors, and to leave your trunk at Rochell or Bourdeaux, and take order for the safe conveyance of it unto Yarmouth to Charles or to London to some known friend, and before you set out for Paris, to dispose of your trunk in safe hands; probably Mr Bendish will afford you that courtesie, and oblige me so far in it. There were nothing more to be wished then good civill company, and you may begin your journey when you find the opertunety of such, and an honest Messenger, and if you can, to have some Protestant in your company, altho you may boldly acknowledge yourself a Protestant in any part of France. You must not carry much lugadge about for that is chargeable and apt to be stollen. Nancy and my cosen Barker are at present with me, your Mother and all relations send their good wishes; you may carry small books or papers to set down remarkables or take draughts.

Your affectionate father,

T. BROWNE.

Be carefull you eat very few grapes and fruits, for they cause diseases in strangers, be carefull to fashion yourself well in your gate and behaviour. Serve God.

Dr. Browne to his son Thomas.

Aug. 3, [1661.]

HONEST TOM,

I was very glad to receive your letters dated July the 13th. but I hope by this time thou art not so mallencholy as you seem to be, hold out a litle, diffuse thy spirits, and trust in God's protection, and aply thy heart unto him. I have writ one letter already which Charles sent last week to Mr. Dade. I repeat the main thereof in this least it should miscarry. I would now have thee take leave of Xaintes, Cogniac, or any other lesser towns and come to Rochell, or some good place where you may take advantage of the messenger, and if possible good company, wherein some Protestant goeith along, and so to agree for a sum with the messenger to bring you to Paris, and to have the directions of some friends to live about a month in Paris and so to come to Rouen and Diep for England; for 5 or 6 pound the Messenger will bring you from Paris to London; you may go from Orleance to Paris by coach, and from Paris to Rouen by coach; you must intrust your trunk with Mr Bendish at Rochell or with Mr Dade at Bourdeaux to be sent by the Vintage Ships to Yarmouth, and must travail only with a portmanteau or valise and one sute of cloths, for it will be hard to carry more, be directed herein by some English friend, have a care of your draughts and observations, remember to make comas, as(,) and full points at the end of a sentence thus(.) My respects to Mr Bendish and Mr Dade unto whom we are much obliged. Begin your Journey as soon as you will: eat few or noe grapes or fruit but bread with all things. Affairs goe quietly on with us both in Religious and Civill concernments. Be firm to thy Religion. God of his mercy preserve thee. Your Loveing father,

T. BROWNE.

Advantage yourself as much as possible in the languadge and mind the grammar for that will help you.

Dr. Browne to his son Thomas.

Sept. the 21, Norwich, [1661.]

HONEST TOM,

I understood lately that you are come to Rochell and intend to continue there for some months: doe therein as you shall find it advantageous unto your intentions. We are all exceeding obliged to Mr Bendish, to whom I pray commend my respects, I shall be studious to find out some way of studious return unto him. Study the french languadge and help yourself by the grammar, forget not limning and perspective and dayly practise arithmetick. Endeavor an handsome garb and laudable boldness, be courteus unto all, and betime practise patience. You may see the Isle of Rhe before winter and the Salt works, observe the manner of the makeing of wine, both white and Claret, and also of makeing oyle, enquire whether it be useal to go up the Loir against the stream, for so you may goe from Nantes or there abouts to Orleans and so by coach to Paris, or over land with the Messenger, when you shall be advised by friends to remove. I hope this box will come safe unto you. Serve God with all fidelitie and God protect you. I rest your ever loveing father, T. B.

Dr. Browne to his son Thomas.

Norwich, November the 1, [1661.]

HONEST TOM,

I hope by this time you have received the box and books sent by the french ship which came to Yarmouth and returned to Rochell. I should be glad to hear of your health for I know the country where you are is very sickly, as ours is heer. God of his mercy preserve you and return you

safe. Except you desire to return by sea, I would be at the charge of your return by Paris in the spring, observe the manner of trade, how they make wine and vineger, by that we call the rape, which is the husks and stalks of the grape, and how they prepare it for that use. Commend me kindly to Mr Dade and Mr Bendish. Read books which are in french and Latin, for so you may retain and increase your knowledge in Latin: some times draw and limn and practice perspective. We hear the Protestants in France are but hardly used, noe doubt the King will be carefull to keep them low haveing had experience of their strength. However serve God faythfully and be constant to your Religion. The Parliment adjourned last August sets again on the 20th of November when they will publish a strict act for uniformitie in the Church. Our Bishop Dr. Reynolds my loveing friend hath been in Norwich these 3 months; he preacheth often and comes constantly to Christ church on Sunday mornings at the beginning of prayers, about which time the Aldermen also come, he sitteth in his seat against the pulpit, handsomely built up and in his Episcopall vestments, and pronounceth the Blessing or the Peace of God &c. at the end: where there is commonly a very numerous congregation and an excellent sermon by some preacher of the Combination, appointed out of Norfolk and Suffolk, the one for winter the other for sommer. The Bishops set again in the house of Lords and our Bishop is goeing thither. My Lord Townsend is made Ld lieutenant of Norfolk and hath the power of all the Militia, which hath trained by Regiments in severall parts of the Country. Sir Joseph Pain our Collonell trayned our Regiment of the Citty last week. Be temperate and sober in the whole course of your life, keep noe bad or uncivill company be courteous and humble in your Conversation still shunning *pudor rusticus*, which undoes good natures, and practise an handsome garb and civil boldness which he that learneth not in France travaileth in vain. Gods Blessing be upon you. I rest your ever Loveing father,

THO. BROWNE.

Corn is very dear the best wheat 4 or 5 and forty shillings the comb which is 4 bushells. The king of Portugal resigns up

Tangere a town on Africk side in Barbarie in the midle of the streights mouth, whether my Ld of Peterbourogh is goeing with a Regiment of foot and 2 troops of hors to take possession. All Parliment money must be brought in to the mint and coyned with the Kings stamp and is not to pas corrant beyond December the first. You may stay your stomack with litle pastys some times in cold mornings, for I doubt Sea Larks will be too dear a collation and drawe too much wine down; be warie for Rochell was a place of too much good fellowship and a very drinking town, as I observed when I was there, more then other parts of France.

Dr. Browre to his son Thomas.

HONEST TOM,

I sent November the first a box with letters and other things, by a ship bound for Rochell, but perhaps that may be a month before it comes unto you, and therefore by this of the post I signifie that you may goe to Nantes if you desire and have convenience, and from thence may goe to Paris as you find the season favour. I received the pritty stones and insects, it is good to take notice of quarrys and mines. I know not whether I shall have the convenience to write to you to Nantes as I have here except you signifie by some way, by some English marchants there. God Bless you.

Your loveing father, T. B.

Nov. ye 2. stilo veterie, [1661.]

Dr. Browne to his son Thomas.

Jan. 4, 1661 [-2.]

HONEST TOM,

I have not written unto you since November because I thought you had been removed from Rochell, but now un-

derstanding you are still there, I send this by land with my good wishes and prayers unto God to bless you, and direct you in all your ways. So order affairs that when you remove, you may be accomodated with money when you come to Paris. There is a book cald *les Antiquites de Paris* which will direct you in many things, what to look after, that litle time you stay there, beside you may see many good new buildings, since you have been at Rochell you might have seen the Isle of Rhe, and salt works if you had any opertunety. Serve God and honour him with a true sincere heart, your old friend Mr Bradford preacheth tomorrow at Xt church, as being his turn in the Combination, on the 30 of this month an humiliation is to be kept annually for ever by act of Parliment, in order to the expiation of Gods judgments upon the nation for the horrid murther of King Charles the first, acted upon that day. I sent a box unto you by a ship that went to Rochell in the beginning of November. Your mother and all send their good wishes. I rest your Loveing father,

T. B.

God bless thee. You may learn handsom songs and aires not by book but by the ear as you shall hear them sung.

Just as were closing up the box I now send you I received your letter and box, where by I see you are mindfull of us and are not idle. You may surely stay safely in Rochell being strangers, but if you find good convenience I am as willing you should be any where elce, for where ere you are it will be best to move to Paris in the beginning of March, and there is noe citty considerable near Rochell but Nantes, where you will be upon the Loir, on which many good cittys stand. Be guided herein by advice of friends. God bless you. By this time I hope you have received the former box I sent about a month agoe. I wish you had acquaintance with some Protestant in Nantes if you goe thither or might be recommended, for there are English also.

Your ever loveing father,

T. B.

The following narrative, preserved in the British Museum, affords the only additional particulars which have been met with of young Browne's residence in France. Though headed "My Journey from Bordeaux to Paris," it comprises the periods of his residence at Sainctes, Rochelle, and Nantes, which were considerable.

[MS. SLOAN. 1745. fol. 22.]

My Journey from Bordeaux to Paris.

BORDEAUX is the capital city of Guienne, a very ancient strong place, situated very commodiously on the south side of the river Garonne, which by its bending course makes it in the shape of an half-moon. It is also an archbishoprick, a parliament city, and university. The parliament was first set up by Charles VII, after that he had put the English out of Guienne. There are divers remarkable things in this place, made not only by the Romans but since their time, as the Amphitheatre of Galienus, a little out of the city, of an oval form, very large and spatious, but now very much ruined. There is also a very ancient and noble building, standing within the city, called, *Piliers de Tutèle,* consisting of very large and high pillars, whereof there are at this day standing eighteen.

There are also two castles of later date. The one called Château du Huy, which was built by Charles VII; the other named Château Trompette, built also by him, but is now much enlarged by Louis XIV, and thought impregnable. The cathedral church of St. Andrew stands near the walls of the city, where is also the archbishop's house, a very noble building. There is also a very remarkable church, out of the town, called St. Severin, which gives the name unto the suburbs wherein it standeth.

On the 26th of January [1661-2] I left Bordeaux, and took boat for Blaye; where I arrived about nine o'clock that night. It is an ancient town, seated by the river; and hath a very

strong castle belonging unto it, said to be built by Charles the Great; where in late times the English ships passing to Bordeaux were obliged[9] to leave their ordnance, and take them again as they returned. From here I went to Pons, which stands upon a hill, upon the top whereof there is a castle belonging to the family d'Albret. In the castle there is a very high four-square tower, from whence one may see the city of Sainctes, four leagues off. To this place are sent such malefactors as are taken in the *seigneurie* of Pons; and in a fair hall of this castle are pourtraited, as big as the life, all the chiefest of the family d'Albret, masters of this place, some whereof have been kings of Navarre. This hath been a walled town; but now the walls are rased.

From thence, through a fine champian country, I came to Sainctes, the chief city of Xaintoing (St. Onge,) standing on the river Charente; a very pleasant place, and a bishoprick. The cathedral church of St. Peter hath a very large steeple, but no spire. The church was broken down by the protestants, but is now rebuilded. Here hath been a very strong and ancient castle, which is now somewhat demolished. It was rased towards the town by Louis XIII, a little before the siege of La Rochelle, where were found some urns and many Roman coins. Besides the city here are three suburbs; the one on the north side, called the suburb of Notre Dame, where there is an ancient abbey of nuns, built by Geoffroy Count of Xainctes; the other, on the east side, called the Fauxbourg des Britoniens, where is the ancient church of St. Eutropius, who, being sent to convert France, was martyred and buried here; and his head is shown with the wound he received at his death. Under the choir of St. Eutropius's church, (like that of St. Faith's, under St. Paul's,) lieth the body of St. Eutropius: but on one day only, the last of April, when there is a great fair kept here, his head is to be seen or shown.

There are also still to be seen some remains of Roman magnificence; as, an amphitheatre, in a valley a little out of the town, nigh unto St. Eutrope; but is much ruined. I took the draught thereof, and have set it down in my papers. There is also an ancient canal and aqueduct; but, above all, two stately

[9] By an edict of Louis XI, in 1475.

and magnificent arches on the bridge, which containeth fourteen arches in all. On the two aforesaid arches are these words, graven in large letters,

CÆSARI· N· P· D· PONTIFICI· AVGVRI

And on the other side these words, much defaced, and hard to read.[1]

* * * * *

There are belonging to this town of Xainctes three principal gates. The first, Porte St. Louis, which stands to the suburbs called Britoniens;—the second, Porte d'Equière, standing to the suburbs of St. Vivier;—the third, Porte du Pont, which openeth to the bridges.

Three leagues from Sainctes, through a fine woody country, is the town of Brisambourg, where is a little castle, famous for the bringing up of that valiant soldier, the marshal de Biron, who was beheaded in the reign of Henry the Fourth, 1602. Five leagues from Sainctes, up the river Charente, stands the town of Coniac, or Cognac, a very pleasant place, less than Sainctes, nor having much remarkable in it; but is a mayor town; and hath many privileges belonging unto it. From thence cometh the Cognac wine,[2] whereof we drink in England in the summer.

The 3rd of September I parted from Sainctes, for Rochelle. Two leagues down the river stands the town of Taillebourg, where is a very long bridge. Here was also a very strong castle, belonging to the prince of Taranta; but was demolished by the king, Henry IV. in the late troubles. Three leagues from hence is the town of Touneboutonne, which hath also been walled. Here is a little old castle, something resembling Norwich castle; but much less. The fifth of September I came to Rochelle, which hath formerly been a famous, strong, and populous place; but the walls were demolished by Louis XIII; those of the religion expelled; the round church given unto the Jesuits; and some convents built in and about it; and hath little or nothing left

1 They are wanting in MS.

2 It appears that at this time vessels were regularly freighted with the light wines of the South of France to Yarmouth; some of the best of those wines are produced along the banks of the Garonne, especially the left bank. But Cognac has been celebrated for its eaux de vie rather than its wines.

of its strength and beauty, but some towers, which, by the last war, are much defaced, or going to ruin; as the lantern-tower (light-house) and the two towers which enclose the harbour, between which there is a great chain, which openeth unto vessels which come in, and lie within the town. There are here divers merchants—English, Scotch, and Dutch.

I went to see the isle of Rhé, passing by water; a pleasant island, where much salt is made. Therein is the town of St. Martin's, and a fair fort of St. Martin's by it. There is also another, but smaller fort upon the same island, named Fort Depré. There are also some small wines made. From Rochelle I also went into the isle of Oleron. There are few things of remark in this island, besides a strong castle and St. Peter's church, or chapel, in the town of St. Peter's, which stands in the middle of the isle. From hence we crossed to Brouage, a very strong place, and accounted impregnable. It is indeed a notable fortification, and hath scarce any but soldiers in it. It was built to defend the coast, and bridle these parts of France. From thence, along the sea-coast, we came to Moyre, where there is a good steeple, like that of Eutropius at Sainctes, but much less. From hence we passed to Chastel-à-Lyon, which is an old castle, said to be built by the English; but now much eaten by the sea; and that night we returned again to Rochelle.

Feb. 25, 1661-2. I parted from Rochelle for Nantes. Four leagues from Nantes stands the town of Maran or Marran, a remarkable place for the great quantity of corn which useth to be laden from hence for other parts. From hence to Nantes, there was little remarkable. Nantes is a very fair city, seated on the river Loire, before it runneth into the sea. It is also ancient; and is called the maiden-city, because it hath never been taken by force. It is walled about with a strong wall. There is also a castle, built very fairly on the water side. The bridge is very long over the river, reaching from island to island, till it cometh to the other side. There are also very great suburbs, which are accounted bigger than the city. The cathedral church of St. Peter's is fair: it hath a very fair frontispiece, but no spire. The quire is very neat and noble; the doors of the church are of

brass; and upon them the images of St. Peter and St. Paul. In the church of St. Clere, in the middle of the quire, there is a very stately tomb of white and black marble, erected for the duke and duchess of Britany; but of what duke and duchess I could not learn. There are also many other churches, convents and monasteries; and here is also great resort of merchants, English, Flemish, and other nations; and here are also embarked the Orleans, Blois and Anion wines and commodities, to be transported into other parts.

From Nantes I parted for Paris; and that night came to a small city about seven leagues off, called Ancenis; the walls whereof are now rased. Here hath also been a very strong castle; but it is now demolished. From thence I came to Angers, the capital city of the dukes of Anjou; large and populous, and well accommodated with all provision. It is also a bishopric. The cathedral church of St. Maurice is noble, and hath a high steeple; according to the common saying among them: *Haut clocher; pauvre escolier; riche putain.*

There is also a very strong castle, which they say was built by the English. There are also divers good churches and convents; and many of the nobility and gentry resort hither. We parted from hence; and lodged that night at La Flèche, a town which was given by the king[3] unto the Jesuits for an university, which is now the most famous one of France. The Jesuits church is a very brave structure, and richly adorned. From hence we travelled to Conard, a village ten leagues from La Flèche; and passed by the city Le Mans to Nogent, a great *bourg*, where is a castle standing upon a very high hill, but burnt in the civil wars; and afterwards we came unto Chartres. This is a handsome and very ancient place, and large, seated upon the river Eure, which runneth into the river Seine. Though there be many remarkable churches, yet the church of Our Lady is very noble, and for antiquities exceedeth all in these parts. For this is said to have been a temple long before the birth of Christ; built by certain druids, who inhabited these parts; which St. Savinian and St. Poteneian, coming into Gaul to convert the people, caused to be enlarged and consecrated to the Virgin

[3] Henry IV.

Mary. Upon the front of this church are two spires: the one very curiously wrought; the other plain; and in the middle a brave and stately window. On the two sides are two magnificent entrances of ancient work, containing at least forty-eight statues on a side, and innumerable small ones, very well carved. The church within is very large: and about the church innumerable stories carved both in ancient and modern work; but what is most incomparable is the whole passion of our Saviour carved in modern work, in the year 1610. After the sight of many curiosities, we went into the treasury; a very rich place, upon one side of the quire; where, in a box adorned with diamonds and precious stones, crosses, and such like, is said to be the shift or smock of the Virgin Mary, remarkable for many miracles; namely for miraculously causing Rollo, duke of Normandy, not only to raise his siege, but also to change his religion. There is also a phial, in which they hold that there is the milk of Our Lady; and that they also have the flesh, bones, teeth, and hair, and innumerable reliques of Romish saints. We had the favor to touch the *Chemise de Chartres* in a small silver box made in the fashion of Our Lady's shift. So leaving this place and magnificent piece of antiquity in the morning, we lodged that night at a village called Bonell. The next day, being the 27th of April, 1662, we came unto the great city, and, as the French will have it, the little world of Paris.

It appears, from the following "Journal of a Tour" taken in September with his brother, that young Browne returned from France, in the summer of 1662.

[MS. SLOAN. 1900.]

SEPTEMBER the 8, 1662, wee set out for our journy from Norwich, baited that day at Licham and layed at the King's Head in Linne. The next day morning after the towne musick[4] had saluted us, wee saw the churches of St. Margarets

[4] Possibly the minstrels who were attached to most of the numerous *gilds* of the town.

and St. Nicholas, both very large and well built parish churches, having each of them a very handsome leaden spire; the oyle mill, the kettle mills which convey fresh water to the towne; the furnace in the glasshouse was out, and so wee mist seeing them make glass. Wee likewise tooke a walke that morning to the lady's mount, and by that time wee came home wee were met with by some friends, who invited us to some excellent Burnham oisters and smelts, and afterwards went along with us to Mr. Kirby's the mayor of the towne, where wee received the courtesy of drinking out of king John's cup, an ancient piece of plate which that king gave to this towne, together with a sword, as a favour for their loyalty to him in the civill wars. These sights and the civility of our friends, with the mayor and the new elect Mr. Bird, had detained us so long that wee began allmost to despaire of getting to Boston that night: but our desire to make all the hast wee could, and to see as much as was possible, in that short time wee had allotted ourselfe for this journy, made us to goe out from Lin about two in the afternoon, though much sollicited to stay. Wee were fferried crosse the water to old Lin, and from thence we went to the Cross Keys, a place where they ordinarily goe on to the Wash: where, taking a guide, it being somewhat late, wee desired to bee conducted in the nighest way to Boston. Hee told us there were two waies to passe, either over two short cuts, or else quite over the long Wash, which latter wee chose, partly because it was the nighest, but chiefly for the novelty to us of this manner of travailing, at the bottome of the sea; for this passage is not lesse convenient at a flood, for navigation, than at an ebbe, for riding on horseback out of Norfolk into Lincolnshiere. The way quite over is very good, and not at all troubled with flies with which all those fenne countrey's are extreamly pestered: but it is somewhat dangerous without a guide, by reason of some quicksands. The way is not all alike, for some is a hard sand, other a softer, and some like a fine green meddow, whose grasse is nothing but glasswort; through all which, together with divers rivers, which are easily fordable at low tide, our convoy made such haste, with his fliing horse, that hee landed us on the banks in Lincolnshire in lesse then two

hours, quite crosse this equitable sea or navigable land, fourten miles in length: where being arrived in very good time, wee found our selves but three miles from Boston, and so wee might the better ride easily both to refresh our horses, and entertaine one another with some discourse of our that day's journy, till wee came to our inn, the White Hart, where having rested us very well for that night, wee went in the morning to view more accurately that famous steeple which wee had seen the day before, and had been indeed our landmarke over most part of the washes. Wee found it to bee a 4 square steeple allmost up to the top, but there for a little way it is an octagon. We counted 336 staires up to the top of the lanthorne, upon which, in a cleare day, may bee seen a vast compasse of sea and land. Lincolne minster, six and twenty mile distant, is visible. To say wee saw into Holland from hence, though true, would bee but small commendation for this lofty companion of the clouds.

There is unto this steeple a very noble church adioyned, besides a large neat chancell; the font was newly built of black and white marble, with a cover in the fashion of a crowne, which might bee lift up higher or lower as you please by a cord, which was fastned to it and the top of the church; and so have fully seen both the inside and out side of this church. Wee left its celsitude, and the sea-town of Boston, to travell upon a plaine even fenne, further in to the land; and, having baited at Sleeford, wee soone got into Lincolne heath, where wee had the sight of the minster at eleven miles distance, which gave such encouragement that wee travailed more pleasantly that afternoon, and got into the city in good time. Having entred the gate, wee went through a street halfe a mile long, in which the houses though low did shew themselves to be built upon very antient peeces of walls and foundations: afterward, climing up a steep hill, wee came under two arches built after such a manner, with such vast stones, that wee guess'd them to bee no lesse then Roman. Upon this hill stands the kathedrall, much to bee admired, but especially for its front or west end which is very broad: the church there abouts containing four iles, besides the middle alley, and beautified with two fair steeples, in one of which

is a good ring of 5 very well tuned bells, in the other hanges the great bell, very remarkable by the name of Tom of Lincoln. There is also besides these another bigger steeple over the crosse isle, a very large square steeple with six bells. Over the west door stande the statues of the kings of England from Will: Conq: to Edward the third; over these, allmost at the top were four or five fine pictures, but broken downe in the late troubles, but with small dextery, and by as bad a handicraft, for besides the quite ruining of the picture hee lost his right fist in the action. The tombs in this church, as in most other, are very much defac'd, yet there was one which pleasd us very well, upon which laied the statue of a starved body, very fine carv'd; upon the wall in the north isle are painted the pictures of divers ancient bishops of this see. The cloisters are large, the windows neat, long and slender, not very big, except two great round ones, at both ends of the crosse isle; the quire very long with a very large space behind it; the pillers not exceeding bigge, unlesse it bee those that support the steeples, but very handsome; the whole fabrick highly remarkable for its vast neatnesse, or its curious vastness, and gave such satisfaction to us as wee accounted our journy more then fully recompenc'd with the sight of so noble a structure. Of the charter house wee had onely a view of the out side, and made haste to our inne, where, having either din'd very soone or breakfasted very late, wee tooke our leave of this city; but the minster would not bid us farewell so soone, but after many miles riding, when soever wee turned our backs would again salute us with its goodly prospect. That afternoon wee cross'd the Trent and went into Nottinghamshiere, but before we were ferried over, upon the side of the hill, as wee walked downe our horses, wee found a fine veine of talkum out of which plaister of Paris is made; wee were no sooner entred this countrey but wee tooke some notice of the civility of the people towards us; amongst whom very few let us passe without a "good e'en," and were very ready to instruct us in our way. One told us our *wy lig'd* by *youn nooke* of *oakes* and another that wee *mun* goe *strit forth*, which maner of speeches not only directed us, but much pleas'd us with the novelty of its dia-

lect; here wee came to see horned sheep again, for in Lincolneshire they have none. They burne a great kind of cole called pit or Scotch coale, which flames more and burneth sooner then the Newcastle. Wee lodged at night at Tuckesford, a markettowne, whither wee came, not the day after, but before, the faire, and so wee were called up betimes by some of the faire folkes, that used very foule play to one another, beginning to quarrell, fight, and pull down, before they had scarse built up their stalls. This day broke very rudely upon us, and our entertainte till night was answerable to this our morning's salutation; for I never traveld before in such a lamentable day both for weather and way, but wee made shift to ride sixteen mile that morning, to Chesterfield, in Darbishiere, passing by Bolsower castle belonging to the earl of Newcastle, very finely seated upon a high hill; and missing our way once or twice, wee rode up mountain, downe dale, till wee came to our inn, where wee were glad to goe to bed at noon. One of our companions came no better armd against the weather then with an open'd sleev'd doublet, whose misfortune, though wee could doe no otherwise then much pity, as being the greatest of us all, yet it made us some sport to see what pretty waterworkes the rain had made about him; the spouting of his doublet sleeves did so resemble him to a whale, that wee that could think our selfe no other then fishes at that time, swimming through the ocean of water that fell, dare never come nigh him. This gentleman indeed was in a lamentable pickle, but wee had no great reason to laugh at him, for wee were pretty well sous'd our selves; and the way, being so good as 'twas impossible to ride above two mile an hour in this stormy weather, did administer an excellent remedy for our madnesse, to see our selves thus drencht,—patience per force; and made us in spite of our teeth march an alderman's pace some seven houres together in this fine morning: but coming to our inne, by the ostler's helpe having lifted our cramp'd legs off our horses, wee crawl'd up staires to a fire, where in two houres time wee had so well dried our selves without and liquor'd our selves within, that wee began to bee so valiant as to thinke upon a second march; but, inquiring after the businesse, wee received great discourage-

ment with some storys of a moor, which they told us wee must goe over. Wee had by chance lighted on a house that was noted for good drinke and a shovel borde table,[5] which had invited some Darbishier blades that liv'd at Bakewell, but were then at Chesterfield, about some businesse, to take a strengthning cup before they would incounter with their journey home that night. Wee, hearing of them, were desirous to ride in company with them so as wee might bee conducted in this strange mountainous, misty, moorish, rocky, wild, country; but they, having dranke freely of their ale, which inclined them something to their countrie's naturel rudeness, and the distaste they tooke at our swords and pistols with which wee rid, made them loth to bee troubled with our companies; till I, being more loth to loose this opportunity then the other, (one of which had voted to ly in bed the rest of the day,) went into the roome and perswaded them so well as they were willing, not onely to afford us their company, but staid for us till wee accoutred ourselves. And so, wee most couragiously set forward again, the weather being not one whit better, and the way far worse; for the great quantity of rain that fell, came down in floods from the tops of the hills, washing downe mud and so making a bog in every valley, the craggy ascents, the rocky unevenness of the roade, the high peaks and the almost perpendicular descents, that we were to ride down; but, what was worse then all this, the furious speed that our conductors, mounted upon good horses, used to those hills, led us on with, put us into such an amazement, as we knew not what to doe, for our pace wee rode would neither give us opportunity either to speak to them, or to consult with one another, till at length a friendly bough that had sprouted out beyond his fellows over the rode, gave our file leader such a brush of the jacket as it swept him off his horse, and the poor jade, not caring for his master's company, ran away without him; by this means while some went to get his courser for him, others had time to come up to a generall *rendevouz*; and concluded to ride more soberly: but I think that was very hard for some of these to doe. Whilst

5 A game in very general repute, in former times, even among the nobility; superseded more recently by billiards. See *Strutt's Sports and Pastimes*, p. 263.

we were helping this dismounted knight to recover his saddle again, for indeed he had need of some attendance, I perceived in one of my fellow squires visages, for all his disgise, some likeness to a face I had formerly been acquainted withall, and tooke the boldnesse presently to tell him both his and my name: but yet nether that nor some other circumstances at presente could worke a right understanding betwixt us. But wee, being all up again, our light hors'd companions thundred away and our poore jades I think being afraid, as well as their masters, to bee left alone in this desolate vast wide country, made so much hast as they could after them; and this pace wee rid, till wee lost sight of one another, the best horses getting formost, very loath wee were to loose our guides, but more unwilling to part with one another; in this case every one shifted as well as wee could for our selfe, yet at last our leaders were so civill when it was almost too late, to make another halt at the top of one of the highest hills thereabout: just before wee were to goe on to the moare; and I was the last that got up to them, where missing one of my companions who was not able to keep up with us, I was in the greatest perplexity imaginable, and desiring them to stay awhile, I rid back again, hooping and hallowing out to my lost friend, but no creature could I see or hear of, till at last being afraid I had run myselfe into the same inconvenience, I turned back again towards the mountaineers, whom when I had recovered, they told me twas no staying there, and twere better to kill our horses than to bee left in those thick mists, the day now drawing to an end; and so setting spurs to their horses they ran down a precipice, and in a short time wee had the favour to be rain'd on again, for at the top of this hill wee were drencht in the clouds themselves, which came not upon us drop by drop, but cloud after cloud come puffing over the hill as if they themselves had been out of breath with climing it. Here all our tackling faild, and hee that fared best was wet to the skin, these rains soking through the thickest lin'd cloake; and now wee were encountering with the wild more, which by the story's wee had been told of it, we might have imagined a wild bore. I am sure it made us all grunt before we could get over it, it was such an uneven rocky track of road,

full of great holes, and at that time swells with such rapid currents, as we had made most pitifull shift, if we had not been accommodated with a most excellent conductour; who yet for all his hast fell over his horses head as he was plungeing into some dirty hole, but by good luck smit his face into a soft place of mud, where I suppose he had a mouth full both of dirt and rotten stick for he seemd to us to spit crow's nest a good while after. If his jaws had met with a piece of the rock, I doubt hee would have spit his teeth as fast; but by this they were all strong enough to get up again without helpe when they chanc'd to fall, and so were no stay to our journey, and now being forc't to abate something of their speed, I renewed my acquaintance with two of our new companions, and made them understand how wee had left a third man behind us, not being able to ride so fast, and how our intentions were to stay at their own town, with them this night, who now, overjoyed to see an old acquaintance, were so kind and loving that what [with] shaking hands, riding a brest, in this bad way, and other expressions of their civilities, they put me in as much trouble with their favour as before they had put mee to the inconvenience by their rudeness: yet by this mean I procured them to ride so easily as I led my horse down the next steep hill, on the side of which laid a vast number of huge stones, one instire stone of them being as big as an ordinary house: some of the smaller they cut into mill stones. Here we gat a prospect of that famous building, the earl of Devonshiere's house at Chatsworth, seated most commodiously by the banke of the river Dorrahn,[6] and the foot of an high mountain; and upon a peake at the top of the hill is built a neat rotundo, or summer house, which seems as if it hung over the other, a quarter of a mile high in the air. Passing the river which then ran with the strongest [current] that ever I behelde any, wee climed over another hill, a mile up and a mile downe, and crossing the Wy we got to Bakwell a little after it was darke, when our entertainment at our inn, as it could not be expected sumptuous, neither was it half so bad as wee might fear; for our host was very civill and carefull to give us the best accommodations this barren country could

6 Derwent.

afford, and therefore after we had drunk a gun of their good ale, I cannot say down went the spit, but to spite it, up went a string with a piece of mutton and a chicken at the end of it. We tooke no further care for our selves, but our poor horses could not fare so well, for their was neither litter nor oates to bee gotten for them, and therefore they were forc'd to pack out and lay abroad this wet night, poor jades, in a cold rotten medow which made their hides so tender as you might rub the hair of them as easily as the bristles from a scalded pig; but alas horses and all here were forc'd to shift themselves. As soon as wee came in and had squash'd our selves down upon our seats amongst some other townes men, I concluded my Darbishiere friend who had now vouchsafed us his company at our inne, to be clearly the oracle of that country, and well hee might for hee had been at an university, which I perceived was a worke of superarrogation amongst their divines, and that their greatest clarkes might have passed in other places for sextons, for they never went to any other schoole but to the parish church. To him therefore the more judicious people did refer themselves, and I was going to say pin'd their faith upon his sleeve. The day before hee had most manfully led up a train of above twenty parsons, and though they thought themselves to bee great presbiterians, yet they followed him in the subscription at Chesterfield, and kept themselves in their livings despite of their own teeth. For his sake I think wee had very good usage here, and were somewhat merry this night, although the thought of our lost companion did much perplex us. But having taken order that one should goe back to looke for him next day and give directions to him where to find us, wee thought our duty fully discharg'd though wee were sorry for our unhappy separation. And now having time and a good fire, wee began to flea of cloathes, and tried to dry our selves or them if it were possible, but the natives they neer put themselves to that trouble. I think dry and wet is all one to them, they fear no weather, and their common saying is, when all is wet to the skin hold out yet. To draw one of them through a river, I think, would bee but *laterem lavare*, they are such tile skin'd strong people. If I had been of Darbishiere I should never

have doubted of the truth of Ovid's story, that wee were all produc'd of stones. This was our comfort wee had got the best bed in the house, which was somewhat softer than a rock, but if it had not, wee should have made shift to have slept; this days travell had so wearied our bones, and indeed I snorted out the night pretty well, till at last, awak'd with dreaming that I saw my lost friend, I jump'd out of my bed, running to the window to looke whether it were true, but perceiving it was onely a dream I was forc'd to bee content; yet tooke it for a good omen of my finding of him that day. This morning wee walk'd up and down to see the church, and a hot bath and well, which are here, but for want of looking to they have let the cold spring break in and mingle with the hot; so as they are at present of little use. In this church were divers ancient monuments and very handsome tombs. Upon the forehead of one that was held to be very ancient we might read (the *nazeren*) and upon a tomb stone digged up in the churchyard wee could perceive this written on the long side, *nulli parens mors pietati,* on the other, *quantula sunt hominum corpuscula.*

Their houses are most of them built without any morter, stones heap'd upon stones make a substantiall wall, and by their owne weight keep one another fast and strong. They cover their houses with a slat, of which they have great plenty in most of their hills; their buildings are but low, and seem rather to bee naturall than artificiall; when wee had viewed this famous towne of Bakewell, wee returned to our inne to strengthen ourselves against what encounters wee should meet with next; where at our entrance wee were accosted with the best musick the place could afford, an excellent bagpipe; and breakfast being ready, I think our meat danced down our throats, the merrylier. But, to consumate all our jollities, in comes our opensleev'd companion, which wee had outrid the day before, as if he had dropt out of the clouds; and made up the triumvirat again: and so being well met, wee purpos'd presently to ride to the devill's arse of peak together, but our friend loth to be so often metaphormis'd, as hee was the day before by the weather, very prudently buyes honest Jarvis our host his cinnemon coat for

eight shillings, and turn'd him selfe in to his shape once for all; so that now wee fearing neither wind nor weather, hill nor dale, being all of us *Tunicati et ocreati*, wee most curragiously mounted upon our hackneys, promising them if they did performe well to day, that they should rest the next, being Sunday. Within a mile's riding wee came to a towne, Ashford, where it was left to our choice whether wee would swim our horses through an overflown ditch or ride over an extream narrow bridge. I had heard that elephants had danc'd upon roapes and so ventur'd my horse on the latter: two mile more brought us to Wardlo, a little beyond which, I saw a veine of stone which I gues'd to bee marble; three mile further Bradwall, where we tooke some notice of the lead mines, of which there are a vast number all about these hills; that which we went to was about twenty fathom deep; some are more, some lesse, the diameter of the hole, through which they descend, was not above a yard. When they find ore they may follow it eleven or twelve yards and no more, from the bottom of the hole they have first sunk; least they should fall into one another's workes; wee tooke some pieces of the lead as it came out, and some spars which are in all other mines, some clear like christall but very rare: wee happen'd of one very bright. And so wee led our horses downe a steep mountain to Castleton, so called from the castle situated upon the left buttock of the peak hill. As soon as wee were got to the town, wee prepar'd our selves to see this place so much talk'd of, called (save your presence) the devill's arse, which in my judgement is no unfit appellation considering its figure, whose picture I could wish were here inserted, but for want of it you must bee content with this barren description. At the bottome of the backside of a high rocky mountain, bipartite at the top and perpendicularly steep from thence to the leavell of the ground, wee beheld a vast hole or den which was presently understood by us to bee the anus, into which by the helpe of light and guides wee did not onely enter, but travailed some space up the *intestinum rectum*, and had made further discovery of the intralls had the way been good, and the passage void of excrement; but the monster having drunke hard the day before, did vent as fast now, and wee,

thinking it not good sayling up Styx against the tide; after some inspection, with no small admiration of these infernall territories, wee returned again to the upper world, at our entrance wee found the countrey inhabited, but scarce gesse by their habit what kind of creatures they were, whither they were onely Ascarides, which did wrigle up and downe and live in the devil's postern, answerably to wormes in men, or whither they were shades dwelling in these Tartarean cavernes, to us at first was doubtfull. They looked indeed like furies, but for manners sake wee ask'd whether they were Gipsies. By the answer wee gathered indeed those wandering tribes did sometimes visit them, but these famous Πρωτοπωλιται did make good their mansions in this cave and reserved to themselves a more fixed habitation, skorning to change theirs for any mortal mansion having greater accommodations in this their commonwealth, then in other that are beholden to the sun or annoyed by the weather, both which they seem to contemne, and having got so strong a shell upon their backs, they fear'd no externall weapons, and if their Nile overflows not its bankes too high they can suffer no inconvenience at all; for you must understand, this retromingent divell, whose podex they inhabit, is alwaies dribling more or lesse whereby these doe sometimes suffer inundations. Next to these mountains is another of no lesse height, called by the people as well as wee could understand them, Memtor,[7] which is as if halfe of it had been rent away, it being perpendicularly steep from allmost the top to the bottom. About three or four miles distance from hence is a well which ebbs and flows, not constantly with the sea, but irregularly, and oftener by far. The next place wee saw, two miles distance from hence, was Elden hole, a pit such vast depth, that the greatest ingines and the boldest fellows that could bee found to goe down could never find any bottome. Divers have descended eight score fathom, and have neither found water nor can perceive any bottom, it struck some terror in us to hear the noise of the stones which wee threw downe, so long after they were out of our hand. This hole is a fitter place for cleanly conveyance then I know, and any thing once thrown in is as safe as if it

7 Mam Tor, or the Shivering Mountain.

were in the moon. One wretched villain confessed upon a time at the gallows that hee rob'd a gentleman and threw him [in] together with his horse. Empedocles might have made himselfe immortall here without fear of the discovery of his slippers, this yawning of the mountain is not past six yards broad, but four times as long. From hence wee made as much haste as wee could to Buxton, and gaind by that time it was darke by the helpe of a guide. The hilly rocky way continued still, and had made us almost despaire but that these strange sights satisfied us something, and wee conceiv'd some comfort in hope of resting ourselves the next day; but neither could wee get any oats here for our horses, although besides a little barly it bee the onely corne that grows in the countrey; harvest being not begun here, for all the sun had sunke below the equinox and left these hills to bee covered with frosts each morning. At this town the better sort of people wore shoes on Sondays, and some of them bands. Wee had the luck to meet with a sermon which wee could not have done in halfe a year before by relation (I think there is a true chappell of ease indeed here, for they hardly ever goe to church). Our entertainment was oat cakes and mutton, which wee fancied to taste like dog; our lodging in a low rafty rôome, and they told us wee had higher hills to goe over than any wee had passed yet, which rellished worst of all, but for all this,

Buxtona quæ calidæ crebravere nomine lymphæ,

wee are more beholden to thee than to speak ill of thy fame, thy noble bath and springs afforded us more delight and pleasure than that wee should silently and ungratefully passe them over. These waters are very hot and judged not inferior to those of Somersetshiere,

Buxtoniis thermis vix præfero bathonianas.

They are frequented in the summer by the gentry of the adiacent countrys; they drink of the waters as well as bath in them, I judge them to bee the same although the well from whence they come is at some distance. It was pretty to observe the hissing of the cold and hot springs, so nigh one another that by putting my hand into the water, I conceived

one finger to freze till the other could not indure the heat of the boyling spring just by it. There is a handsome house built by them, and a convenient bathing place, though not very large; but neither the time of the year nor day of the week being seasonable to bathe in wee contented ourselves with the sight, without any more than a manuall immersion into these delicious springs. By this town of Buxton there is another subterraneous cavity as remarkable, though not as famous, as that of the peak hill, and goes by the name of Poole's hole, from an outlaw, as they told us, who if hee did not discover did yet at least make use of this cave for a refuge and secure hole against those that were hunting after him. The entrance into this is but low and troublesome to passe, not above a yard high, but after a little creeping wee came into a more spacious valt, and which encresed bigger and bigger till it came to bee as large as any church. In this hole there is water which dropps from the top continually and turnes into stone, with the which the side, bottom and top of this cave is crusted, shaping itselfe sometimes into pretty figures. We observed in one place the shape of an old man, in another of a lion, in a third of a foot, this water dropping from the topping causes these stones to hang like iseickle all about the roofe; one larger and more remarkable than the rest, about a yard and a halfe long, they called from the resemblance to it, the flitch of bacon. Wee hobbled under ground here nigh a furlong, till wee came to a piller of this hydrolith, water turn'd into stone, which they called the queen of Scots' piller, who, when she fled out Scotland in the reign of queen Elizabeth, coming to Buxton, mov'd with the same curiosity as our selves, enterr'd this cave, and went thus farr, giving it by so doing the honour of her name ever since. Wee brake of a piece of this pillar and brought it away with us. In our coming back again, wee went into another cleft of this hollow rock, which they called Poole's chamber, where wee saw his stone table and bed, and so creeping through that narrow place, by which wee had before entred, wee had the happinesse at length to see daylight again, and, according to the custome of the place, wee were no sooner enterd the open air but wee were accosted with a company of damsells

very cleanly dreast, having each of them a little dish of water full of sweet hearbs, which they held out to us to wash our hands, which wee had dirty and bedaubed with the slime within this hole, which done and wee being somewhat taken with this pretty custome, did the more freely immerge our recompences for this their odde kinde of civility. On Munday morning wee again set out towards Chester, and taking a guide to direct us in the nigher and best way, which was not by the common rode, wee ascended the hills, white with frost and extream high; but, because there were some trees far pleasanter then ther stone hedges and the way not altogether so stony as before, together with our hope to bee now quickly past them, wee travailed with lesse teediousnesse then wee had done before. Our foot guide that went with us for the credit of the businese went a little way with shoes on, but after a short space, I perceiv'd him cast them of, behind a hedge, and march upon his bare hoofes, and asking him why hee did so, hee answer'd the hardness of the way forced him to it, for being used to it hee could goe any where barefoot more conveniently than with shoes. After four or five miles riding, wee came to have a prospect as delicious as almost England can afford. I never saw any to compare to it, except it were upon king Henry's mount in Petersham parke in Surrey, where you may see part of ten counties together, neither doth that goe in my opinion beyound this onely in this respect, that you have a prospect every way there, from hence onely on one side, the Darby mountains quickly terminating your sight eastward. From this place wee could see the mountains in Wales, and have a fair view of most parts of the county Palatine of Chester, together with the southerne parts of Lancashire. Here the Valle Royall of England which seemed like paradise to us adorn'd with pleasant rivers, cristall springs, delighted buildings, high woods, which seem'd bending by sweet gales to becken us to come to them, afforded us so much delight as wee travailed without any discontentment over the back of these swelling mountains, till wee came to Maxfield where they end. As wee came down the last hill, though very glad that twas the last, yet it did not altogether repent us that wee had visited them, and conceiv'd this with

our selves when wee had, *tandem aliquando,* overcame these dangerous passages with Eneas in Virgill, or rather with Heroical Tom Coriat as hee travailed over the Savoyan mountains *tandem et hæc olim meminisse juvabit.*

Wee baited here at Maxfield, which is eight miles distance from Buxton, and counted a very good mornings worke, considering the steepnesse and unevennesse of the roade, and got seventeen miles further that night to Northwich in Cheshire, having now very pleasant way and a faire day. Here wee saw the salt spring, and the manner of their making salt, which they performe onely by boyling, and are not put to that trouble of exhaleing the brine in the sun, as those which make it out of the sea water; their springs being far salter, and so sooner boyled up than any water in the ocean. The next morning wee set out for Chester, which was but fourten miles, the furthest place of this our intended pilgrimage, and where we must set up our *nil ultra* of this voyage. Wee observed as wee rode through Cheshire, that most of the water look'd red and wee at first would not let our horses drink of it, but afterwards wee perceiv'd that it was caused by the rednesse of the earth, the soyle of this county being most part of it of that coulour, and not onely the earth but the stones too, as wee tooke notice of afterwards in most of the buildings in Chester.

Chester is an ancient fair city, having about nine or ten churches; remarkable for the convenient contrivance of the houses towards the street, under which you may walke dry in the most rayny weather, and is very advantageous for trading, there being in many places as it were four ranks of shops in one street, two towards the street, and two further inward beyond the roof'd walks. The city is exactly in the fashion of the Roman Castrum and populous. You may walke round the town upon the walls. There is a large bridge over the river, a little above which there is a small cataract or fall of the river. Wee viewed the water as it ebbs and flows here, but wee saw very few boats. There is a handsome cathedrall here, by the name of St. Worbert, though not very large, yet there is a fair parish church in the south isle: the cloisters are very small. The bishop's palace

was then repairing; the whole building of red but large stone. Wee did not so much admire it, having before seen that famous church at Lincolne, which so far exceeds it. In this city wee thoroughly refreshed ourselfe after our mountainous voyages, and lookt after our horses backs which were galld with travailing up and down hill; and finding very good accommodation and good eight-penny ordinary, not without excellent appetat, that the fashion here, wee tooke courage for our returne, setting out on Wednesday, and having a clear day, wee rode on pleasantly to Whitechurch, and because one of my acquaintance was seated in this towne, that wee might enjoy one other more fully, wee determined to passe no further that night, and therefore as soon as wee entered the towne wee inquired out the free school, which having seen, and given the boys a play, Mr. Wakeman, my very good friend the schoolmaster, accompanied us to our inn, and afterwards shew us the church which is very large one, and adornd with divers monuments and ancient tombs. Here lies the famous Lord Talbot slain at Burdeaux; about another tomb wee read this, *Hic jacet Georgius Vernon Baccalaureus rector qui quondam ecclesiæ parochiales de albo monasterio obiit Anno* MDXXXIV., and many other. Our friend's good company did this night wellcome us into Shropshire.

From hence wee steered our course towards Staffordshiere; and, taking only a cup at Draiton, without any more baiting wee got to Stafford, long before night. By reason wee had tired our selves with riding so far without resting, wee had no desire to walke that night, having a full view of the town house which is the thing most remarkable in this place, it being a handsome building, supported with stone pillars, leaded on the top, and railed also with stone. This town is not very bigge for a shire towne, yet hath been wall'd.

The people hereabout doe exercise running much. This day there was a foot race run betwixt a Shropshire man and a Stafford, from Draiton to some place the name of which I have forgot, twelve miles distance. The next morning wee rose early and rode to Lichfield, where wee had a sight of an incomparably neat church, which although it has been horribly defac'd and a great deal beaten down in these wars, yet the

very ruines are so curious, that they caused in us no smal admiration. As there is three steeples in Lincoln, so there were here three pinacles or spires very neat, large and finely carved, in most places; but the largest which stood over the crosse was beaten downe with a granado in the late wars, when as they fortified the church and held out a hot seige for their soveraighne. It was very confidently reported to us that not long [since] they had found a burning lamp in an ancient sepulchre in this church. There is such a vast deal of carvd work in all places, both on the inside and outside of this church, though most now is either defaced or quite ruin'd, and such a number of statua some wereof have been gilt, that wee could not well conceive the splendour of these things when they were at their glory, but did exceedingly admire even *et Curios jam dimidios, nasumq. minorem Corvini et Galbam auriculis nasoq. carentem.*

Wee were glad to see them teach a reparation, and wish them many a Cyrus for their benefactor. Taking leave of this town, wee had a pleasant journy to Coltshill this afternoon, being a small town and nothing remarkable but an indifferent high pinacle. Here wee lodged and it was debated among us whither we should crosse immediately over to Leister and so home, or fetch a compass and see Warwick and Coventry, the latter of which at last wee concluded of, and in our journey next day wee saw the ruins of Chillingworth castle, after, within a mile and a halfe of Warwick, wee entred Guy of Warwick cave in a rock, and in an old building hard by view'd his statua, which hath been abus'd by some valient knight of the post, in these late troubles, who, I suppose, counted it valour sufficient to encounter but the statua of Sir Guy. Such Don Quixot hectoring wee have had lately that I wonder how their prowesse sufferd a windmill standing in the land.

Warwick is a neat well built town, with a fair church and many fine monuments in it, but its chiefly famous for that noble tomb of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, treble gilt, and judged by the skillfullest workmen to bee second to none in England. I cannot say but in old time Mausolus his tombe might goe beyound it, but I am such an admirer of

this, dear reader, I would wish my selfe a painter for your sake to show you the picture of it.

About another very handsome tombe wee read, "Here lies —— servant to Queen Elizabeth, counsellour to King James, and friend to Sir Philip Sidney."

Wee walked to the castle and were very courteously intertaind, though mere strangers, by Mr. Allen my Lord Brook's chaplain, who shew about most roomes of this house not excepting the cellar, they are most of them very noble. Wee walked up to the top of Guy's tower, and saw Sir Guy's pot and such like other reliques of his. After this into the garden in which is a very high mount, which is so orderd in the going up to the top you shall scarce perceive your selfe to ascend, till you are mounted above all the countrey and have a goodly prospect of most part of Warwickshiere; but our eyes did not care to wander farre, having so fair an object nigh at hand, as this almost invincible yet incomparable delight castle, pleasently seated upon the river Aven.

This night being..... wee reach'd Coventry, whose goodly walls had been lately pulled down lest they might again bee made use of to secure a rout of factious rebells. The next day being Sunday, wee rested our selves and horses and took some notice of the city, in which there are two very large churches and three very high spire steeples: one of the steeples having lost its church: which are carv'd about and very handsomely wrought. Wee likewise saw that famous structure, Coventry crosse, and had the luck to meet with another old acquaintance here too, Mr. Richard Hopkins.

For the buildings in generall they are but mean, an oister barrell serves instead of a chimney in divers places, and most of the city is built the old wooden way, yet there may be some good houses within side, but not many gentlemen living in them.

Warwick, though the lesser place, yet for a seat is more affected by the gentry.

Hence on Munday wee went, in a very blind rode very hard to find, to Leister, where by the church they shewed us an ancient ruine, consisting of four arches, under which, they reported, in old time, that children were sacrificed. Wee

baited hard by the house where King Richard III. lodged the night before hee fought with Henry the Seventh. There is a neat crosse here but few good houses. Wee made hast out of towne, hoping to get forward our journey, that wee might the better reach Peterborough next day; but the way being very bad, the rain, and the soyle about Leister being most of it full of clay, forced us to lodge in a pitifull village called Bilzel,[8] six miles from Leister, where wee had the worst accomodation in all our travaile. For supper wee could get nothing but a piece of a dolphin, or cheese, which you please, for such is the ingenity of these Bilzel dayry maids, that they forme the cheese in to the figure of fishes, but I had rather have had flesh at present. Our beds you must not suppose them too soft, nor our chambers like the best in the Escuriall, but yet wee fared better then many a knight arrant, and march away next day to Stamford, which is [a] very handsome wall'd town, with five good churches. Here wee only drank a glass of sack, having before din'd at Uppingham, and so took our leave of Rutland. Wee saw Burleigh House, a most noble fabrick indeed, seated in the middle of a walled parke, and in a short space gained Peterborough, where wee lodged this night; and went to see the minster betimes next morning, which is supported with large pillars, beautified with a handsome front quire, which is no small grace to the church. Wee went up to the top of the lanthorne, and from thence saw Ely minster, eight and twenty miles distance, having from hence a large prospect over all the fens; but intended to have viewed Ely nearer hand, but, being almost tir'd and discouraged by reason of the bad way, wee tooke over to Wisbich, riding ten mile upon a streight banke of earth, and four mile more by the side of a made river, which goes through Wisbich, having all this morning a pleasent sight of the fenes under, and by this avoyding the bad way by Whittlesea.

Wisbich is a handsome well built town, and did goe beyond our expectation. From hence wee travel'd along through marshland, and ended our circuit this night at Lin, from whence next day wee returned home, when towards night, recollecting and discoursing of all the citys and places wee

[8] Qu. Billesdon?

had mette with in this our little more then fortnight's journey, to consummate all, that famous city of Norwich presents itselfe to our view; Christ Church high spire, the old famous castle, eight and thirty goodly churches, the fields about it and the stately gardens in it, did so lessen our opinion of any wee had seen, that it seem'd to us to deride our rambling folly, and forcd a new admiration from us of those things which, with their often view had dull'd our conceptions, and due estimation of theyr worth; but so much for that. Our intent here was onely to recollect something of our journey, which being here finish'd, a further digression will not be admitted, if the relation bee more tedious then the journey, and our caracter of our own county may seem to savour of affectation, and wee want to bee rather our country friend then truth's, yet give mee leave to say this much: let any stranger find mee out so pleasant a county, such good way, large heath, three such places as Norwich, Yar. and Lin. in any county of England, and I'll bee once again a vagabond to visit them.

It is not to be wondered at, if, after the adventure which has just been related, the Dr. should consider a little study a salutary discipline for his two boys, who were accordingly dispatched to Cambridge. That they were busily employed there in the following year we have a solitary testimony in the following paternal epistle, hastily addressed to them both.

Dr. Browne to his sons Edward and Thomas.[9]

[MS. SLOAN. 1848. fol. 123.]

[July, 1663.]

NED AND TOM, GOD BLESSE YOU.

I am glad thou hast performed thy exercises with credit, though they have proved very chargeable. Tom

[9] Who were then at Cambridge. The first part of this letter evidently addresses the elder son, who had recently taken his degree, M.B. at Trinity College.

Bensley[1] is much satisfied with his journey. I am going out of towne, and, I doubt, return not till Monday, and so I must bee brief and have only time to present my service to all friends, Mr. Bridge, Mr. Nurse, Mr. Craven. Our assises begin not till August. Take notice of the extraordinarie overthrowe given to the Spaniards by the Portuguese.[2]

Honest Tom, be of good heart, and follow thy businesse. I doubt not butt thou wilt doe well. God hath given thee parts to enable thee. If you practise to write, you will have a good pen and style. It were not amiss to take the draught of the College, or part thereof if you have time, butt however, omitt no opportunitie in your studie, you shall not want while I have it.

Your loving father,
THO. BROWNE.

No apology, it is hoped, need be offered for printing the following journal. It affords us a pleasant glimpse of the amusements of Norwich, at a time when it was the residence of a nobleman of the highest rank, who appears to have associated without reserve with its leading families, and to have made it his study to promote the gaieties of the place. Mr. Edward Browne's own participation in those gaieties is placed in most amusing contrast with his more professional occupations. His morning dissections and prescriptions, relieved by his evening parties,—the interest he evinces in the marvellous powders of Dr. de Veau,—his faith in a magical cure for the jaundice,—and not least, the gravity with which he tells of "a serpent vomited by a woman," which "she had unfor-

1 Most probably a confidential servant of Dr. B's.

2 By the Portuguese, under the command of Counts Villaflor and Schomberg, at the battle of Ebora, in the summer of 1663: of which victory the first intelligence arrived in London, June 25th, 1663.

tunately burnt" before he arrived to see it;—all these afford abundant evidence, that, "though on pleasure bent," he was keen in his pursuit of knowledge, though too ready to believe all he heard, and much more than he saw.

[MS. SLOAN. NO. 1906.]

JANUARY 1 [1663-4]. I was at Mr. Howard's[3], brother to the duke of Norfolk, who kept his Christmas this year at the duke's palace in Norwich, so magnificently as the like hath scarce been seen. They had dancing every night, and gave entertainments to all that would come; hee built up a roome on purpose to dance in, very large, and hung with the bravest hangings I ever saw; his candlesticks, snuffers, tongues, fire-shovels, and andirons, were silver; a banquet was given every night after dancing; and three coaches were employed to fetch ladies every afternoon, the greatest of which would holde fourteen persons, and coste five hundred pound, without the harnasse, which cost six score more. I have seen of his pictures which are admirable; hee hath prints and draughts done by most of the great masters' own hands. Stones and jewells, as onyxs, sardonyxes, jacinths, jaspers, amethists, &c. more and better than any prince in Europe. Ringes and seals, all manner of stones and limmings beyond compare. These things were most of them collected by the old earl of Arundel,[4] who employed his agents in most places to buy him up rarities, but especially in Greece and Italy, where hee might probably meet with things of the greatest antiquity and curiosity.

This Mr. Howard hath lately bought a piece of ground of Mr. Mingay, in Norwich, by the water side in Cunsford, which hee intends for a place of walking and recreation,

3 Henry, afterwards created Lord Howard of Castle Rising, subsequently Earl of Norwich and Earl Marshal of England, became, on the death of his brother Thomas, sixth Duke of Norfolk. He was the second son of Henry-Frederic, and grandson of Thomas, the celebrated Earl of Arundel, whose magnificent collection of marbles he afterwards, at the suggestion of Evelyn, presented to the University of Oxford. At the same time he presented his grandfather's library, valued at 10,000*l.* to the Royal Society.

4 Mr. Howard's grandfather.

having made already walkes round and crosse it, forty foot in bredth; if the quadrangle left be spatious enough hee intends the first of them for a bowling green, the third for a wildernesse, and the forth for a garden.[5] These and the like noble things he performeth, and yet hath paid 100,000 pounds of his ancestors debts.

January 2. I cut up a bull's heart and took out the bone, &c.

January 3. I heard Mr. Johnson preach at Christchurch, and Mr. Tenison at St. Luke's chappell, and took notice that the sun rose in an eliptical or oval figure, not round, the diameter was parallel to the horizon.

January 4. I went to dinner to Mr. Briggs, where there was some discourse of Drabitius'[6] prophesy. I went to Mr, Howard's dancing at night; our greatest beautys were Mdm. Elizabeth Cradock, Eliz. Houghton, Ms. Philpot, Ms. Yallop; afterwards to the banquet, and so home.—*Sic transit gloria mundi!*

January 5. Tuesday, I dined with Mr. Howard, where wee dranke out of pure golde, and had the music all the while, with the like, answerable to the grandeur of [so] noble a person: this night I danc'd with him too.

January 6. I din'd at my aunt Bendish's, and made an end at Chrismas, at the duke's place, with dancing at night and a great banquet. His gates were opend, and such a number of people flock'd in, that all the beere they could set out in the streets could not divert the stream of the multitudes, till very late at night.

January 7. I opened a dog.

January 8. I received a letter from Sr. Horden, wherein hee wrote word of Mr. Craven's play, which was to bee acted immediately after the Epiphany.

January 9. Mr. Osborne sent my father a calf, whereof I observed the knee joynt, and the neat articulation of the put bone which was here very perfect. I dissected another bull's heart; I took of the *os scutiforme annulare* and *aritænoide*

5 Which was long afterwards called "My Lord's Gardens."

6 A Moravian Protestant minister, who declared himself inspired, in 1638, and uttered various prophecies, which were printed in 1654. He was at length arrested, tried, condemned, and beheaded at Presburg, in 1671.

of a bullock. This day Monsieur Buttet, which playes most admirably on the flagellet, bagpipe, and sea trumpet, a long three square instrument having but one string, came to see mee.

January 10. Mr. Bradford preached at Christchurch.

January 11. This day being Mr. Henry Howard's birthday, wee danc'd at Mr. Howard's till 2 of the clock in the morning.

January 12. Cutting up a turkey's heart.

A munkey hath 36 teeth; 24 *molares*, 4 *canini*, and 8 *incisores*.

January 13. This day I met Mr. Howard at my uncle Bendish's, where he taught me to play at l'hombre, a Spanish game at cards.

January 14. A munkey hath fourteen ribs on each side, and hath clavicles.

Radzivil in his third epistle[7] relates strange storys of diving in the river Nile.

There are one million of soelgers to guard the great wall of China, which extends from east to west three hundred leagues: author, *Belli Tartarici Martin Martinius*.

January 15. Wee gat a bore's bladder.

I took out the bones of the *carpum* in a munkey's forefoot, which were in number ten.

January 16. Wee had to dinner a weed fish, very like to an haddock. I went to Mr. Dye's, where I saw my lady Ogle and her daughter Ms Anne, an handsome young woman: afterwards, with Mr. Alston, I went to see Mr. Howard's garden in Cunsford. At night I read two letters which my father had formerly received from Island, from Theodorus Jonas, minister of Hitterdale, which were to bee sent to Gresham Colledge.

January 17. I waited upon my lady Ogle, Ms Windham, and Ms An. Ogle, to Christchurch; Mr. Scambler of Heigham preached: in the afternoon I heard Mr. Tofts at St. Michael's of Must Paul.[8] The weather is extraordinarily

[7] Nicol. Christ. Radzivili Hierosolymitana Peregrinatio, iv Epistolis comprehensa; fol. Brunsbergæ, 1601. Id. fol. Antwerp. 1614.

[8] St. Michael *ad Placita*, or at Plea; see *Blomfield*.

warme for this season of the year, our January is just like April.

January 18. I saw Cornwall's collection of cuts, where I met with some masters which I had not seen before, as Quellinus, Hans Sebalde Beohme, Petrus Isaacs, Breinburge,[9] Blocklandt, A. Diepenbieck.

January 20. Tonombaus would sweeten a whole pond with sugar and cause it to bee drunk drye.

January 21. I shew'd Dr. de Veau about the town; I sup'd with him at the duke's palace, where hee shewed a powder against agues, which was to bee given in white wine, to the quantity of 3 grains. He related to mee many things concerning the duke of Norfolke that lives at Padua, *non compos mentis*,[1] and of his travailes in France and Italy.

January 22. This morning I went to Lowe's, the butcher, here I saw a sheep cut up. Wee eat excellent hung beefe for our breakefast, and Mr. Davie gave to mee and Mr. Gardner a bottle of sack and Renish wine after it. I heard Dr. de Veau play excellently on the gitterre, and Mr. Shadwel on the lute. Mr. Gibbs gave mee a Muscovian rat's skin, the tayle smells very like muske; the servants to the late Russian embassadors, which were here last winter, 1662, brought over a great number of them, and sold them for shillings a piece to people about the streets in London. This day two fishermen brought a mola to shore; wee have one of them, catch'd a great while agoe, in our house.

January 23. Don Francisco de Melo came from London with Mr. Philip Howard,[2] the queen's confessour, to visit his honour Mr. Henry Howard; I met them at Ms Deyes, the next day in Madam Windham's chamber.

I boyled the right forefoot of a munkey, and took out all the bones, which I keep by mee.

9 Qu. Breemberg, and Gregory Pentz, or Peins?

1 Thomas, fifth Duke of Norfolk; eldest son of Henry-Frederic, Earl of Arundel. He was attacked with a distemper of the brain, while at Padua with his grandfather, the celebrated Earl of Arundel: and died on the continent, in 1677. He had been, in 1664, restored to all the titles of his ancestor who was beheaded in 1572.

2 Third grandson of the great Earl of Arundel. While on the continent with his brothers and his grandfather, he was induced by a Dominican to turn Catholic and to join that order: he became Lord Almoner to Charles the Second's Queen, and subsequently received a cardinal's cap from Clement X.

In a putbone the unfortunate casts are outward, the fortunate inward.

January 24. Mr. Wharton preached in the morning, at Christchurch, and in the afternoon at St. Peters. This day it snowed and was somewhat colde, but for a longe while before wee have scarce had any winter weather.

January 26. I went to Norris his garden, where I saw *Aconitum hyemale* in flower, which is yellow. I saw a little childe in an ague upon which Dr. de Veau was to try his febrifuge powder, but the ague being but moderate and in the declension, it was thought too mean a disease to try the strength and efficacy of his so extolled powder.

January 27. My cousin Barker came from London.

January 28. I went to the butchers to see oxen killd; one oxe had his omentum growing to his side or *peritonæum* all along by the spleen, I saw the *ductus virtsungianus* out of the pancreas into the duodenum. I saw the water distilled. At night wee had a dancing at Mr. Houghton's, with Mr. Henry Howard, his brother Mr. Edward, and Don Francisco de Melo, wee had sixe very handsome women, Ms. El. Houghton, Ms. El. Cradock, Ms. Philpot, Ms. Bullock, Ms. Shadwell and Ms. Tom Brooke; wee staid at it till almost four in the morning.

January 29. I cut up an hare wherein I could find no omentum. At night I saw a great pike opened. A munkey hath six *vertebræ lumborum.*

January 30. Mr. Gill preached at Christ church in the morning. A magical cure for the jaundise;—Burne wood under a leaden vessel fill'd with water, take the ashes of that wood, and boyle it with the patient's urine, then lay nine long heaps of the boyld ashes upon a board in a ranke, and upon every heap lay nine spears of crocus, it hath greater effects then is credible to any one that shall barely read this receipt without experiencing.

January 31. Mr. Kinge preached at Christ church in the morninge and Mr. Seaman at St. George's in the afternoon.

February 1. I tooke notice that the *Nantuates* were not rightly placed in *Horneus* map for Cæsar's Commentaries. I boyled the head and foot of an hare to save the bones.

February 2. I saw a cockfighting at the Whitehorse in St. Stephens.

February 3. I saw Helleboraster in flower. I cut up a hare which had one young one in the left corner of the uterus. I cut up a hedgehog, with a pretty large omentum.

February 5. I went to see a serpente that a woman living in St. Gregories church yard in Norwich vomited up, but shee had burnt it before I came. I saw Helleboraster in flower.

February 6. Mr. Clarke exhaled for us water taken out of a salt springe in a medow betwixt this and Yarmouth; there remained gray salt, but in a small quantity in proportion to the water.

February 7. Mr. Neech preached at Christchurch.

February 8. I saw a polypus which was taken out of Mr. Townsend's nose; it was of a soft fleshy substance, with divers glandules in it, it was about three inches longe. Mr. Croppe extracted it.

February 9. The Bishop's son of Skalhault in Islande was here this afternoon, of whom I enquired many things concerninge his country.

February 10. I dissected a badger.

February 13. Wee drew valentines and danced this night at Mr. Howards. Hee was gat by Ms. Liddy Houghton and my sister Betty by him.

February 14. Mr. Harmer preach'd at Christ church. A plaister for Ms. Bedingfield's back.

February 16. I went to visit Mr. Edward Ward, an old man in a feaver, where Ms. Anne Ward gave me my first fee, 10 shillings.

February 17. I went to see Maior Walgrave sick in a consumption.

February 18. I went to Crostwick to visit Mr. Le Grosse.

February 19. I rode to the sea side, where I gathered a great many sea plants; in the afternoon I had a great deal of discourse with Mr. Le Grosse, about his travails into France, the Low Countreys, and Italy, and about his pilgrimage to Loretto, and of the treasure which is in that place.

February 20. I returned to Norwich, and visited Ms. Jane Boatman, at Smalborough.

February 21. Mr. Seppings preached at Christ church this day. Mr. Peel, Sr. John Barker's chaplain, dined with us.

February 22. I set forward for my journey to London, baited at Thetford, and reached Cambridge this night, 46 miles of; where I was entertained by my good friends, Mr. Nurse, Mr. Craven, Mr. Bridge, &c.

February 23. I proceeded in my journey to London, as farre as Hodsdun, 27 miles more; where I lodged this night with some of my countrey men.

February 24. This morning I rode the last seventen mile to London, where, setting my horse at the George, I visited Mr. Nat. Scottow, Dr. Windate, Ms. Howell, and laide this night at my cosin Barker's in Clarkenwell.

February 25. I went to heare an anatomy lecture at Chirurgeons hall, and ordered my businesse so as to see the dissection on preparing of body by the chirurgeons, as well as to hear the discourse of the parts by Dr. Tearne,[3] who reads this time; this is the third humane body I ever saw dissected at Chirurgeon's hall.

February 25. This morning Dr. Tearne made a speech in latine and afterwards read *de Cuticula*. I din'd at Dr. Windates, and in the afternoon heard the second lecture, wherein these parts following were insisted upon; *Ventriculus cum orificiis suis, intestina, mesenterium*, which I having before the lecture well observed in the anatomizing roome, did receive the greater satisfaction from the lecture. This night I walk'd into St. James his Parke, where I saw many strange creatures, as divers sorts of outlandish deer, Guiny sheep, a white raven, a great parot, a storke, which, having broke its owne leg, had a wooden leg set on, which it doth use very dexterously. Here are very stately walkes set with lime trees on both sides, and a fine Pallmall.

February 26. I heard the third lecture, in which these parts following were taken notice of; *glandulæ renales, renes, vesica, arteria et vena præparantes, testiculi, penis.*

This day I dined with my sister An, at Mr. Howell's, from whence in the afternoon I went to the forth lecture, these parts

[3] Dr. Christopher Tearne, of Leyden, M. D. originally of Cambridge, Fellow of the College of Physicians. He died in 1673.

following were discoursed of, which I had seen dissected in the morning; *pleura, mediastinum, pulmones, &c.*

I returned to Mr. Howell's, from whence taking my sister Nancy with mee .....[4]

In the afternoon the 6th and last was wholly about the eye, in which are principally remarkable, *humores tres, processus ciliares, pupilla, tunicæ.* Hee ended all with a speech in latine as the custome is, having read very ingeniously and philosophically.

I went to the signe of the Queen's armes in St. Martins, where, in the celler, being arched and close, the roofe is all covered with a slimy substance formed into the figures of grapes or bunches of grapes, which, although sometimes wiped of, will encrease againe by the steame or vapour of the wine from the vessels; a pretty rarity and worth the observation. I brought some of these grapes away with mee. In this cellar, not longe since, one pulling downe a partition of boardes founde the body of a dead man with his leg in a payre of stocks, the body afterwards stirred fell into ashes. I met with Mr. Hollingworth and Mr. Udal, who promised, if it pleaseth God to continue our healths, to meet mee at Paris the first of November next or else to forfeit forty shillings.

February 28. It being Sunday, I went to the Queen Mother's chappel, which is a stately one, well painted and adorned with a large golde crucifixe, a most admirable paynted crucifix, tapers, lamps, and the like. I noted some at confession, in little wooden apartments, and having satisfied my curiositie in observing the manner of their worship, I left this chappell of Sommerset house, and passing through a crowde of Irish beggars, I went to the Savoy church, where the liturgye of England is read in French. In the afternoon I read a sermon to Madam Fairfax, my dear sister Cottrell, and Nansy; and afterwards waited upon Madam Cottrell home to her house in St. James his parke, which is hansomely built upon a piece of grounde, which the kinge gave to Sr. Charles.[5]

[4] A part of a leaf here torn out in the MS.

[5] Sir Charles Cottrell, master of the ceremonies to king Charles II., married Sir Thomas Browne's daughter. He translated Cassandra, and was one of the translators of Davila's History of the Civil Wars of France.

February 29. I was at the chymists to inquire for *spiritus urinæ, spiritus cornu, sal cornu cervi et cinnaberis antimonii.*

I carried some Islande stones to one Royall, a stone cutter living over against the spur, at the upper end of Woodstreet. I eat for my dinner a Woodstreet cake, which cakes are famous for being well made.

March 1. I went to see Dr. Dey living in Crouchet Friers, but hee was not within. I was at Mr. King's, living in little Britain, an ingenious chirurgeon, which shew mee parts of many things that hee had dissected, as a liver of a man excarnated, a spleen excarnated, a man's *vena porta,* the *chorion* and *amnion* of a woman, the uterus and all parts belonging to it, the coats in the third stomack of an ox neatly separated. I being desirous to see the inside of a man's stomacke hee cut up one for mee which hee had by him, the gutts opened and dried, the cæcum part of the *colon* and *ilium* dried, so as there was plainly to see the manner of the iliums insertion into the colon of a man, and the valve; and many other parts, which hee kept dryed in a large paper booke. This afternoon I went to see a collection of rarities of one Forges, or Hobarte, by St. Paules, among which were many things which I never saw before, as a sea-elephantes head, a Lazy of Brazil, an Indian Serpente, &c. I went to Arundell house where I saw a great number of old Roman and Græcian statuas, many as big again as the life, and divers Greek inscriptions upon stones in the garden. I viewed these statuas till the approching night began to obscure them, beinge extreamly taken with the noblenesse of that ancient worke, and grieving at the bad usage some of them had met with in our last distractions. From hence by water to Sr. Charles Cotrels, where taking my leave of my dear sister, I returned to my cousin Barkers in Clarkenwell.

March 2. I went to Mr. Foxe's chamber in Arundell house, where I saw a great many pretty pictures and things cast in brasse, some limmings, divers pretious stones, and one diamonde valued at eleven hundred pound; and, having received letters from him to carry to his honour Mr. Henry Howarde at Norwich, I tooke horse at the George in Lumbard street,

and gat to Chelmsford this night, travelling 25 miles through that pleasant county of Essex.

March the 3d. I rose very early, and set forward on my journy by four of the clock, so as betwixt eight and nine I got to Colchester; a very large, but a stragling towne, the heart of the towne standing upon an hill, but it shoots out long streets into the valleys, on all hands. From hence to Ipswich, where I dined. A very great and clean neat towne, standing advantagiously upon a river so as ships come up to the towne. There are about 12 churches in it, and it gives place in bignesse to nere a towne in England. From hence this afternoon I rode to Thwait, through the Pye roade, a very deep uneven roade; so, having roade about 45 miles this day, I thought it best to ride no further, although it were not yet night, and I might easily have reached Scole. The man of the house seemed to bee a very honest fellow, and gave us kinde entertainment as his house was capable of. Hee had a daughter which was not fifteen, and yet as tal as most women. I observed that to one in the jaundice hee gave the green ends of goose dunge steep'd in beere, and then strayned and sweetned, a country remedy.

March the 4. Having roade about two mile, I came to the white horse; a horse carv'd in wood, upon a wooden structure, like a sighne post, an old woman and a gardener one standing behind and another before the horse; underneath hanges a globe, out of which comes four hands, which directs passengers in the crosse roads (which meet iust in these places) one standes towards Norwich, the contrary towards Ipswich, one to Bury and the other to Framlingham. About three mile further I came to Scoale, where is very handsome inne, and the noblest sighne post in England, about and upon which are carved a great many stories, as of Charon and Cerberus, of Actæon and Diana, and many other, the sighne it self is the white harte, which hangs downe carved in a stately wreath. Fifteen mile more to Norwich, whether I gat about eleven of the clocke; and in the afternoon waited upon Mr. Howard, and delivered him his letters, and to little Mr. Fox (heir to Mr. Fox of London), who dances a jig incomparably.

March 5. I dissected a shoveler.

March 6. Dr. Porter preached at Christchurch upon this text, "Except ye eat the flesh of the son of man, and drinke his bloode, ye have no life in you," John 6. 53; in which hee expounded the flesh the body, and the blood the spirit, or soul.

March 9. I went to Norris his garden where I saw black Hellebore in flower, which is white; the white Hellebore is not yet come up.

I drank some birch tree liquor, which now runneth.

March 10. I saw Mr. Howards closet, in which are a great number of delicate limmings, but one pretty large one, of our blessed lady with our Saviour in her armes, more than extraordinary. There are two heads in agath pretty large, a great many things cut and turnd in ivory, delicate china dishes, divers things cut in fine stones, a pearle in the fashion [of] a lion very large, and child's head and thigh bone very neat; divers things in gold and delicate workmanship, worthy so noble a person's closet.

March 11. I walked out in the morning as far Harford bridges and found some very large Arum.

I had great deal of discourse with one Mr. Flatman a chirurgion that had lived in the gold country in Guiny, about that country, the inhabitants, their manners, our plantation at Cormontine, and the trafficke with the natives: as also about Lisbone, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, where hee had likewise been.

March 12. I roade out in the morning, and brought home some *radix cava minima flore viridi*, which groweth under a hedge on the left hand, a little beyond New found, as you goe to Intwood.

I dissected a frog, whose skin doth not stick close to the *membrana carnosa*, but is easily flead.

March 13. Mr. Hedges preached at Christ church. Walking out with Mr. Flatman, hee told mee the Portuguez used this way to the Jews or those that are in the inquisition, to make them dye in the Christian religion of the Church of Rome;—they put a cord about their neck the end of which is put through the hole of a great post so as they on other side

may streitn or slack the rope, choke or save them again as they please which they doe till with the extremity of the paine they professe what they will have them, and then immediately strangle them.

March 14. I cut up a young rat.

March 15. [I prescribed] for his honour Mr. Howard. Lying all along upon St. James' mount, in such a posture as one eye was perpendicularly over the other, the prospect of Norwich (which of it selfe is most delicate) was so much bettered as I never saw any picture, or any thing else, so pleasing to the eye.

March 17. I received a letter from Mr. Rand, wherein hee sent mee the inscription of the columne to bee set up at Rome upon the Corsican's expulsion.

March 18. I received a letter from my worthy friend Mr. Isaac Craven, who, being sent by the society of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge, of which hee is fellow, to complement the Marquisse of Newcastle and the Marchionesse for their workes presented to our library, was pleas'd to write me a short relation of his journy through Stamford, Grantham, Newark, Southwell, (where is a pretty minster,) and Mansfield, to Wellbeck the Marquisse his house; where hee saw many pictures of Vandike, and a fine cabinet, but above all his fine stable and brave horses for the great saddle, of which the Marquisse (as his noble booke horsmanshippe will testify) hath no small number nor ill managed, and is without compare the best horsman living, taking delight dayly, although hee bee now threscore and eleven years old, to see his horses practice.

March 19. [I prescribed] for Mr. Colman's sore, bruised by the fall of a windowe.

March 21. I dissected a polcat.

March 22. I gave 5 shillings in earnest for my coach-hire to London, 20s. in all hee is to have.

March 23. I went to Norris his garden, where amongst other plants I saw *dens caninus* in flower.

March 24. [I prescribed] for Mr. Bird of Lin in scorbuto.

March 26. I took *spiritus salis nitri*, and dissolved as much ☿ in it as the liquor would corrode, afterwards I præcipitated it with *sal tartari*.

March 27. Dr. Porter preached at Christ church. I tooke leave of my friends; my cousin Dorothy Witherly gave me ten shillings, my aunt Bendish gave me a ringe.

March 28. I set out towards London; Mr. Arrowsmith and my brother accompanied mee as far as Attleborough; this night wee layd at Barton mills; I had the kings chamber for my lodging, where Charles the first once layd: upon the wall, between the door and the chimney, there is written with the kings owne hande *Caualleiro Honrado.*

March 29. We bayted at Chesterford, and lodged at Bishop Stafford at the George, this day I had much discourse with Mr. Bedingfield, about his travailes in Flanders, Artois, Brabant, &c. wee had to our suppers pike and crafish.

March 30. By two of the clock in the afternoon wee gat to London, where Mr. Uvedal and Mr. Rand met mee at the Green Dragon, I waited upon Mr. Howells family, delivered a letter to my cousin Betty Cradock, and laid in Clerkenwell.

March 31. I measured the pell mell in St. James Parke, which is above twelve hundred paces longe. I went to Morgan's Garden at Westminster; St. Pauls church is 43 of my paces broad, Westminster Abbey is 33, Christchurch at Norwich 28, Christchurch at Canterbury is 30.

April the 1. I tooke money for my journey, at a goldsmith's in Lumbardstreet, ten pound; most of it in gold and French coyne.

April 2. I took leave of my friends at London. My cousin Garway, my cousin Cradock, Mr. Uvedale, and Mr. Hollingworth, accompanied mee this night to Gravesend; wee had a pleasant passage downe the river of Thames, sometimes sayling, sometimes rowing, close by many hundred brave ships which trade to most parts of the knowne world. About 1 in the morning my friends left mee, and I went to bed at the blew Anchor, to refresh mee against the morrow.

April 3. I rode from Gravesend through Rochester to Sittenborne. Rochester hath a pretty cathedral church, in which is a neat quire; and a bridge over the Medway inferior to few; it is extreamly high and longe, the water runs under it with such a force at lowe water, that all the river is covered with a white foame. From Sittenburne I took a fresh horse,

and rode fiften miles further to Canterbury, through a pleasant countrey, having the sight of the river most part of the way on my left hand; the cherry grounds on both, in great numbers, in which the trees are planted equi-distantly and orderly. I went to Christchurch, the cathedral church at Canterbury, which is an extreame neat church, very long, 30 paces broad. I saw in it the Black Prince's tombe; the painted glasse, most of which is of a fine blew colour, is excellent; the front is neat, having two steeples on each side, the tower of the crosse isles is handsome. There is an extreame bigge steeple at the east end begun, but finished no higher then the church. Under the quire is another church, which is made use of by the Walloons. There is a double crosse in this church. In Canterbury are fiften parishes. Hence I roade to Dover, and had a sight of the land in France three miles before I came to my journey's end. This night I lay'd at Mr. Carlisle's, the clarke of the passage, at the Kingshead.

April 4. I walked to the seaside, where I found very large sea girdles, some seastarres, many lympits, and divers hearbs. In the afternoon I saw Dover castle, a very large one, and situated upon an high rock, with many fine roomes in it. They shew mee the horn which was blown at the building of the castle, which is made of brasse. I saw likewise a very longe gun called Basiliscus, 23 foot 8 inches long, which was very neatly carved. Captain John Stroade is Mr. of the castle.

April 5. I went to sea to see them catch lobsters, sea spiders, wilkes, Spanish crabs, crabwilkes, or *Bernardi eremitæ*, &c. Wee gat our passe portes, and

April 6. Betimes in the morning, wee set sayle for Calais in the packet boat; wee gave five shillings a piece for our passage, and having a fair winde, wee gat in four houres time into Calais roade, from whence a shallop fetch'd us to shoare.

At our entryng of the port wee payd threepence a piece for our heads; they searched my portmantle at the gate and the custom house, for which I was to pay 5 sols. After that agreed with the messenger for 40 livres to Paris. I dined at Monsieur la Force his house, at the sighne of the Dragon,

and so walked out to see the towne. I was not sick at all in coming over from Dover to Calais, upon the sea, but yet could hardly forbear spuing at the first sight of the French women: they are most of them of such a tawny, sapy, base complection, and have such vgly faces, which they here set out with a dresse would fright the divell. They have a short blew coat, which hath a vast thick round rugge, in the place of the cape, which they either weare about their necks or pull over their heads, after such a manner as tis hard to guesse which is most deformed, their visages or their habits. This afternoon I went to the church which is a fair one, dedicated to our Blessed Lady; the large marble altar is noble, many chappells as to St. Peter, and others, are well adorned; in an oval chappell, behinde the altar, I saw the priests instruct the common people, and the young folkes of the towne, in matters of religion, and learne them to say their prayers. I went to a convent of Cordeliers, where Père Barnatie, whose right name is Dungan, an Irishman, was very civill to us, and shew us all about the convent, and had much discours with us about England, and other countries. Wee saw a monastery of nuns; their altar in their chappell was covered with very rich lace. The Port Royall is a very stately building. I agreed with the messenger for forty livres to Paris, and

April 7. Wee set forward about 2 of the clock in the afternoon, and got to Boulogne 7 leagues, where I saw the Port. The buildings here, as at Calais, are of stone, and the streets evenly paved, but there are very few shops.

April 8. Wee dined at Monstreuil. There they search my portmantle again, and I, not knowing I was to take a passe at Calais, was put to some inconvenience, and had like to lose my stockins, which were in my portmantle; but that one that travayled along with mee could speake both English and French, who perswaded [them] I was no merchant, and with fair words I got of. This night I layd at Bernay.

April 19. Wee dined at Abbeville, a great towne, built much after the English fashion, with wooden houses. I saw St. Voluhran's church, which hath a most stately front with two steeples in it, and a great deal of neat carving both in

the stone and in the wood [of] the gates. I layd this night at Pois, a small towne.

April 20. I got to Beauvais, time enough (if I had listed) to heare masse; however, I went to see St. Pierre's church, which is an extream high one, and very stately. The North and South ends are most noble, the church paved with marble, checquered with stone: there is no building westward, beyond the crosse isle, which makes the church but short; but if there were a body answerable to the rest, I think it might compare with most churches in Christendome. This night I layd at Tilierre. This day was the first day in which I saw vineyards, pilgrims, or was sprinkled with holy water.

Wee roade this day divers times beteewn rowes of apple trees a great waye; they are likewise set here orderly as the cherrytrees in Kent. Most of the country betwixt Calais and Paris is open, and sewen with corn, so as wee had fine prospects upon the top of every hill.

April 11, *St. v.* 21, *stylo novo.* Wee bayted at Beaumont, where after dinner each of us gave a messenger *trente solz*, for his care of us in our journey.

This after noon wee rode through St. Dinnis, where there is a noted church, in which are a great manye stately tombes of the Kings of France and other nobles. About four of the clock wee entered Paris, just by *Maison des Enfans Trouvés*, so through Fauxbourg St. Denis, and other places to the sighne of Ville de Soissons, dans rüe de la Vererie, where the messenger lodges. This night I walked about to see Pont Neuf, upon which standes a noble copper statua of Henry the fourth, the statuas of our Saviour, and the Samaritan woman, by a delicat fountain, made in the shape of a huge cockle-shell, which allwayes runs over. I went to Monsieur Michel de Clere, who lives in Rüe de Chevalier de Guet, and tooke an hundred liures of him, I went and hired a chamber in Rüe St. Zacharie for 7 liures *par mois*, and so, *je vous souhaitte le bon soir.*

The Journal of this tour occupies the whole of MS. Sloan. 1906; but I have thought it preferable here to discontinue the Journal, where its narrative is taken up by the following series of letters from MS. Sloan. 1868. A small portion of the tour they describe forms the subject of the last chapter in Dr. E. Browne's Travels, fol. 1685, under the title of "A Journey from Venice to Genoa." One of these letters has been collated with a duplicate copy—somewhat fuller, in the Bodleian, No. lviii, MS. Rawlinson.

Mr. Edward Browne to his brother Thomas.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

DEARE BROTHER,

I give you many thancks for your company to Attleborough. I am now (god be thancked) at Douer, where I have seen the Castle. In the same is a very great peece, called the Basilisk, 23 foot and 8 inches long. I saw the horne which they say was blowne at the building of the castle. This day I was at sea, and saw them catch shell fish, as lobsters, Spanish crabbs, wilks, sea spiders, heauers, crabwilks, which is the same with our Bernardus Eremita. Here are also limpits, or lympots, as they call them, in great numbers, which they eat. To morrow, god willing, we are for Calis. Your louing brother,

EDWARD BROWNE.

[Dover,] April 5 [1664.]

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

I have been divers times at Hospital de la Charité and Hostel de Dieu; which latter stands nigh to Nostre Dame,

and has far more diseased in it then the other. I have been often at St. Innocents church yard, and have seen them dig up bones which have been very rotten after 3 weeks or a months interrement. The flesh must needs then bee corrupted in a far shorter space; but I will send word in my next more punctually about it. In the middle of summer I think to goe for a month or two out of towne when the terme is done. There are coaches which goe from Paris to any place in France, and I suppose it is no where so deer living as here. I shall bee glad to see Monsieur Morillon;[6] hee may doe me some courtesies in directing of mee and showing mee things I have not seen. Luxemberg is the stateliest hostel I have seen;—the Tuilleries and Jardin Royall (assauoir, the physick garden), the most noble of the gardens, though there be innumerable here, and those far more pleasant then I could expect. The broad leav'd Tilia, and the thick groues of tall cypres, afford us a coole shade in the hottest dayes; here are a great many locust trees.[7] Oranges and lemons come to no great perfection, though these trees bee far greater then in England. I take up some sometimes of the little wither'd black ones, wich fall of the trees, and carry in my pocket; they have the most delicious smell in the world. I have been to agree with one to see a course of chymistry, but hee askes three pistoles, and speakes French when hee shows it. In the physick garden there will, in a short time, be showne all the operations in chymistry publickly, thrice in a week. I heare four physick lectures, Dr. Maureau reads *de hernia;* Dr. Dyneau *de febribus;* Dr. Pattin answers all doubts and questions proposed; Dr. Le Bell reads of chirurgicall operations. Aloe growes here to a vast bignesse; the plants will not yet bee showne this fortnight. I have been once at Charenton already, and intend to goe to Charenton again to morrow. The number of boats that goe upon the riuer together, the multitude of people walking on the bankes, the litle islands in the Seine, and the Protestants continually singing the French psalmes, makes the passage uery delightfull. The church is

6 Tutor for some time to Lord Howard's sons at Norwich. He afterwards settled at Padua as a language-master.

7 Robinia Pseud-Acacia: named by Linnæus after M. Robin, a French botanist, who introduced it into France in the reign of Henry IV.

a long square, uery capacious, double galleried on all sides; my lord ambassadour was there the last Sundaye. I went this week to Vincenne, the house has a large broad perpendicular ditch, the sides of which are free stone; the new building is handsome; one of the canons shew mee the church, and, in a litle chappell by it, Cardinall Mazarines hearse. I have been in a great many churches in Paris; Nostre Dame is ten of my paces broader then St. Paules, besides the chappells on both sides; St. Eustace church is a delicate one; St. Geneuieue's front is neat; St. Geruais front with its braue pillars shows stately, but is farr surpassed by the Jesuists church, in Rüe St. Anthoine, which hath a great cupulo carved and painted within, with the figures of famous and religious persons; the alters are set about with copper statuas almost as big as the life. Place Royalle, in proportion to Lincolne's Inne Fields in London, is not so much as 4 to 9. In the gazette I reade that wee are about to make warre with the Dutch, and that there is an act of parliament passed to furnish his maiesty with prouisions for it. I am much inquisitiue after news, but especally that of my owne countrye. Sr, I would that I might, in your next, here the certainty.

Your obediant Sonne,

EDWARD BROWNE.

Paris, May 17, Stylo nouo 1664.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Sister.

DEARE SISTER,

I long to have a letter from you, and therefore I write to tell you where I live. I have been at St. Denys, about three mile from Paris, where I saw a great many rarities and fine relickes, as some of the wood of our Sauior's crosse, one nayle of the same, one of the water pots in which our Sauiour turn'd the water into wine, Malchus his lantern, which hee had in his hand when hee came with Judas to take our Sauiour, many pieces of saints, as the head of St. Denys,

the chin of St. Lewis, &c. If you will have any beads or little pieces of silver that have touched these things, write mee word, and the next opportunity I meet with, I will send you some; but it may be you are not curious for such things. I saw likewise an unicorne's horne, Jeanne of Arc the maid of Orleans' sword, with which shee fought so ualyantly against the English with all, and many such kinde of rarities. Let mee know when you goe to Norwich. When I walk in the neate gardens of the monasteries, or in the Tuilleries, a place like Gray's Inn walks, but farre surpassing it, or in any shady groue, which is a great conuenence in this hot weather, or when I begine to take the least delight in any thing, I presently wish your companys; which, when I consider it is a thing impossible, I underualew all the delights of France, and prefer our little garden at Norwich before that of Luxembourg at Paris. To morow I am to goe to see two English gentlewomen made nuns. Deare sister, I have nothing else to say to you at present, but that I am

Your loving brother,

ED. BROWNE.

Paris, May 24, 1664.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

SIR,

I receued your third letter. The garden is not yet open, but will bee now in a day or two. The chymick lecture I am informed will be publick. I read at present Darlet's Chymistry in french, (hee who I myght have seen a course of,) to furnish mee with the words [and] termes in french proper for that art. It is the old Guido Patin that reads here, to whom Præuolius dedicates his booke. Hee is very old, yet very pleasant in his discourse, and hearty; hee is much followed, is a Gallenist, and doth often laugh at the chymists. I have not heard of any ancient aqueduct, but I shall inquire after it; and I have seen a great many new ones, fountaines, at Rueill, the Duke of Anguelesme's house,

within 4 leagues of Paris, whose garden is excellent, the groves strangely thick, the walkes very longe, and extreamely coole in the hottest weather. There is a piece of perspective of a portall, rarely done, and water works without number: the house is little, but neat, there is a pretty garden with a fountaine in it, out of one of the great windows which stands upon pillars. I have seen the Duke of Orleans house at St. Cloud, finely situated upon the riuer, and looking toward Paris; the grots, water works, statues, garden house, and groves, would take up too much roome to discribe. I have seen the King's house at St. Germains, about 5 *lieus* from Paris: the prospect, the two galleries, the three cloisters, one aboue an other, upon the side of the hill, supported with uast pillars, are most remarkable there. The president of Paris his house at Maison, the finest country house I haue seen yet, about 5 leagues from Paris; there is a multipliing glasse chamber in it, round, in the middle of which you see your self a great many times. Here is a vast rich bed, stair case, the gates all of carued steell, a long court, orange trees with out number. The last Sunday being Whitsunday here, I went to Nostre Dame, where I saw the Archbishop of Paris and all the seruis; hee had red gloues on, and upon the fore finger of his right hand a ring with the greatest Agmarine I ever saw. The Sorbonne is noble; but the Jesuists church in Rüe St. Anthoine doth not give place to this; and that of Vall de Grace, not yet finished, built by the queen mother, will goe beyond them both. The church of Nostre Dame is 10 paces broader than St. Paule's at London, and yet I dooe not reckon the chappells on each side. I have seen the ceremony of making of a nun. Two English gentlewomen took their habit a fortnight since, in the monastery of St. Augustin de Sion, a convent lately built by the now Abbesse of it. The church for the nuns Carmelites, Nostre Dame de Champs, in Faubourg St. Jacques, is the best adorned with painting, guilding and pictures of any in Paris. Sr, I have already seen some pretty rarities in apotheacary's closets, and will not loose the opportunity of seeing more. I continue to set downe in my book what I meet with remarkable every day. I long for Morillon's com-

ing, to bee informed in many things. I hope hee will bee here with in this week. On Whit Tuesday I went to Mount Caluarie, a hill about 2 leagues from Paris, upon the top of which live two hermits. They will not be seen or spoken to, but I went into their little chappells. This hill is made to resemble the true Mount Caluary, and here are three huge crosses where on our Sauiour and the theeues are crucified; there are litle chappells also about it, in every of which some part of our Sauiours passion is described. Here was one Sr William Meredith who, haueing a great desire to be cured of his deafnesse, a physitian ordered him to be anointed, I suppose in order to saliuation, the effect of which was, that after his head was light, and [he] talk'd wildly for some space, he died. The English here often fight; I see their wounds dress'd sometimes. I cannot goe for Orleans till the garden be past. I hope the pope's legate will not make his entrance till then neither; so as I may see Fountainbleau at that time that hee comes thither.

Your obediant Sonne,
EDWARD BROWNE.

Paris, [about 9th of June, 1664.]

From Mr. Browne's Journal it appears, that about this time he received from his father some directions as to his future proceedings which were in the highest degree unpalatable to him, and may even be imagined to have caused or aggravated a severe attack of illness, which lasted him till about the date of the next letter. Some extracts follow, which may serve to fill up the interval, not without interest.

[MS. SLOAN. 1906.]

June 6, Vendredy. I received a letter from my father, in which hee gave mee notice of returning, and told hee could not spare mee any longer then Michaelmas, which put mee

into dolefull dumps and spoild all the fine chymæras and geographicall ideas that I had formed in my braine of seeing Spaine, Italy, Germany, and I cannot tell how many countreys and people; this letter quite spoil'd all the high conceits of my travailes, yet I could hardly beat out of my braines the desire of seeing Italy. I walk'd, to divert my thoughts, with a Poictovin lad into the little garden of St. Jean de Lateran, and afterwards into Fauxbourg St. Germain. I heard of Dr. Napper that Sir William Meredith was dead; hee was under cure for his deafnesse, the physitian thought fit to salivate him by anointing, which proved, it seems, his extreame unction.

June 13. I received a letter from my father, in which my brother Tom drew the picture of a monstrous Tartar which was reported to bee taken by Count Serini.

June 18, Mecredy. I still found my selfe ill, yet the desire I had of seeing the garden made mee get up betimes; the weather was so bad as the professor was forc'd to set under a great acacia tree and name all the plants hee did intend to teach, and to showe them afterward. I found my selfe very ill, not able to stirre downe. About six of the clock I sent for a chirurgeon and was let blood, I went to bed and continued ill.

Juin 27, Vendredy. I received a letter from my father which ordered mee to goe as soon as I could to Montpelier. I received one the post before about the same. This being Friday I had an aumuliet for my dinner, which though not so good, perhaps, for one in my condition, yet with good eldre vinagre I got it downe; being somewhat weary of ptisane I sent for limons and made my selfe some limonade. Dr. Downes and Mr. Abdy came to see mee.

Juillet 11, Vendredy. I was much in the same condition as the day before. I received another letter from my father, wherein he bids mee make ready and take my journy as soon as possible I could for Montpellier; hee gave mee leave also to goe into Provence to Marseilles, but alas I am so weake at present as I cannot travail downe stayres.

Juillet 30, Mecredy. As I was standing in Bouillet's shop, in comes Dr. Patin: Bouillet told him whose son I was; hee

saluted mee very kindly, asked mee many things concerning my father, whom hee knew onely as author of Religio Medici, discoursed with mee very lovingly, and told mee hee would write to my father. Mr. Tristan came to see mee, but I was at Roberval's lecture; afterwards Mr. Dicas, hee and I supp'd at the Chapeau Rouge, the first supper I have eat since I was ill.

Aoust 6, Mecredy. Pere Macbree, a Jesuist, came to invite us to a tragedy at the Jesuist's college. I had a thesis given mee dedicated to the king of England, which was sustained by Fitz Patrick, the Sunday following, the embassadeur of England being there present at the disporte. I now am well enough I thank [God] to dine and sup with the rest of our pension. Wee pay thirty solz a day, besides our lodgings, which are in prizes according as they are in goodnesse.

Mardy, Aoust 12. I received a letter from my father, with directions how to order my selfe as to my health, to purge if need required.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

SIR,

Yesterday the legate * entred Paris with a great deal of splendour, first all the religious of Paris passed by, two by two, in such order as the archbishop of Paris, Hardouin Perefix, had appointed them. After them, some part of the gard, then diuers coches, more of the gard, hors and foot, the companys with their banners before them, their gownes veluet—hats and gold hat bands; the president of Paris, as at the lord mayors show in London; more of the gard in red coats, after them were led the legats mules for carriage, forty in number, very large ones with their rich couerings and feathers; diuers noblemen's pages on horseback; twenty of the legats pages on horseback; diuers noblemen and gentlemen with very rich habits and foot cloath like our noblemen,

* Cardinal Chigi, Cardinal Patron, the Pope's nephew.—*Note by Sir T. B.*

when the king came from the tower; then the kettle drums after; under a canopy rode the legate, upon a white mule, betwixt the Prince of Condy and Duke of Anquien, in a red habit and legats hats; then followed about thirty bishops and archbishops, then more of the gard. Such a number of coaches, and a thronge of people, as I found it no easy matter to get home. E. B.

Paris, Aug. 10, 1664.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

SIR,

I have seen the aqueduct at Arcueil which you writ me of in one of your letters; it is a noble one, but not ancient, being built but by our queen mother's mother. Here lodgeth at our pension,[8] at present, one Mr. Sitden. I think I have heard you speake of him. Hee hath been at Morocco, in Turkey, and in the East Indies. I saw lately Mazarine's house, which for statuas and pictures goes beyond any thing I could have expected to have seen in France. The library is a uery long one, far the best in Paris, but esteemed by the French for the brauest in the world. If I goe to morrow I shall have no English company, which considering the benefit of being forced to speak French, I count no inconuenience. I dare not uenture a ten dayes journey, though in a carosse, to Lyons, but choose rather to creep up this riuer of Seine, and so strik ouer land to some towne upon the Sosne, from whence I may passe as far as I please downe that and the Rosne. I shall desire your blessing, and with my duty rest

Your obediant Sonne,

ED. BROWNE.

Paris, [the end of Aug. 1664.]

[8] Boarding house.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.[9]

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

SIR,

I finding my self euery day in better health then other, and not willing to loose any more time, I haue uentured to leaue Paris. In the water coach I came as farre as Joigny, 4 dayes journeys from Paris; passing through Melun, Montereau, Sens, and Villeneuf. The first, though wee breakfast at it, yet wee left it before daylight, being call'd up at midnight; the 2nd is only remarkable by the meeting of the riuers Sonne and Seine, haueing a castle seated betwixt them, and a bridge to each opposite banke, like Pont Neuf at Paris. Sens is a neat place, haueing water running through the streets and gardens, situated in a braue champion. It putt me in mind of Salisbury. The front of its cathedrall hath two steeples, one of which is somewhat broken, else it would bee little inferior to that of Nostre Dame. At Villeneuf, in the church, there is a St Cristopher no lesse though worse shaped then that at Paris. I passed in a carriole from Joigny to Auxerre, a handsome large towne, in which are two well built churches; the one St Meurice of twelve hundred years standing; there is also here a sanctuary, from whence I am now, I thanke God, arriued at Chaalons Sur Saone, quite through Bourgoigne, a braue country though hilly, which furnisheth Paris with its best wines. These places I baited at, Vermanton, Rouery, Saulien, Nele Duke[1] Yury,[2] Chalons. Amongst the hills I was taken with the situation of a neat little house upon a high tri-angular rock, the walls of the house being built upon the edge of the rock, Roche Fauquieu. This day I saw millet growing in great quantities. Here is little worth seeing at Chalons; the citadell, hospitall, the Carmes church, and the cathedrall St Vinceau, the darkest church I ever saw. I haue met with uery ciuill, courteous, company hether; with a priest, and one of my owne name,

[9] MS. Sloan. No. 1886, contains a Journal of that part of this excursion which is related in the six following letters; but proceeds no further.

[1] Arnay-le-Duc? [2] Givry?

who live at Brugnoli in Prouence. I think to goe towards Lyons to morrow, where I thinke to stay a week to rest my self. The Soane is a noble riuer.

Your obediant Sonne,

ED. BROWNE.

Chaalons, September 10, 1664.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

SIR,

I wrote to you from Lyons. I was scarce well when I came out of Paris, but I thanke God I am uery hearty here at Montpellier. This place is the most delightfull of all France, being seated upon an hill in sight of the sea; inhabited by a people I suppose, without injury to my owne country, the most handsome in the world; the meanest of them going neatly dressed euery day, and there carriage so free, that the meerest stranger hath acquaintance with those of the best ranck of the towne immediately. We haue sermons here euery day, and Sunday 4, the greatest part of the towne being still of the religion. I live at an apothecary's house, where I have the conuenience of the shop, and am already acquainted with a dr of physick, who professeth himself ready to do mee any fauour in his way. I went with him to the baths of Balarue. Afterwards wee crossed the lake together, and went to Mont Septo, a hill famous for plants. I wrot to my father since I came hither; I hope hee hath receiued my letter; and the other which I wrote to him from Chaalons. I trauild from Paris hither alone, about 500 miles, which would haue made mee uery melancholy, but haueing somewhat of the language, I could entertain my self with the French, who are good companions in a journey. I did not see Sr Sam. Tuke,[3] nor Morillon, before I came out of Paris,

3 Sir Samuel Tuke, Bart., of Cressing Temple, in Essex; sent to Paris by Charles II, to condole with Lewis XIV on the death of Cardinal Mazarine. He was cousin to Evelyn; had been a colonel in the king's service during the civil war, and afterwards, being one of those that attempted to form a body in Essex for King Charles, he narrowly escaped with his life. He died in 1673.

but at my returne I will waite upon them. In the physick garden here, I meet with many things which are neither in England nor Paris. The whispering place is remarkable in it, so contriued that one whispers at one side the other heres him uery distinctly on the other side, and those in the middle heare nothing at all. My duty to my mother and your selfe.

I am your obediant Sonne,

ED. BROWNE.

Montpellier, Octobre 7, 1664.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

The plague being in Prouence, I could not passe by sea in to Italy, at least without doing quarantaine; which forc'd mee to goe by the way of Grenoble, a towne extremely populous, though but small for a parliament. I saw there the Duke of Leddiguere's hous, a bridge of boats ouer the Liser, a riuer more swift then the Rosne. Three leages of is a burning hill. From Grenoble wee went to visit the solitary desert of St Bruno, the most desolate retired place of all the Alpes; the entry is betwixt two rocks almost touching one another at the top, a portall fit for so strange an habitation; it is so cold that no fruit ever growes in it; the number of firre trees somwhat abates the horrour of those high pracipices. The cloisters are the longest that euer I saw, but three paces broad; ther chappells well adorn'd; the pere generall's chambers are inrich'd with pictures of a uery great ualeu. I lodged one night in the Couent, and was extremely ciuilly entertained, though I declared my self to bee a protestant. From hence I went to Montmelian, one of the strongest fortresses in Christendome; to Aiguebelle, where the rockes incompas a plaine in the forme of an amphitheatre; to St. John de Moriene, where is a square obelisk, a gilded ball and crosse upon it: the bishops house fairly built; many relicks in the church. Wee laid at St Michel, dined next day at Ma-

dane, and laid at Lasnebourg, at the foot of Mount Senis. We passed this hill with great difficulty, the weather being extremly bad. In the winter they descend by the *ramass*, sliding downe the hill a league high in a quarter of an hour. Wee went downe the other side in a chair: the Marans who carry us step from stone to stone in the most dangerous places with such confidence and speed, that without slipping of ther feet, though in rainy weather, they carried us downe two leagues in lesse then two hours. Wee lodg'd at Suse, where the tower of the church is the neatest thing I observed. Wee passed by Riuoli, an house of the Duke of Sauoy's: and are now, thankes be to God, in good health at Turino. The Duke of Sauoy is a man of a midle or rather low stature, light browne haire, pleasant in conuersation, and one that spends most of his time in hunting; hee hath his buck hounds from England, and pays forty pistolls a couple for them; his palace the most rich for gilding I have yet seen; a closet furnished with limmings strangely neat; into which they enter by a gallery. The new buildings are stately and more uniform than any in France. One sees through his highness's pallace, and the whole neat built towne, at one view. There are two places uery noble and cloysterd, the church of St. Carlo; the Jesuits are rich beyond expression; the cupulo of St Jean noble. The marble buildings here must needs goe beyond the freestone of France. I had almost forgot the duke's gallery, so famous for its old Roman statuas; the portraytures of the family of this prince, and its painted roof, besides the library, and the length of it; a banquetting house also, upon the walls of the towne, furnished with draughts, mappes, and limminges. I was this day at Millefleur, an handsome house of the Duke's, at Mont Callier, well furnished with pictures, and at Valentin not inferior to his palace at Turin. On Saturday wee goe towards Genoa. I saw here yesterday one whom they report to be brother to the great Turk, his picture I have inclosed herein.

ED. BROWNE.

Turin, Nouember 5, 1664.

Mr. Edward Browne to his brother Thomas.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

DEARE BROTHER,

I sent you the picture of a dominican frier from Turin, the brother (as they say) to the grand Turck. I would not loose any opportunity of writing to you. I am so farre of, and am unsatisfied in nothing so much as in not haueing your company, in a place where your judgment in picturs and statuas would be so satisfied, and your fancy pleasd. The oddest rarity that I have met with, is the tombe of a dog on the side of a hill, with Jupiter's statua ouer it, as big as St. Christophe à Paris, with this epitaphe in Italien; my father will interpret it to you.

Qui giace il gran Roldano cane del Principe Geo. Andria D'Oria, il quale per la sua molta fede et beneuolenza fu meriteuole di questa memoria, et per che servò in uita si grandemente fu anco giudicato in morte douersi Collocare il suo cenere appresso del sommo Gioue, come ueramente degno della real custodia.

Here lies the great Roldano, the dog of Prince Andria Doria, which for his great fidelity and beneuolence was diseruing of this memory: and because hee serued so greately in his life, was also judged in his death to deserue to haue his ashes placed neere great Jupiter, as truly worthy of so royall a custodie.

It was no ordinary cur that receiued this interrement, but a dog of 500 crownes per annum. I haue just now past the Alpes and Apenines, which journys put mee much in mind of our Darbishire aduenture.[4] I long to bee with you, which will make me haste for England after Christmas. If you write to Cambridge, present my sarvis to Mr. Nurse, Mr. Crauen, Mr. Arrowsmith, and the rest of our friends.

Your loueing brother,

EDWARD BROWNE.

Genoua, Nou. 14, 1664.

[4] In September, 1662; the particulars of which journey are preserved in No. 1900, *MS. Sloan.* See before, page 22.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

SIR,

I wrote to you the last weeke from Turino. I am now come to Genoa. Trauayling in this country is more expensiue then I could imagine, butt the hopes of seeing the most remarkable places in Europe, and attaining that sweet languauge heere spoken, doth still encourage mee. I have been heere alreadie 4 dayes, and intend to morrow or next day to go by sea to Lerici, a port of this state, about 70 miles of. Genoa is one of the best ports in these seas; hath a noble tower or pharo, the most stately one I euer beheld; the inhabitants exceeding rich; many palaces exceeding those of kings and princes in other parts. At Signor Imperiale his palace, I saw fish ponds built of marble, and set about with statuas; fish come upon whistling, and follow one as hee walks upon the side of the ponds. The orange and lemon trees are delightfull, and come to better perfection then in France. The water workes are not to be expressed; they hauing a great conuenience of the hill to make their water rise. This Imperiale hath 5 daughters, to euery one whereof hee giues in mariadge about thirtie thousand pound sterling. Out of his windowe hee can see so much of his owne as is of value vnto him fiftie pound sterling a day. The palace of Prince Doria is the most famous in the citty; where is an auiary or bird cage of fourscore paces long and 18 broad; very high, so that many trees growe vnder it. There are also fountaines and many strange birds; where I saw an hen of Grand Cayro, &c. In the garden of this house is a fountaine with Neptune riding upon 3 sea horses, one of the noblest in Italie. Strada Noua, or the new street, hath eleuen palaces, and is reputed the fayrest in Europe. I saw Francesco Maria Balbi his palace, furnished with pictures of old masters, also del Negro and the Duke of Genoa his palace; the senate house and the manner of choosing their officers. Their gallies much delighted mee,

butt the poor slaues, and their miserable life, is a very pitifull spectacle.

ED. BROWNE.

Genoua, Nou. 14, 1664.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

SIR,

I am now, thanckes bee to God, safely arriued at Rome; haueing inioyed my health better then I could expect. My last I wrote to you was from Genoa, since which time I haue not found a good opportunity of writeing. My greatest affliction is, that I cannot hear from home or receue your commands here. Wee set sayle in a small boat from Genoa, but the wind being contrary, wee were four days before wee got half the way to Leghorn. Wee put in at Porto Fin al Leuanto, and landed at Lerici in Porto Venere. The coast is rocky. Near Lerici is a fort fitted to a rock in the sea, in which is a spring of fresh water. From hence to Massa, well situated on the side of an hill in sight of the sea, the princes garden is the most remarkable, where the orange trees and myrtles grow to a uast bignese. Three miles from hence is Carrara, from whence comes the best marble in Italy. From thence to Luca, a towne that lyes upon flat ground, incompas'd round with hills, at three or four miles distance. Tis a place extremely well fortified, hath eleuen bastions and a wall of earth that four coaches may goe a brest on; the side shoring,[5] and set with fiue rowes of poplars round the towne. There is a good armory in the Gonfaloniere's palace. To Pisa, where the church is admirable for its pictures, mosaique work in stone and wood. The gates of bronze rarely carued; they report them to be those that belonged formerly to the temple of Hierusalem. At one end of this church is a very high steeple, with eight rowes of marble pillars, one

5 Sloping, aslant; from the oblique or slanting position of a shore, or buttress. A Norfolk word. *See Forby's Vocabulary of East Anglia.*

above another, built purposely awry. At the other is a round church dedicated to St John, with a noble pulpit and baptistair in it. On the north side standes the Campo Santo, the noblest buriing place surely in Christendome. Among the rest lyes Mathilda. Wee saw Bartolus his hous, and the physick garden, ouer which is written, *hic Argus esto, non Briareus;* tis a long square, not well furnished with plants, nor yet very big. In the closet of rarities were many things remarkable: a beast which they called a syren; Ægyptian idolls, much larger than those I had seen before; all sorts and productions of mineralls, very orderly placed; with gummi, resinæ, &c. At Legorne, the Duke of Florence his statua, with 4 slaues tied to the pedistalls, is uery noble. The streets there are uniforme, and the houses well painted. Wee happened to be there on St Cicilis day, the festiuall of the musitians; so as wee heard the eunuchs singe. One Coseni hath the noblest voice of any in Tuscany. At Florence, for statuas of Baccio Bandinelli, of Michael Angelo; and for pictures of all the rare masters of Italy and elsewhere; for an inestimable treasure, for raritis of all sorts, the Dukes gallery and closets goe beyond all that is possible to be seen. Amongst other masters, Corregios paintings pleased mee best. The cathedral is of black and white marble; the cupola as high again as Boston steeple. At the west end an old temple of Mars made into a church. St. Laurence chappell is couered in the inside with pretious stones; the alter is of an inestimable valew, set with large topaces and other stones, long pillars of chrystalls, and the like. Wee saw Michel Angelo's tombe, with Painting, Caruing, and Architecture lamenting him: Baccio Bandinelli his, carued by his own hand: a very neat library of manyscripts, the desighn of the front of it by Michal Angelo; and many other very remarkable things, wich would take up too much roome to describe. Of Rome I can say but little, haueing beene here but a day and a hafe. Two mile before wee came to the towne, we saw Neros sepulchre, passed ouer the Via Flaminia, a uery noble entrance to the city, and came in at Porta dell Popolo, where stands an Ægiptian obelisk, *dedicato al sole da Augusto nel circo massimo,* and makes a braue [show],

down three long streets which look against it. The amphitheatre not so intire as that at Nismes. Tis still, besides what is underground, as high again as the castell at Norwich. The reliques of the old capitoll, new capitoll, Vespatian and Constantines triumphall arches, St Peters and the buildings by it by this present pope,[6] very magnificent. An obelisk stands before it but without hieroglyphicks. Mr. Wray is here at Rome: hee hath been in Sicilia and Malta. I haue bought *itinerario D'Italia di Franc. Scoto*, which giues mee notice of most thinges remarkable in Italy, in which also there are mapps of all the great cities. Sir,

Your most obedient sonne

ED. BROWNE.

Rome, December 6, 1664.

Mr. Edward Browne to Mr. Craven.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

Let it suffice, deare friend, for this time, that I tell you I am at Naples, a place that goes farre beyound those great expectations I had of it, and where I meet with so many remarkables that I'll not venter to set them downe, till I see there be roome left in my letter for them. You shall know then, at present, those rarities I have seen this day. Wee went from hence in the morning by Castello del Ouo, a rock in the form of an egge, upon which stands a strong castell, which hath communication under the ground and sea with Castell Novo; haveing Castell di St Elmo on the right hand. These three forts held out against Massinello, and were the onely refuges of the Spaniards in the eight dayes fury of that noble rascall. Hard by stands the mountaine Pausillippo, so fruitfull that it beares grapes thrice in a year, and green pease and hartichokes at present, with many other fruites, which require the heat of our summer in England. Under this mountain wee rode very nigh a mile in a stately vault, haueing

[6] Alexander the Seventh.

no other light then what comes in at both ends; hallowing out al the way, "*al marino*," to give notice to others, that might chance to trauell here at the same time, which side to take. Tis paued with broad stones, just as the Via Appia was, from hence to Rome. After this wee took dogs and went to Grotto del Cane, where wee saw one killd out right, the second, dead in appearance, we reuiud by throughing him into the Lake of Agnano. Much taken with this curiosity, I went into the grot myselfe, and findeing no inconuenience from those poysonous exhalations, either by standing or putting my hand to the place where the dog died, I was about to put my head to it allso; when, to the hindrance of my satisfaction in this point, my companions and the guide furiously tore mee out of the grot, and I think, without some persuasions, would haue throwne mee into the lake also.[7] Hard by here wee went into the stoues of St. German, a place naturally hot, where many come to swet. The house is diuided into diuers roomes, some much hotter then others. There is a strong salt shoots out of the walls. From hence wee went to a place now cal'd Sulfaterra, by some Forum Uulcani. If I had not seen the mountain Vesuuius and his smoking entrailes, I shuld with more feare haue approachid these sulfurious breathings; and indeed at present this smoeks the more furiously of the two. Wee roade about half a mile here, where the earth being hollow our horses feet sounded a march upon it, till wee came to the thickest of the smoak, which riseth with so great a force that casting many things into it, it caried them up a great heighth into the air. Holding our swords in it, the water dropped from them. I was afraid at first they had been melted. Wee were not able to put our hands nighe the ground by reason of the heat. The smoak of this place I saw fifteen mile of, and I suppose it is uisible much further by sea. It is within a mile of ancient Puteoli, where wee saw many antiquities; an old amphitheatre, ruines of the sepullchre of Virgill, of Cicero's hous, and the like. Here I bought diuers Roman coins, Roman seals, some odd fishes, shells,

[7] Evelyn tried the same experiment in 1645, and with the same result: but he remarks that dogs are recovered by being plunged into the lake, men cannot be so recovered.

and such like curiosities. Wee took boat here and cros'd this hauen, three miles, to Bayæ, passing by the ruens of Caligula's bridge, which hee made crose this arme of the sea. As soon as wee landed wee went in to the sepulchre of Agrippine, under ground; the roof wrought with diuers figures very neatly. Nigh to this is a noble castle, built by Charles the fift; Cæsar's hous, some ruines of which are yet standing; Marius his hous; and part of the temple of Hercules, though fallen into the sea, are uisible from hence. Wee saw so many ruins that I haue almost forgot them; the most considerable are Nero's piscina admirabilis, the plaister more durable then stone, made, as they say, with the whites of egges; Nero's judgement hall and his hundred chambers, or prison, under ground; an old buriing place where they set up there urnes. From hence wee went into the Elisean fieldes, neare to which wee saw the Dead Sea and the place where Caron ferried ouer. After this wee saw the temple of Venus, another place which they called the termes[8] of Trulli. After this Cicero's baths, uery medicinall, as they report; by which are the stones of Tritola, so hot that to one standing upright they are insufferable. I crept into them a uery great way, being almost melted. Within halfe a yard of the bottom the earth is cold, but higher intolerably hot. Here they haue a naturall cure for the *morbus Neapolitanus*. At the bottom of the sea the sand is so hot that I could not indure it in my hand though the water bee cold. From hence wee went to the lake Avernus, the vapour of which was formerly so poisonous as to kill the birds fliing ouer it. Upon the banks of it stands the temple of Apollo. Wee went into Sibilla Cumæa's grot, which is five miles long, reaching from the lake Avernus to Cuma. On the right hand wee descended by a narrow passage into her chamber wrought in the sides with mosaique work; wee saw her bath too, and returned the same way out again. Wee passed by the lake of Lucrino, so famous in former time,[9] now almost stopt up by the new mountain, which rose here in the memory of some of the fathers of those that are now liuing at Puzzuolo. Tis a vast mountain for so young an one, and wee had not time to goe up it, to see the riuer which

[8] *Thermæ*, baths. [9] Famous for its delicious oysters.

they say runs at the top. Nigh it is the mountain Gauro, which produceth the brave Falerne wine, which will keep an hundred yeares. Wee came home by the iland Nisida, some two miles in compasse, belonging to one gentleman, who in it keeps all creatures tame by force, haueing no way to get from him. In sight of Caprea, once the delight of Tiberius, and so under the mountain Pausilippo again, with torches in our hands, it being night before wee could reach it, which wee passed safely; the better by reason that the holy virgin is gouuernesse of this cauerne, and hath a chappell dedicated to her in the middle of it. By this time you must coniecture wee had a good stomach to our supper, which wee made of pigeons, the best heare without controuersy in the world, as big as pullets. Their sauce onely lemons, which are somewhat remarkable by reason they are a sort which have no kernells in them. I could wish there were more roome to show how much I haue an ambition to sarue you.

Yours for ever,

Naples, December, 16, 1664. ED. BROWNE.

Mr. Edward Browne to Mr. Craven.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

Wee went from Rome to Veletri, twenty miles; from thence to Sermoneta; to Piperno; to Terracina, where are ancient walls, and an inscription on a stone concerning the draining of the fennes by Theodoric, king of the Goths, a pillar of Traian, two lyons at the gates; to Fundi, the first citty of the kingdome of Naples, where wee sawe hunting of buffalos, and a buffalo drawing of a bull that would not otherwise go forward; by Aquino to Mola and Gaieta, seated three sides in the sea; to Garigliano, where is an amphitheatre and aqueduct; to Sessa or St. Agat, where I had the first sight of the comet, being up early in the morning; to Capua, where a noble church made out of a large pretorium, a small cittadelle, and an handsome bridge.

To Naples, where wee obserued three castles, Castello Nouo, del Ouo, and St Elmo, where is the Chartreuse, the noblest conuent I ever sawe. Nouo and del Ouo haue a way vnder ground vnto each other. St. Blesa street goes quite through the citty. Rue de Toledo obseruable. Wee saw the viceroy, Cardinal d'Arragon, giue audience vnto all petitions and complaints, which hee doth once a weeke. The front of the palace, and the guards relieved. A cascade, where the water runnes through beasts mouths into a fountaine, where Neptune is made by Bernigno. Stables, souldiers, horses, casting of ordinance, the arsenall, a chappell well guilt, an hall where the pictures of all the viceroyes, good tapistrie in two roomes, hall for comedies, the mole, a fine fountain, and a canal.

Sta. Maria de Noua painted by Josapin, in the sacristie whereof lye buryed two famous captaines and the body intire of St. Jacomo de Camerera. The Jesuite's church well paynted by Joardin; in the sacristie a picture by Guido Renus. Statuas made by Caualliero Bernino. Santa Clara, wherein four pillars, brought by Constantine, of the temple of Jerusalem. Tis the oldest church in Naples.

St. Dominico maior, where the crucifix spake to Thomas Aquinas, "*bene scripsisti de me Thoma.*" In the sacristie are many sepultures of kings and queens in lead, placed in truncks. By it is a conuent of Jacobins, of which order there are eighteen in this citty.

St. Seuerino, paynted by Belisarius, who fell down from the roofe, brake his neck, and there lyeth buryed. Where are also the sepulchres of three brethren, killd by their vncle, the prince of Salerno.

The church of St. Gaetan, paynted by Lanfranc, hung full of tables of vowes made in time of the plague. In the front are eight Corinthian pillars which belonged to the temple of Castor and Pollux, whose statuas lye one by side of the other, and were throwne downe when St. Peter first came thither.

The noble church of the Annunciada, paynted by Bassan. Ouer the altar a canopie couered with beaten gold, a tabernacle of massie syluer about ten foote high, and on each side two angels about the same hight, of massie syluer, worth

11000 crownes. St. Luke's picture of our lady round faced. The noblest argenterie imaginable, among which a couer for the altar in syluer with statuas. In the church queen Joanes tomb, her crowne and rose of diamonds, besides cupboards full of syluer plate of vast bignesse, hangings for the whole church in satin and gold, upon cloath of syluer. Wee saw the body of queen Joane's daughter, in a chest, her hands and slippers, who dyed two hundred and twenty yeares agoe. A chappell wherein were the bodyes of twelve saints. Wee saw two of the Innocents' bodies. St. John's finger, *ecce agnus dei*. St. Barbara's head, which smells sweet.

Wee sawe the palace of prince Caraciolo, the gallerie filld with pictures of the best masters, of Michael Angelo's Day of Judgment; syluer tables; syluer great shell; the cabanets which play of themselues many tunes, imitating diuers sorts of instruments in one; there are fiue which dance; many looking glasses, in some of which wee saw only our backs.

Rome, January 2, 1664-5. E. B.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

In my last journey to Naples I met with many antiquities very remarkable; at Terracina, a pillar sit up by Traian, the old walls of the towne, and an inscription of Theodoric, when hee drained those fenns; at Garriglano, an amphitheatre and an aqueduct; at Capua, a noble prætorium, now made into a church; at Puzzoli and Baiæ, so many as I shall not haue roome to number them. Mr. Crauen's letter here inclosed containes most of them. I went up monte Vesuvio, and a litle way into it, till the steepnes hindred me. The whole ground for 4 mile about is couered with sinders, and burnt stone; at the top the ground is burnt to a red colour, and within it in many places it lookes white. It smokes in abundance of places, both on the sides and at the bottom. The circuit of the mouth I judged to bee about three mile, the

guid told us 5; uery deep. In this is another hole of aboue a mile in compasse, they say two; and in the middle of that I perceued another, which had a litle hill rais'd in the middle of it. At the foot of the Peak, after wee had mounted 4 mile, by many cracks and clefts of the mountaine, wee left our horses, and with uery much labour got up a-foot, our feet sinking each step into the ashes; but our descent was extremly pleasant, we slipping safely 10 yardes at a time, without any inconuenience but that of haueing ashes in our shoes. About this hill grows the pleasantest and the least offensive wine, to the head, of any I haue tasted in Italy. Tis much like that of Condrieu, by Lyons. The plants that I saw but few; diuers sorts of thornes and some strawberry trees. At Naples the churches goe beyond all I have yet seen, setting aside St. Peter's; and the Carthusians here beyond all other couents, the cloisters being supported by threescore large marble pillars, and paued with inlayed marble, in delicat works and flowars; in the quire are five noble pieces of 5 seuerall masters, Paulo Verronese, Guido Boloniensis, Spanioletto, Carazzio, Josapin. I saw the viceroy Cardinal Arragon, according to the custome, giue audience to all people that had any business or petitions to put to him. Caualliero Dernigno hath made many statuas here; one that is now aliue at Rome, not inferior to Michel Angelo, as his works in Piazza, Nauona, sufficiently testify. On Christmas euen I saw the Cardinalls at supper at the Pope's at monte Cauallo. I heard the midnight musick at the Apollinari, and was at St Maria Maggiore in the morning, where the Pope was expected to say masse, but by reason of a cold hee had gotten, it was performed by Cardenall Barberin, the head of the colledge. I haue since seene some antiquities, as Mausoleum Augustij, Thermæ Dioclesianæ, Pantheon, now St. Maria di rotonda, Cestius his pyramid; some palaces, as that of Pamphilio, Justiniano, Mont-alto, Barberini, Farnese, where the bull that was brought from Rhodes is; [some] of the most ancient and noble statuas of Rome. On St Thomas day wee were very kindly entertained by the Jesuites, with a feast and good musick. There are at present a great number of English men here at Rome, seldome so many knowne here together; and

diuers personnes of great quality, as my Lord Sunderland, my Lord Anslo, my Lord Finchinbrook. My Lord Castelmain is just now gone,[1] Mr. Noel, Viscount Camden's son, one that goes by the name of Duke of Northumberland,[2] Sir Edward Stradling and Sir Edward Witherington, that comes hither on pilgrimage out of Cumberland. The comet I see most nights when it is clear: the first time I obserued it was at Sossa, within 30 miles of Naples. The head was then by Crater, and his tayle almost reached Corhydra, December 16th. The last time I saw it was December 31, when the last star of Orion's sword, Orion's heel, and that, stood in a right line, the comet to Orion's heel, was somewhat further then that to the other star. At Puzzolo are a great many *Caualli marini*,[3] and old coynes and seals, but strangers coming thither so often, they hold them at strange prises, though most of them bee worth nothing. I bought fowr or fiue seals, which cost mee a pistoll, and some Roman coynes. Sir, pray be pleased to allot mee how long to stay at Padua; which way I shall return, ether by Milan, Geneua, and so to Paris, or downe the Rhine to Colen (from whence, as also from Liege, goe coaches euery week to Paris), or to Montpellier again, where I may bee time enough to hear the lecture of the plants and druggs, what you think most fit for your

Obedient sonne

Rome, Jan. 2, 1664-5. ED. BROWNE.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

SIR,

I intend to be at Venice about three weeks hence; though I shall take my leave of Rome with a great deale of

1 Lord Castlemain had quitted England in the preceding year, on account of the conduct of his Lady, one of Charles the Second's mistresses.

2 Son of the Duchess of Portsmouth.

3 *Cavallo marino* is the Italian name given to the Hippopotamus, and sometimes to the Tapiir; but in the present instance it refers to a much smaller animal, the Hippocampus, *Syngnathus Hippocampus*, Lin.

regret, and leaue behind mee some noble things unseen, though when the weather is fair, I am commonly imploy'd in viewing antiquities, pallaces, statuas, and other curiosities, which Rome, aboue all other places, is famous for. Of any Naumachia there is not any thing standing, nor of any circus within the walls. I saw that of Caracalla out of Porta St Sebastiano, the walls of wich are yet standing; round the top of it were inclosed urnes, pretty large, at about a foot distance one from another; they haue broken them all, great pieces stick still in the walls. For sepulchres about Rome, there are abondance; the most remarkable that I haue seen are, of Adrian, or Castel Sto Angelo, Mausoleum Augusti, Metellus his monement, just by the Prætorian camp, and Plautius by Tiuoli. Vespasian's amphitheatre, though much ruined, and out of the stones of it Farnesi's pallace, one of the most splendid in Rome, was built, and diuers others borrow dayly from it, yet is still a miracle; and is one story or two of arches higher then that of Nismes. For theatres, that of Pompey is, as it were, totally ruined, and without exact serching one finds nothing of it. The building of Savellis pallace, upon Marcellus his theatre, hath preserued what is left. There are some ruines left of Pons Triumphalis, and Pons Sublicius, upon wich Hor. Cocles defended Rome. Janus square temple, like 4 triumphall arches, I haue seen, and many round ones, as the Pantheon, St Bernardo, and St Stefano di rotunda. For bathes then, in which the Romans were in nothing more magnificent, there are uast ruines remaining of Antoninus' and Dioclesian's; out of the latter diuers noble churches are built, and they take up as much ground, as would serue to build a large towne upon. For triumphall arches, there are diuers, as of Seuerus, Constantine, Titus, &c. Arcus Portugalliæ was pull'd doune 2 yeares since, becaus it hindred the prospect of Don Mario's, the Popes brother's, house. I haue often admired the pillars of Traian and Antoninus, the 5 greater obelisks, Piazza Nauona, that at Porta del populo, that before St. Peters, before St. John de Lateran, and that before St Maria Maggiore: yet there is a single Corinthian pillar taken out of the temple of Peace, that stands behinde this last church, which makes

as great a show as most of these; the blessed virgin stands on it; St. Paul on Antoninus', and St. Peter on Traian's pillar. Another lesser obeliske there is, standing by St. Bartholomeo, another I saw in Medici's garden, another great one, but not rais'd, in Barberino his pallace. That in the garden of Mattei I haue not yet seen. I haue seen Cestius his pyramid, nere wich is Mons Testaceus, betwixt the Palatin and Auentin hill, hard by where the Circus Maximus was, stande noble ruenes of Augustus his pallace. The French pyramid is a thing ridiculous, the inscription is nothing as they giue out, and placed so as one may liue a long while here without seeing it. I took notice of it as I went to the Ghetto or place where the Jewes liue, where I saw a circumcision. I have been at the Greeks, and saw all there ceremonys of blessing the water, &c. To-morrow is the great ceremony here of blessing the horses. I have been weary long agoe of seeing of relickes, there are such an infinite number of them. Mr. Wray hath made a collection of plants, fisshes, foules, stones, and other rarities, which hee hath with him; and Mr. Skippon, besides a great number which hee hath sent home, though they had the illfortune to loos one venture with a seruant of thers, who is now slaue in Tunes. I went with them to Tiuoli. Cardinall d'Estes garden, there, goes beyond all in Italy and France. The whole riuer hard by it falls a uery great heighth and runs under ground. Wee saw Sibella Tiburtina's temple and grott. Wee saw a large Ægyptian statue, and by chance the manner of making oyle. Wee past a riuer which is of a perfect blew colour, and stinkes intollerably; tasting of it it made mee sick, all about it the ground is petrified. There are stones just in the shape of sugar plums, I haue been also at Frescati, which is one of the most noted places in Italy for water works. I was the other night at the Queene of Sweden's, shee is low and fat, a litle crooked; goes commonly in a ueluet coat, crauat, and a man's perruke; she is continually merry, hath a free carriage with her, talks and laughs with all strangers, whom shee entertains, once in a weeke, with musick, and now this carniuall euery other night with comedies. I haue seen Kircher, who was extremely courteous

and ciuill to us, and his closet of raritys; the most considerable, and which I neuer saw in any other, are his engines for attempting perpetuall motions, and other pretty inuentions, which I understande much the better for haveing read Doctor Wilkins Mechanicall Powers. His head that speaks, and which hee calls his Oraculum Delphicum, is no great matter. Hee hath the modell of all the obelisks, and hath inuented one himself for the Queen. Ventiducts, aqueducts, and making instruments, are seene neatly performd in so litle a space. A Clepsydra hee hath, pictures of many famous men, and most of those raritys which are seen in other Musæums. I dare buy litle here, by reason I shall bee searched so often before I come at Venice, which I haue often found extremely troublesome and chargeable; but at Venice, if you pleas to write mee word what you pleas to haue, there is a conuenience of shiping any thing for England, with out any farther trouble.

EDWARD BROWNE.

Rome, January 16, 1665.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

SIR,

Not being willing to loose all this winter without seeing anatomies, makes mee come out of Rome so soone, though I shall allwayes regret the occasion left of seeing many rarities in that city, though for the antiquities, I think none escaped mee, and for the palaces, the chief I haue seen. Borghese's is one of the noblest; but his uilla is beyond compare, where besides the park, gardens, and waterworkes, his hous on the outside is set all with statuas and old sepulchres. Three new statuas by P. Bernino are incomparable: Dauid throwing a stone, biting his lip, Anchises carried by Æneas, and Apollo laying his hand on Daphne's side; for old ones, are Seneca in the bath of black marble, the Gladiater, Venus clipping Cupid's wings, Diana and an old woman with a dog.

In Beluedere, the garden to the Vatican, are statuas of the greatest note. Twelve idols, brought from the Pantheon, Laocoon, Apollo, Cleopatra, lying along (it is pity the fountain ouer it doth it so much iniury), two Venus's, one comeing from the bath, Commodus like Hercules, four riuers, Saturnus, and that delicat statua of Antinous. Here I saw also the peacockes and pine apple in bronze, that held the ashes of Adrian, upon the top of Castell St. Angelo. Most of the rarities out of towne I have seene. I have seene a great way in Roma Sotorranea, in two seuerall places. I saw Bachus his tombe, Frescati, Tiuoli, and Aqua Aretosa, about two miles out of Rome, handsomely adorn'd by this Pope. I was diuers times at the hospitelles; that of St. Spirito is a uery large one, and that of St. Giacomo for the curables; at this latter I gat an acquaintance with an honest chirurgeon, who died, while I was there, very sudainly, Sr Nicolo. Rome is notable for sore legges, and the hospitelles allwayes full of them; and for the lues venerea they are neuer without a great number. I have not seen the comet now a great while. I beleeue it disappeard about the tropick of Cancer, appearing first about the head of Capricorne; I obserued it as much as I could with so little help or acquaintance giuen to those studies; the center of its motion I thinke was about the neck of Taurus, waning nigh twenty times as fast sometimes as at another. For prints, coins, intaglias, and such rarities, if I had had mony there, I could haue bought many, but the fear of not conueniently drawing my bills from Venice, and the professed knaue that our English marchand at Rome is, made mee be sparing, and yet I am here at my last, so uastly more expensiue is liuing here then I expected; but my companions, I suppose, will lend mee till I come at Venice. Wee came out of Rome twenty in company, and by reason of the bad way haue bin thirten days coming to Bologna. Wee passed the Apenin to Loreto, with a great deal of difficulty, though at another time the way bee good, and mount Soma, in Vmbria, the highest hill wee passed. Spoleto is a great towne. Fuligni the best auenus I euer saw; wee happined to be there on St. Falicians, their saint's day, so by Casa Noua, Volcimara, Macerata, Recanati, by an ancient aqueduct to Loreto,

where wee saw the tresory, the holy hous, and bought those toys which they sell, as beads, night caps, &c. Our queen mother's present is an heart in gold, with her name in good diamonds, and her picture in limming with in it. At Ancona, the marchand's hous, the mole, and the triumphall arch, as new as if it were made yesterday, are the most remarkable. By Senigaglia, Fano, where is a neat place in imitation of a Naumachia made by Paulus 5; Pesaro, where are diuers Roman inscriptions; to Rimini, where the arch is the best antiquity, by Siccigniano; Immola and other places of smaller note to Bologna. It being carnauall time, wee haue seene there madness all along, masquings, dancings, and the like. My Lord Sunderland, Mr. Noell, Sir Ed. Stradling, Mr. Sauill, Mr. Soames, Mr. Skipwith, all persons of good quality, are upon the road with mee; and Dr. Palman, a physitian, a uery ciuill person. The cuts of the Poe being frozen, wee are forced to stay two or three days here, and then by water wee goe to Venice. This towne, for couents and good houses, may compare with most in Italy; the schools are fair. St. Michell in Bosco, painted by Carazzio, wee saw to day. I want only the sight of Aldrouandus his museum, which I am now going to. My duty to yourself and my mother.

I am your most obediant son,

ED. BROWNE.

This hath been the coldest winter that hath been known this forty year. It froze twenty days together, before I came out from Rome; the cuts of the Poe are still so frozen that wee cannot pase; so as to morrow wee goe for Ferrara by land, in uery bad way. I saw Aldrouandi musæum, where are the gretest collections of naturall things I euer saw; and besides bookes painted of all sorts of annimalls, there are twelue large folios of plants, most exquisitely painted. Cortona is the best painter in Rome.

Bologna, February 7, 1665.

*** The following twelve letters relate to that small portion of the present tour which forms the subject of the concluding chapter of Dr. E. Browne's Travels, fol. 1685.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

SIR,

I wrote to you last weeke from Bologna. From thence we came to Ferrara by land, the way being extremely bad, and many of the banks broken downe, and one large streame, about twice as broad as Norwich riuer, broake out of its wonted channell, and ouerflowed all the country within six or seven miles of Ferrara; at wch place the piazza, domo, this pope's statua, the square palace, with all the dukes paynted on the walls of it, are the most remarkable. I saw also Ariosto's tomb, in the Benedictine's church, and a good comedie at night. Three miles from hence wee imbarked upon the Po, and that night were fayn to lay in a hay chamber belonging to an inne upon the banck side. Next day, impatient to see Venice, wee tooke post boates, and made threescore miles before night, through diuers sluces and cutt riuers, and passed by Malamocco, where lay many Dutch shipps. Chiozza and Pollestrina were the biggest townes wee passed by. I am now at the consul's house, with thirtie English more, wch made this tedious iourney lesse vnpleasant; trauayling thirteen dayes together from Rome to Bologna, in very bad way and wether, except upon the coast of the Adriatick, betwixt Ancona and Rimini; upon which coast wee found prettie shells and stones resembling beanes, for twentie miles together sometimes. I haue seen litle of Venice as yet, butt haue alreadie had a good prospect thereof from the top of St Marke's steeple; haue been at the Rialto, and at the palace, and at an opera the last night, wherein were the best lines that euer were, though the scenes haue been formerly better. The singing is good beyond imagination; Ciccolini, the most famous eunuch in Italie, sings in it, and yet is much out done by a woeman, named Catharina Porri. Sights, rope dancing, flying downe ropes, and diuers showes, in the piazza of St Mark, diuertise the people continually in publick all the time of the carniual. They also hunt bulls, and yesterday stroake of the heads of three with swords, and one

so luckily as to passe the bone at one stroake. I saw this day a woeman whose head hung downe to her wast, her forhead downeward; born so. The anatomies at Padua beginne the second day in Lent, where, God willing, I shall bee. I am glad my journey of Italie is so farre ouer, hauing seen most things remarbable in so many places of it, except Lombardie, wch I may take in my way homeward.

Venice, Febr. 13, 1665. E. BROWNE.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

SIR,

I received two letters from you yesterday, and haue met with a great many more at Venice and Padoua. I intend not to come by Lions or Geneua; the way being too bad to crosse the Alpes ouer Mount Godard, Mount Sampion, or Mount Senis. I think it will not bee worth my staying much longer when I haue seen the practise in the hospitalls. The anatomy is done; it hath giuen mee great satisfaction, not in any thing that hath been said upon the parts, but in seeing the praparations, which was done so neatly, that I think I shall neuer see any thing like it againe. 'Twas young Marchetti that dissected; hee first learned this dexterity of Sr John Finch,[4] a worthy gentleman, and of great esteem all ouer Italy, and one that in anatomy hath taken as much pains as most now liuing. Hee hath tables of the veines, nerues, and arteries, fiue times more exact then are described in any author. I am particularly obliged to him, hee doing mee the fauour of showing mee the *receptaculum*

4 Younger brother to Sir Heneage Finch (afterwards Earl of Nottingham). He studied physic early, travelled into Italy, and became doctor of his faculty at Padua: of which university he was afterwards chosen syndic. He was made English consul at Padua, and his statue in marble was set up there, "in contemplation and memory of his excellent government." The great duke made him the public professor at Pisa. On the restoration of Charles II. he revisited his native country, and was presented by Lord Clarendon to the king, who knighted him, June 10, 1661. In 1665 he was sent resident for Charles II. with the great duke of Tuscany. He subsequently became ambassador at Constantinople for some years. He died 18th Nov. 1682.—*Wood's Athenæ.*

chyliductus thoracicus, ductus Whartoni, and *ductus Stenonis,* in a dog, which wee got for the purpose. Hee is a great honourer of you, sir, which made him willing to doe me a kindnesse, though hee be nice in showing any thing in anatomy. My design as to my journey is to goe directly into Prouence, if the plague be ceaced there, and from thence, as I find opportunity, to Paris, by some way which I have not yet gone. I haue laide aside my thoughts of seeing Germany, chusing rather to be perfect in Italian and French then to understand Dutch also, and haue but a smattering of all three. I think I shall haue Mr. Trumbulls[5] companye againe, at least some part of the way. There is heere an academy; those of it call themselves *I recouerati*; one made a speech about the last commet, which I read in print. Hee afirms that there was at first obserued a large parallax by obseruation from diuers places, but by some instances in his discourse I perceive he understands not the business, and names places where it was seen different five degrees, but in such a part of the heauen where tis impossible for it to bee seen, by obseruations made from such parts of the earth. But I hope some astronomer will write of it; the relation of it would bee mighty pleasing to mee, haueing made some obseruation of its motion my self at Rome. The best picture that euer I saw, and which I think goes beyond Michell Angelo's day of judgment, is in the refectory of the conuent of St Georges at Venice. Tis a marriage by Paul Veronese, upon a piece of cloth four times as big as your Icarus.

Your obediant Sonne,

Padoua, March 20, 1665. ED. BROWNE.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

SIR,

I am now resolued not to come through Germany, haueing seen so little of Lombardy, and nothing of Prouence.

[5] Afterwards Sir William Trumbull.

The ways are still very bad, though the weather begins to be hot. The plants are now come out in the garden which I uisit sometimes. I haue agreed with the gardiner to make mee a book of 600 plants; and Mr. Short will dooe mee the fauour to order the sending of them into England. The hospitalls at Padua are not so full as they used. Those sick of venereall diseases being sent to the house at Venice, where they sweat. I am sorry that I haue not time enough before my journey to learn some considerable matter in architecture, being I shall suddenly haue occasion to see some noble buildings. Rome will euer make mee loue that study, and that so deservedly admired fabrick of St Peters will teach mee how to value all other buildings; and certainly the Romans neuer did any thing beyond it. The coliseum or amphitheatre of Domitian must, I thinke, give way to it. The panthean in effect stands upon the church, the cupola being of the same bignesse; and then the hole at the top of it is so much stronger contriued, that the weight of another cupola stands upon it. For the Santo at Padua, the quire is neat; behind St Antonios altarr the best basso relieuo that I have seen, done by Sansouinus, Tullius Lombardus, and Compagno Veronensis. For the body, tis but ill ordered, and the midle naue or isle is three yards too broad proportionally to the other. St Justina is beautifull, but I doe not understand the architecture of it perfectly; it being not of an ordinary desighne. In the Duke of Norfolks house is a facciata of good architecture after the Dorick way. I am now come to Venice to see the ceremonies at this time. This day being Good Friday, the next Monday I am for Padua again, and about the latter end of the week I hope to set out towards Montpellier. Here there will be little more for me to see, especially of what I cannot see in another place. The remedies used here are not extraordinary, few understanding chymistry; yet of very ordinary things I see uery good successe; and, onely purging, and drinking decoctions of guiacum, and salsaparilla, people are remedied beyound all expectations. Here is a disease which they say is particular to this country; it affect the bones principally, and is call'd by Marchetti *spina uentosa*. I am at present inclined to be hot and feuerish; I

will be let blood. I am somewhat afraid to purge, unless it bee with rubarb, or something that may be astringent afterward. I haue drunk pure wine euer since I came into Italy. But I begin now to drink all water, or uery little wine with it. Temperance and an umbrella must be my defence against the heats. Mr. Wray and Mr. Skippon went lately from hence through Switzerland towards Geneua. The diabolino dancing in the water, which I saw at Kirchers study, is now shown upon St Mark's place ; I bought some of them, and saw them made. If I can see the treasury on Monday, I shall haue left little unseen which is remarkable in Venice ; having seen the arsenall, the galeasses, the bucentora, in which vessel the Duke of Venice marieth the sea, the working of all things belonging to galleys and the armories. The first ceremony which I saw here last night was the processions, and those which whip them selfs ; a sight more cruell then I could well imagine, and which forced from mee a detestation of so barbarous a solemnity. I lately saw two circumcisions at Padoua. The Greeke church here is small, but well built. The Armenean service I haue not yet seen, by reason they doe not goe to church in Lent. Your obediant Sonne,

ED. BROWNE.

Venice, April, 2, 1665.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868, and BIBL. BODLEIAN. MS. RAWLINSON. lviii.]

SIR,

Since my coming to Padua, I have received a great many letters from you, some sent a great while since to Montpellier ; your last was of Feb. 27. That[6] letter wich I wrote to you from Bologna I heare miscarried.[7] The townes which wee passed by were not much remarkable in that journey,

6 Thus far, the copy preserved in the Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson. lviii, has been adopted. The remainder of the letter, with few exceptions, is from *MS. Sloan.* 1868.

7 It did not miscarry : see before, p. 87.

being not of the greater ranck. The first night that wee left Rome, wee lay at Castell Nuouo, dined next day at Ciuita Castellana, thence to Otrioli. The next day I passed by a riuer that look'd blue, like that by Tiuoli, but being almost night had no time to take any further notice of it. Wee passed by Narni, Terni, ouer Mount Soma, and lodg'd at Spolletto, the chief towne in Umbria. Wee drunck *uin cotto* in all this country. Sometimes it would haue a pretty tast of orenge or apricock. Some mention an amphitheatre in this towne, but the people here knowe of no such thing. Wee din'd at Foligni; there is the finest auenue to this towne of any in Italy; you may see the town betwixt two rows of trees, almost four miles all flat and plaine way before you come at it. The womens dresse of their head is particular. Wee happened to be there on their great Sts day St. Falician. Wee layd at Casanoua, dined next day at Muccia, and lodged at Nolumara; the next day by Macerata and Recanati to Loretto. There is an aquiduct on the right hand as wee came to it. The towne without the walls is handsomely built of brick; within tis but small. Most of the tradesmen sell chaplets and medells of the uirgin; the most ador'd things are the uirgin's cup, in which shee gave our Sauiour drink, the walls of the house, and the chimney by which hee was brought up. The seller belonging to the conuent is a noble one, and the apothecary's shoppe handsome, the pots of it being painted by Raphael Urbin. The treasure goes much beyond that of St. Denis, or that of St. Mark's: it chiefly consists in rich habits for priests, in gold uesells, in crosses, crownes, roses, and other things set with precious stones and pearles. I saw this Queen of Sweden's crowne and scepter; a pearl about the bredth of a shilling, with the picture of the uirgin and our Sauiour in it, naturall. Our queen mother's present, which looks the most gentilely in my mind of any other, is an heart in gold, within a fine limming of her self, and of the uirgin Mary and our Sauiour; her name with out side is set with good diamonds. There are the modells of diuers townes in silluer, and a little box carued by a Capucin extremly neat. From hence we went to Ancona, the snow melting fast by reason of the rains, wee

had so uery bad a journey of it, that wee did not escape with out some danger, and one of our horses drowning. The first three days that wee set out, it froze so that our horses, which are always in Italy ill shod, would fall one of them against another as wee came downe hills. Here the hauen and mole is handsome, and Traian's triumphall arch upon it as white and fresh as if it were built yesterday. The place where the marchants meet is well built, and there [are] some good statues about it; the best church is St. Criaccia. Senigaglia is but a small towne, a riuer runs through it; it hath 5 bastions. Wee saw here their dancings in this carnauall time; their master of the reuells had a great club, which when hee lifted up and cried *allegri*, they all fell a dancing. Amongst the women she bears the bell that hoppes highest upon one leg, shaking out her other foot; when hee knocks his club against the ground, they all leaue. Fano is a pritty towne, and one side of it is a small harbour built in imitation of a *Naumachia*, by Paulus 5. Wee dined at Pesaro, where are diuers old Romane inscriptions upon stones, an handsome fountaine in the piazza. The Jews are rich here. The masquers entertained us with musick whilst wee were at dinner. There are two churches, pretty good, and a long street, in some places well built. Wee lay at Cattolica. By the sea side I found stones just like beans, diuers sorts of capæ or cocklii canali, and I think a sort of sea hedghog, with a tender shell and smaller place for the mouth, and diuers other fine coloured shells. Mr. Wray did not come with us, he is by this time at Geneva. At Rimini I observed the triumphall arch, the popes pallace, Paullus 5 statua, St. Antonio's chappell, where is the place in which Cesar made a speech to his soldiers. Wee lay at Sauignano, so by Forti Faenza and Imola, to Bologna, passing the Rubicon, where the old inscription remains on the bottome, and a new one set aboue it on the higher part of the pillar which is there erected. This is most of that which I wrote from Bologna; onely the description of some uillas and the statuas in Beluedere at the Vatican, which would bee too long to write here, and I beleeue you haue the cuts of most of them. I will only admire the noble pine apple of bronze, and the two neat peacocks which were placed

at the top of Castell St. Angelo; the former designed to contain the ashes of the Emperour and his fauorite Antinous, as wee were told. At Bologna the running at the ring and the *giostra*, or justing, was new to mee. The curso for the coaches handsome; St. Katherin, whose nayles are still par'd, and the print upon her lips where our Sauiour kise'd her, as odd a relick as can bee; and St. Michel in *bosco*,[8] painted by Corazzio, may compare with most couents; though many in this towne bee fair ones, as St. Dominick's, where hee is buried; the . . . . . [9] where also are stately statuas; in St. Paulo of the Barnardites an alter by Michel Angelo; in the Dominican's hall Cauedone [1] has made an admirable piece, but this I think was in my letter at Venice.[2] I received thirty pound of Mr. Dubisson by your order, but being behind hand when I came to Venice I have but little left of it, the forty pistolls which Mr. Hales lent me, your letters nor Mr. Johnson's being not yet come, I am forc'd to pay it him again here. I cannot get any thing of Romagna, the letter of credit upon him being either lost or in his hands; if I should stay here a fortnight longer, I suppose I might receive some order from you for a further supply, but the summer coming on I dread any longer stay in these hot countreys; I thinke to come away with Mr. Trumbull, if the plague which is reported to be at Milan hinder us not, hee will lend me mony to beare my charges to Montpellier, and if an old letter of credit of his bee good at Marseilles I shall have that too, but for fear of the worst I would desire you to give mee credit at Rochel, where if our design hold, I hope to be within this six weeks, and if our monyes do not fall short, at Paris in the beginning of June, where the chymick lecture and plants will just then begin; I have a book of plants beginning here, Mr. Short will, when it is done, take order for the sending of it into England. At Venice I have a box of coines and some other rarities, which I think to leave there with the consull till it be convenient to send for them. I saw Aldroandus his musæum at Bologna, which is the greatest collection of naturall things that I have seen. The Franciscans is a good convent. My

8 "Basso;"—*Bib. Bodl.* 9 A blank in MS. 1 "Cardone;"—*Bib. Bodl.*
2 The rest of this letter is from the Bodleian copy.

duty to my dear mother, my service to Madam Grossi, my love to my brother, to dear Nansy, Betty, Mol, Franck.

Your obedient sonne

E. BROWNE.

Padua, Aprill 9.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

SIR,

I staid at Padoua till your order came to Mr. Bowyer, to pay mee or Mr. Hayles the mony which I had taken up of him, forty pistolls; so that all is clear at Venice, and the 15th of Aprill I begun my journey; after that I had seen the baths of Abano, the drinking waters at Monte Ortore, the hot springs at St Pietro di Montagna, at Monte Caldo, and at other places called La Cogola; where from a grot, in the heat of summer, is conueyed into an adioyning pallace an aire so cold that they doe there *goder il fresco* more then can bee expected; and sometimes so much, that it is scarce to be indured in the hottest weather. I went into another grot hard by, where, after passing about a quarter of a mile under ground, through a place I coniecture formerly a quarry where they digged stone, wee came to a small lake, out of which wee took shrimps; the top of the caue dropping petrifying water. Wee came to Vicenza, a place worth the seeing, by reason Palladius hath here principally showne his great skill in architecture in his rotonda in imitation of the pantheon at Rome, in his theatre, exactly proportioned to the strict rules of building, and other fine houses in the towne. There are also two arches worth taking notice of, one before the gate, behind which is a noble ascent, and one other in Campo Marzo. Two days before I left Padoua I saw the Marquis of Obizzi his hous, painted within and without by Paulo Veronesse, well contriued and accomodated with a good armory, theatre, stable, tenis court. Aprill 16 wee dined at Villa Noua, and so to Verona; where the inside

of the amphitheatre is most intire of any now extant; forty-five steps high, with four rows of vomitoria, eighteen in one row; it was neuer finished, though intended, as may be seen by the beginning of the outward row of arches, and the contriuing the other stones fit to receiue the weight of an other arch. It was left of, I suppose, not knowing any other reason, because, if finish'd, the area would not haue been proportionable to the height or thicknesse of the amphitheatre, for the height would haue been nigh equall to that of the Colisæum at Rome, and the diameter of the area wants about threescore paces of it. In the garden of Don Augustino Justo I saw the aloe tree that flowrd and seeded; begun with a noise like that of a musket, grew a yard in an hour, and in fifteen days died; tis now about seven or eight yards high. Aprill 17 wee went to Mantoua, remarkable for its situation; wee saw the dukes two pallaces, the duchess and her maids of honour. Carlo Secundo, the present duke, was not well disposed, else we had waited upon him, by Counte Fachini's means, to whom I had a letter. The unfortunate rumor of the plague being at Milan (rais'd only to keep the Spanish soldiers from running away, being to bee imbarg'd at Finall) hath hindred us from seeing the best country in Italy. If I had come to Geneua, I must have passed through Val Camonica, the Valtoline, and the Grisons country, ouer the mountaine of St. Marke, which would not haue been without eminent danger, the snow melting at this time of the year. Apr: 18 wee passed by Guastala, a dukedome, by Gualtea and Bersaglia,[3] belonging to the Duke of Modena, to Parma, one of the neatest townes in Lombardy. The dukes pallace is large; his coaches, next to Cardinall Patron's, the best I have seene. St. Giouanni, one of the largest conuents in Europe. The duke's brother is a lusty man, and was very courteous. Wee could not passe by Piacenza, by reason of a noock of the Milanese state shoots out just by it, so as wee passed a uery bad and dangerous way to Cestria, all along the riuer Taro. Four-neuue and Bourg-de-Ual[4] are the best townes wee saw. Wee cross'd the riuer forty times, in some places uery inconueniently. Mr. Trumbull's mule fell into an hole one time,

[3] Brescello. [4] Fornovo and Borgo di Valle.

and hee was put to it by swimming to recouer the shore, a great way below the place, by reason of the swiftnesse of the riuer. From Cestria, a pretty towne, by sea to Genoa, and from Genoa to Nisa, in sight of all the braue townes in the Genuese state, the most barren and yet most populous place I have seen. Wee had a sight of Sauona, La Petra, Finall, Lea, belonging to Prince Doria, of St. Jacques, taken in forty-eight by the Turkes, by Arbenga, a great place. The wind being contrary, wee put into the island of Arbenga, where I eat limpits, and sea hedg hogs, bigger than euer I saw. By Arace, aboue a mile long, wee lay one night at Porto Moritio, formerly a great towne by St. Remo, where the country is somewhat more fruitfull. About this place the wind rose so high that, in apprehension of the danger we were in, and being a great way distant from the shore, wee undress'd our selfs, fearing lest the boat should be turned ouer; but it pleas'd God that wee got well to Nisa, in sight of Monaco, and Villa Franca, making aboue fifty miles in a little more than six hours; where I saw the ruines of a small amphitheatre and of an old temple. The citadelle is uery strong. Mr. Trumbull and I are got as far as Arles, but I haue not roome to relate my journey: only wee had a uery great difficulty to pass the riuer Var to come into Prouence. Tolon being not yet free, wee lay half a day with those that did quarantaen, and saw all their smoakings and cleansing things with venigar and the like; and at last, with courting the French, they admitted us, passing with two or three men to hould us and our horses from falling downe that swift current. In passing from Burdeual to Sestria, betwixt the dukedome of Parma and the state of Genoua, wee went ouer the mountaine of the Holy Cross, with a guard of musquitiers; the banditi appearing there the day before, and some passengers narrowly escaping. This journey hath been stranglye expensiue to mee; it hath cost mee a pistoll a day, for these seuenteen dayes together, which I haue trauaild; but now, being in the great roade, it will not cost mee aboue half as much.

The weather is here extremly hot allready; our drinke is commonly julips frozen, which, with the heat of our hands,

wee dissolue and drinke. Most people trauile in the night, but, by reason of the plague here, tis hard to passe by townes, so as wee make use of the morning; sleep in the middle of the day, and to hors again in the euening. As wee set at dinner, there is a fan in the middle of the roome ouer our heads, about two yards broad, wich, with a string, is pulld backward and forward to coole us.[5] The better sorts of people haue there beds couerd ouer with a net, to keep out the flyes; and before they sleep haue there warming pan fild with snow to cool their sheets; but wee, in the in, are forc'd to indure biting, and our only way of cooling is to ly without the bed upon a sheet, with all the shutters open, there being no glasse windows in most houses; but I am hasting to a more temperate air.

Sir, I am your obediant Sonne,

EDWARD BROWNE.

Arles, May 2, 1665.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

SIR,

I wrote to you from Arles, which I hope you haue receued; at Montpillier I receued one from you, in which my deare sister Anne wrote a letter. From Nissa wee came in four days journey to Marseilles, much troubled with the heat; but wee carried syrrup of lemmons with us which refresh'd us by the way. Before wee came out from Genoa one of there best ships were burnt in the porte. At Ville Franche the Hollanders had taken a small vessall of ours. The Hollanders at Genoa, and other ports, haue manned a marchand ship to rob about and bring in prises. After wee had passed the riuer Var, wee went by Antibo,[6] a strong towne, and lodged at Cannas,[6] by the sea side. The next day, nigh to Freieux,[6] I saw an old aqueduct in the fields supported by fiue arches,

[5] An expedient adopted in the East Indies. Bishop Heber, in his Journal, has described it.

[6] Antibes, Cannes, and Frejus.

in the manner of Pont du Garde. Wee lodged this day at Uidauban. The country is full of corke trees, pines, firres, larch trees, arria,[7] diuers sorts of oakes, broome, and thornes euer green, besides all manner of sweet hearbs, which grow wild, and afford great refreshment to those that passe. Ap. 27 wee dined at Brigeolles; the prunella trees growe about the fields. Wee got as far as St. Zacharias, a small village, remarkable onely for some reliques, amongst which is our lady's slipper. Tis hard by the noble desart of Sta. Baume, and not far from St. Magdalen, where her gigantick arme and head is shown. At Marseilles the long port and key, with the drugguist shops upon it, the old walls and towers, and the number of country houses about it, make the best show. Wee entred that place of the wall which the king of France beat downe at his being here. The new citadelle is extremly neat, and hath a perfect command of the towne, except a litle of it, which lyes by the windmills. Mr. Trumbull haueing letters hither, the marchands entertain'd him uery handsomely in a bastido, or summer house. From hence, by coach, to Aix, the neatest towne I have seene in France, uery well built; the houses like those of Montpellier, but the streets straiter and handsommer. In the great street are many good houses, set with four rowes of elmes for their course. The baths are closed and dark, the water of a temperate heat; there is a stove by them also. The towne house is not yet finished. The parliament house is a very good one. Ap. 30th wee came to Sallon; in the Cordellier's church wee saw the tombe of Nostrodamus, esteemed a great prophet in this country. The castell is seen a great way, upon the stony field, which wee passed the next day, seven leagues by St. Martin, in sight of Berre, on the left hand, belonging to the Prince of Monaco, and came to Arles; whose amphitheatre shows one the beginning and manner of building more then the other; as also the caue. In the towne house wee saw the statue of their Diana, in a garden, an obeliske, now fallen downe and half couered with earth. The port towards Auignon is not contemptible; but what is most taken notice of is the great number of old tombes about the towne, chiefly by the couent

7 Acacia, probably.

of the Minimes, euery stayre of which house is a graue stone; the alters set with them, and in a vault under ground they shew as the tombe of St. Honoris, allways they think miracolously half full of water, which I found in some of the others too. They send it about to cure feauers. They told us some of these tombes were Christians and Pagans, and how to distinguish them; as also to know when the famely was extinct. Under an alter here lies intered St. Trophimus, ouer which stands a uery handsome statua of Nostredame. I saw here Mr. Agat's cabinet, who tells mee hee is about to put out a book of stones, gemmes, and other naturall things. Hee hath a pritty good collection of intaglies, medalls, lampes, urnes, and lacrymatories, of old statuas, besides great uariety of stones, coralls, and the like. Our frends at Montpillier receiud us with all expression of joy and kindnesse. My lady Roberts, wife to my lord Roberts,[8] hath liud here this twelue-months, and is but just now gone, shee liud here so nobly and oblieged the people so much that they dooe nothing but talk of her. She was wayted upon out of towne by a great number of coaches, diuers of which accompanied her to Auignon; at Orenge shee had a speech made her at her entring, the best of the towne came and gaue her a uolly at her inne; and at her departure the gouuerneur saluted her from the castel with aboue thirty guns. At Montpellier I saw the plants shown by Monsier Chicaneau, the Arbor Judæ is in flower. Docter Joly was extremely courteous unto us. As I came through Prouence I saw the turpentine tree. Speaking about the aloe here, of which I can get noe account here, to Mr. Lyster, a ciuill and learned person, hee told mee hee had seen one in Gernsey castle, which was reported to haue flowred after the same manner as you write, and after the same manner, as they reported it, that did which I saw in Don Augustino Justo's garden at Verona. On the 7th of May wee got to Pezenas, a pretty towne, with an house of the Prince of Conti's by it. The 8th wee dined at Beziers, a great towne, and ly at Narbonne. Wee could not find the ruin of the amphitheatre, but wee saw some of the old walls carued; the pal-

[8] John Lord Roberts, afterwards Earl of Radnor; Lord Privy Seal from 1661 to 1669.

lace of the bishop, who is Fouquet's brother; it was formerly the house of the king of the Visigoths. In the cathedrall of St. Juste is a picture of Lazarus rising from the sepulchre, uery finely done. Carcassone towne and city together would make a large place. The tenth wee lye at Castelnaudarry; the 11th, by reason of bad weather and way, wee went but fiue leagues, and lay at Baleage, within three leagues of Tholouse. My duty to my mother.

Your most obedient sonne,

ED. BROWNE.

Tholouse, May 12, 1665.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

SIR,

Since my returning into France I wrote to you from Arles and Tholouse. I receued yours at Montpellier, dated March 21. Wee chose to goe rather in the coach to Tholouse, then with the messenger to Lyons; the company wee also met with did induce us the rather, they being all Hugonotts, and men of good years. The French, commonly, the older they grow, are the more obliging and ciuill, and not at all formall, or expecting more respect then what themselves show to others; and indeed for ten days together wee neuer trauail'd better then with them, and at lesse expence. Wee passed by Beziers, Pezenas, Narbonne, Carcassonne, and Castelnaudarry, for two or three dayes being in sight of the Pyrenæans, couered with snow, through a uery fine country, not unlike England. Tholouse, a uery great towne, yet I cannot compare it to Lyons, being built but of brick, and the houses much lower. The churches also, much accounted of in France, I could not admire, coming so lately out of Italy. At St. Sernin or Saturnine are the bodys of seuen of the Apostles, of our king St. Edmund, and of St. George and forty saints more, a thorne of our Sauiour's crowne, and one of the stones that kill'd St. Stephen. From the steeple of the

cathedrall, St. Estienne, wee had a good sight of the towne. I cannot judge it by my eye so big as Norwich. The chappell of the Penitents Noirs is the neatest in France, after Nostredame des Champs à Paris. At the Dominicans, the tombe of St. Thomas Aquinas and the alter, at the Cordelliers the charnell house, is remarkable; for the skins of people buried doe not corrupt, so as you see many bodys which retaine the same shape, and are to bee knowne many years after death. In the towne house I saw the stone on which Montmorency was beheaded, and some od pictures, one of Louis, the Dauphin, son to Charles 7, entring into Tholouse on hors back, with the queen his mother behind him. The mills and sluce are worth seeing; the new bridge is uery noble in the fashion of Pont Neuf a Paris; the course by it, and a walk of free stone by the riuer side, are handsome. From hence wee went to Bourdeaux by water, downe the most pleasent riuer I euer yet saw; passing by diuers small townes, Verduse, Viole, &c.; wee stayd halfe a day at Aagen, a great place. Scaliger's house, and the hermitage in a rock, is all that is to be seen there; by Langon, where wee tasted of the white wine, and by Cadillac, a house of the Duke of Espernons, giuing way to few palaces in France. At Bourdeaux wee saw St. Andrew's church, and from the steeple had a prospect of the towne, riuer, and country about it, and could not but judge its situation the most conuenient of any towne wee had seen. St. Michel's church and steeple are high; an earthquake not long since broke downe the top of it. The amphitheatre, or Palais Galien, was about the bignesse of that of Verona; the Carthusian's couent is neat and large; the great street Chapeau Rouge well built; they are building, at present, a new citadelle, about Chasteaux de Trompette, that noble antiquity which they call Piliers or Palase de Tutele. I cannot gesse what it was, it resembles the most an old Pratorium, and hath six columnes in the front, but then it hath but eight on the sides, so that it wants three, and the manner of building arches on the top of the pillers [seems] peculier to this piece of antiquity. Wee went to Blay by water; from thence wee tooke horses to Xaintes, lying at Petiniords, and dining the next day at Ponts, where is only the ruines of an

old castell, and graue stones after the manner of those at Arles. At Xaintes the amphitheatre is more ruined then that at Bourdeaux, though not inferiour to it, I suppose, when intire. The inscription upon the arch on the bridge is scarce legible; St. Eutropius's steeple is uery high, and St. Peter's uery thick. The old walls were built of great stones like those at Vienne; the bastions were uery large; wee are but just arriued here, so as I can say nothing of Rochell. I doe not now despair of being at Paris in good time to see the course of chymistry; I hope to get acquaintance in the hospitalls as soon as I come there, but if you can further mee in it, I would desire you, Sir, to doe it as soon as may bee, for I am uery desirous to employ that short time I haue to stay here to my greatest aduantage. Mr. Preston is extremely obliging here. Mr. Trumbull presents his seruis to you. I think to goe to the Ile of Ré to morrow, and the next day onward again.

Your obediant sonne,

ED. BROWNE.

Rochell, May 20, 1665.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

SIR,

I am at last arriued at Paris. I receued one from you at Nantes which was sent to mee from Mr. Dade, at Bourdeaux. My short stay there, and my not knowing hee was there at that time when I passed by, may, I hope, excuse my not uisiting him. In all the townes upon the riuer Loyr, I found no more then I expected. Sonmur is much the best built, being of freestone and ardois: the fosse at Nantes better then the towne. Angiers large, but not so big as Orleans, which from the steeple of St. Croix I guesse to be little lesse then Tholouse. The gilded ball upon the spire I suppose by relation to be as big as either of the two at Morocco. Blois is pleasent by reason of its situation upon the side of an hill. The Duke of Orleans' garden there is quite ruined, but a

noble gallery is left, and one side of a pallace begun. At Towers we stay'd three dayes by reason Mr. Trumbull fell ill of a uery sharpe paine of his teeth, accompanied with a feauerish distemper; but after being let blood, glisters, and plasters to his ears and temples, tobacco took it away. In and about this towne are obseruable the church of St. Martin, St. Gesian, Marmousier, the long Maille, and Caue Goutiere. I got some terra Blæsentis in passing by. Here is no house in France so noble, so much finish'd, and so well accommodated, as Richelieu's. The uniformity of the building of the towne also was not a litle diuertissing, being very different from any thing else in this country.

Juin 15, Paris.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

SIR,

I receaued your last letter which you sent to Padoa, though I was gone from thence before the post came in. Cardinal Barlerigo is Bishop of Padoa, and Contarini is the present Doge of Venice, an old man, not much vnlike Tom Bensly. The court is now at St. Germain, Mr. T.'s indisposition hath hindred him from going thither a long time. Tis hard for men not to fall into extremes, his discours to me, if it bee not of his owne life, is commonly the great charity of papists, the religious liues of the tradesmen of Paris, and of one Vincent, a cobler, whom hee takes to bee the greatest saint; as also about the wickednesse of the English protestants, and the great power, hee finds by experience, that going in procession hath, to obtaine any thing desired. The Louure will not bee finished in many yeares if warres should happen. Bernini mislikes the deseigne of most which was done at the vpper end the last summer, which must bee quite pulled downe, or much altered. The side by the Tuilleries is much built since I last left Paris. The colledg for the four nations ouer against it, ordered to bee built by Card. Maza-

rine's will, may bee perfected in three yeares more. The queen mother's sicknesse hinders the building of her monasterie and church of Val de Grace; which is the fayrest in Paris, though the cupola bee much too bigge for the church. The antiquities you mention of Paris is a booke of a large quarto, and is very particular; butt the new buildings are better worth seeing then any thing that pretends to be ancient in Paris. The lecture of plants heere is only the naming of them, their degrees in heat and cold, and sometimes their vse in physick, scarce a word more then may be seen in euery herball. When I was in Italie I did reade a booke *De Vipera*, printed at Florence, made by Francesco Redi. Some are upon translating it into French; butt Sir John Finch, in Italie, hath promised to write more perticularly and experimentally on that subiect. Redi mentions another of his bookes, calld, *Discorso della Natura di Sale e delle loro Figure.* I shall not write into Italie for it, because probably I may find it in England. The next weeke will putt an end to the course of chymistrie and the plants; but it will begin a priuate course.

ED. BROWNE.

Paris, July 11, 1665.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

SIR,

Fearing I should not haue the conueniance of company when I desired, I took the first opportunity of going to Fontainebleau, though the weather is extreamly hot. The house is uery large, and hath diuers courts, but is but two storys high. There are diuers gallerys, two made by Francis the First, the painting being old is almost worne out, another by Henry the Fourth with his owne battels. The gallery under this is full of great stag's horns, some of them of uery odd shaps. The roomes indifferent; the chappell is one of the neatest in France. The gardens large; there is a cut riuer like to that of St. James's, and at one end a handsome

cascade. The statuas are cast after diuers good originalls, which I saw at Rome. In the fish ponds I saw some of the greatest carpes that euer I beheld, and which followed us when wee whistld, like to the fish at Imperiall's palace in Genoa, or to those at Farrara, which they call together by the sounding of a bell. In the hall for the comedies is a good piece of basso relievo of Henry the Fourth fighting. From Fountainbleau wee went to Vaux, an house of Fouquet's;[9] the king haueing seised upon all his goods, it is, at present, unfurnished, tis but small, but extreamly well built; hath good gardens, through which there is a cut riuer which hath water works on each side, esteem'd as good as any in France. For one fountaine, I haue not seen the like any where, but at Tiuoli and Frescati; it throughs up the water a great height in a stream bigger then a man's body, which is contriued so as to fall into diuers shapes, sometimes like hayle and snow. Wee return'd to Melun and came downe by water to Paris, where I met your letter of July xth, vet. Barlet's course of chymistry is not yet begun, so as I shall not see that, but goe the oftner to Glaser's, and to his partner which is now parted from him, and workes in another place of the towne. I doe desighne to spende a great deall of my time this winter, if it please God to bring mee safe home, in distilling and dissecting.

Paris, July 13th [1665].

From a passage in the next letter, it appears, that between July and September, Mr. Edward Browne was ill of small-pox; which sufficiently accounts for the interruption in the correspondence. The following unfortunately is the only letter, which has been met with, from Sir Thomas to his son during his Tour in France and Italy. The letter to which it is a reply is wanting.

9 Nicolas Fouquet, son of Francis, Viscount de Vaux, and Minister of Finance to Louis XIV, from 1652 to 1661; when through the intrigues of the celebrated Colbert, he was arrested, accused of high treason, his property seized, and himself condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the citadel of Pignerd, where he died, in 1680.

Dr. Browne to his Son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

DEARE SONNE EDWARD,

I receaved yours of Sep. 23. I am glad you have seene more cutt for the stone, and of different sex and ages; if opportunitie seemeth, you shall doe well to see some more, which will make you well experienced in that great operation, and almost able to performe it yourself upon necessitie, and where none could do it. Take good notice of their instruments, and at least make such a draught thereof, and especially of the dilator and director, that you may hereafter well remember it, and have one made by it. Other operations you may perhaps see, now the sumer is over; as also chymistrie and anatomie. The sicknesse[1] being great still, fewe I presume will hasten over. Present my services and thancks unto Dr. Patin. I hope Dr. Wren is still in Paris.[2] I should be glad the waters of Bourbon might benefitt Sir Samuel:[3] and those of Vic Mr. Trumbull. God bee praysed that you recovered from the small pox, which may now so embolden you, as to take of, at least abate, the sollicitude and fears which others have. Mr. Briot[4] may at his pleasure attempt at translation, for though divers short passages bee altered or added, and one [or] two chapters also added, yet there is litle to be expunged or totally left out; and therefore may beginne without finding inconvenience: in my next I will send you some litle directions for a chapter or two to be left out, and a coppy of the third and fourth editions,[5] which are

1 The plague, which was so fatal in England.

2 Afterwards Sir Christopher Wren.

3 Sir Samuel Tuke; see before, p. 68, note.

4 Briot. Peter Briot translated a number of English works into French—a History of Ireland; an Account of the natural productions of England, Scotland, and Wales; Lord's History of the Banians; Ricault's History of the Ottoman Empire. He appears, from the present letter, to have had some intention of translating Pseudodoxia Epidemica, but probably abandoned it: for the only French translation I have seen bears the date of 1738, and is from the seventh edition, viz. that of 1672.

5 The third, fol. 1658, but published with Religio Medici, Hydriotaphia, and Garden of Cyrus, in 1659: the fourth, 4to. 1658, with the two latter pieces only.

all one, as soone as pleaseth God to open an opportunitie. Whatever your gazette sayth, that the Indian fleet[6] is come in without seeing any of our ships, wee are sure wee have two of their best in England, beside other shipps, making up in all the number of thirtie; and what shipps ether of warre or merchands came home unto them were such as wee could not meet or not watch, having got the start of us: it holds still that the prisoners amount to about three thousand. Wee here also that a caper[7] of twentie gunnes was taken not far from Cromer, last Saturday, by a frigat, after two howers fight. God blesse you; I rest your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

September 22, styl. v. [1665.]

The sicknesse which God so long withheld from us, is now in Norwich. I intend to send your sisters to Claxton, and if it encreaseth, to remove three or four miles of; where I may bee serviceable upon occasion to my friends in other diseases. Paris is a place which hath been least infested with that disease of such populous places in Europe. Write mee word what seale is that you use.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1868.]

SIR,

Three days the last week I was abroad in the country with Dr. Wren and Mr. Compton. I did not thinke to see any thinge more about Paris, but was tempted out by so good company. Dr. Wren's discourse is very pleasing and satisfactory to mee about all manner of things. I asked him which hee took to bee the greatest work about Paris, he said

6 The Dutch East India fleet, of which the greater part reached their own ports in safety, in consequence of the failure of an attack on them in August, 1665, by an English squadron, under Sir Thomas Tyddiman, at Bergen, in Norway, where they had taken refuge. Lord Sandwich soon afterwards captured some of the larger Indiamen, and a number of others. Sir Thomas Browne's younger son, Thomas, distinguished himself on board the Foresight, at Bergen.

7 A privateer, or private ship.

the quay, or key upon the riuer side, which he demonstrated to me, to bee built with so uast expence and such great quantity of materialls, that it exceeded all manner of ways the buildings of the two greatest pyramids in Ægypt. I told him that upon the banks of the riuer Loyre for some miles, there was a wall built of square stone; but because there could not be allowed any thicknesse proportionall to the key at Paris, hee did not know how to esteem of that, as not haueing euer seen it. Wee went the first day to Chantilly, where liues the Prince of Condy, but hee was gone out, and so wee mist Abbot Bourdelot[8] too; wee saw the princesse carried in a chair about the gardens, being with child. The hous is old built, and belonged formerly to the Duke of Montmorancy, whose statua on horseback in bronze stands before the house; the gardens and water works are neat. The next day wee went to Liancourt, belonging to the president of Liancourt; the house is built but on two sides, the gate makeing the third, and the fourth layeing open to haue a better prospect of the gardens. The waterworks here are in greater number then in any place in France, and the water throwne up in pretty shaps, as of a bell turned up or of a bell turned downe, out of frogs mouths in a broad thin streame, &c. The mill that serues to rayse the water is the largest I haue seen. The presidents chaise in which they draw him about the garden, is so well poised upon the wheels, made just like the chaises roulantes, that are here so much in fashion at present, that one may draw it with two fingers. His only son was killed the last yeare in Hungaria, so that hee and his wife will returne no more to court, but end there days here. The groves are stately, and cut through in many places into long shady walks. Wee went from hence to Vernueil, seated upon an high hill, a uery neat castel, but furnished with old fourniture. The duke I suppose is still embassador in England; hee keeps a pack of English dogs here, and liues in a good hunting country. The house is uery finely carued without side. Dr. Wren guest that the same man built this which built the Louure, there being the same faults in one as in the other. Wee lye at Jenlis this night, a great towne, and a

[8] Physician to the Prince of Condé.

bishops seat, with three or four good churches in it, and an od kind of hospitall without the towne, where the chambers are built like those of the Carthusians, at some distance one from another. The next day wee saw Rinsy, an house belonging to the Dutchesse of Longueville, sister to the Prince of Condé. The gardens and waterworks are not yet finished; the house is small but extremely neat, and the modell pleased Dr. Wren very much; the chambers are excellently well painted, and one roome with an handsome cupola in it is one of the best I haue seen. Returning to Paris, the King ouertook us in chaise roulante with his Mistress La Valière with him, habited uery prettily in a hat and feathers, and a *just aucorps*. Hee had dined that day with his brother, at a house of his in the country; and had left his company and came away full speed to Paris. Upon the news of the King of Spaines death, they prepare apace; Marischal Turenne is ordered for Flanders. The King of France doubts whether hee should imploye the Prince of Conde or no. Yesterday being Michaelmas day, Hostel Dieu was crammed up with people that came to pay their deuotion. I heareing there was an arm to be cut of in a roome apart, desired the fauour of the Chirurgien to see it, and after a little grumbling hee let mee in. The operation is the same with a leg, but sooner done, by reason there is but one bone, and the periosteum quicklyer separated. Pray present my duty to my mother, my seruice to all my friends. I haue not the least thoughts of staying here this winter. The anatomies beginning already, there will be nothing that can keep mee here much longer, unlesse it bee the chymick lecture; if it begins within these ten days I will hear it, so as I may set out the first of your Nouember, if not, I believe I shall come sooner. I was the last week with Mr. Peti, a mathematician, that hath been once or twice to see me when I was not within. Hee hath got your Vulgar Errours translated, but tis halfe into English and halfe into Latin, so that it cannot bee printed so; hee doth not understand English, but hath got this done for his owne satisfaction. I beleeve he will present you with one of his books *de Cometis*, which he hath lately written, upon an hypothesis of his owne, different from Des Cartes. Hee hath

diuers fine instruments, glasses, and other inuentions in his chamber. Your obedient sonne,

EDWARD BROWNE.

Paris, Septembre last, 1665.

Here we take our leave of the elder son till towards the autumn of 1668, when we shall again find him indulging his roaming propensities in fresh adventures. The following series of journals and letters, present, uninterruptedly, all the records which have been found, of the short but brilliant career of the younger son, Thomas, in the service of his country. He entered the English navy in the close of 1664, just when the nation was rushing, with the utmost enthusiasm, into the Dutch war, and when Charles II, to gratify the public eagerness, as well as to further his own views, was making every possible exertion to equip and man a fleet capable of meeting the powerful navy of Holland, assisted, as it was expected to be, by that of France. The moment was auspicious for our young adventurer; who appears to have obtained his commission without delay, and made his first voyage up the Mediterranean on board the *Foresight*, commanded by Captain Brookes, the brother of Sir Robert Brookes,[9] an intimate friend of his father's. He returned in time to join the grand English fleet under the command of James, Duke of York, assisted by Prince Rupert and the Earl of Sandwich; and was present, on the third of June, 1665, at the first great action, off Lowestoft, with the Dutch, under Opdam, which terminated in the total defeat of the enemy,

[9] Lord of the Manor of Wanstead, and M. P. for Aldboro', Suffolk.

who lost four admirals, seven thousand men, and eighteen ships. Browne had the good fortune soon afterwards to distinguish himself in the unsuccessful attempt made, by Lord Sandwich and Sir Thomas Tyddiman, to seize the two rich Dutch East India fleets which had taken shelter in the neutral Danish harbour of Bergen, on the coast of Norway ;[1] and was engaged in the subsequent capture of a portion of those fleets, in September. In the winter of the same year he made his second voyage up the Mediterranean, with Sir Jeremy Smith, during which period Louis XIV declared war against the English, and fitted out a fleet to assist the States General. Browne, on his return from the Streights, took a share in all the actions of 1666. In the unexpected and unequal conflict between the entire Dutch fleet, under De Ruyter and Van Tromp, and one division of the English fleet, under the Duke of Albemarle, during the unfortunate absence of Prince Rupert with the other division in quest of the French fleet under the Duke of Beaufort, his ship was in the duke's division. In that furious engagement, and during the subsequent four days' fight in July, after the junction of Prince Rupert, he acquired, as will be seen, a character for the most able conduct, and the most undaunted bravery. He was present, in the following month, at the destruction of the town of Brandaris, with a hundred and fifty Dutch merchantmen and some line of battle ships ; and, in the close of the year, was again sent as convoy to the Mediterranean, on board the *Marie Rose*, in the fleet under Admiral Kempthorne. From thence he returned to Portsmouth in about May, 1667. And here, unfortunately, all traces of

1 See " Sir Gilbert Talbot's Narrative of the Earl of Sandwich's Attempt upon Bergen in 1665 ;" *from MS. Harl.* 6859. *Archæologia*, xxii, 33.

him are lost.—The most diligent inquiries have not hitherto enabled me to discover the sequel of his history: a solitary allusion, in a letter written many years after, adverts to him in terms which prove that he had been long dead. But how and when he died, I have, to my great mortification, not as yet been able to ascertain.[2] His career was brief and splendid; but of its close we know nothing. Enough appears, however, to prove, beyond all doubt, that he possessed a character and talents of no ordinary calibre; which, had he not been early cut off, would have secured to him, in the profession he had chosen, a distinction not inferior to that which his amiable father attained through the more quiet paths of philosophy and science.

Dr. Browne to his son Thomas.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

TOM,

I presume you are in London, where you may satisfie yourself in the buisinesse; do nothing rashly, but as you find just grounds for your advantage, wch will hardly bee at the best deservings, without good and faythfull friends; no sudden advantage for rawe though dangerous services. There is another and more safe way, whereby Capt. Brookes and others come in credit, by going about 2 yeares before they were capable of places; [with] which I am not well acquainted. God and good friends advise you. Bee sober and complacent. If you cood quit periwigs it would bee better, and more for your credit. If Mr. Rand live in London informe him of Ned. Hee would teach you Latin quickly, by rule and speech. God blesse you.

Your loving father,

TH. BROWNE.

[2] Should any further information be obtained on the subject, it shall be given in the Life of Sir Thomas Browne.

If you are not in hast for the present, it would bee of advantage to learne of Mr. Goulding or others, the practicall mathematicks and use of instruments.

Ned sent you a print of Domenic Ottoman, one of Hibraim the Grand Signor's sonnes, the brother of Mahomet, now raigning. Hee was taken at sea by a shippe of Malta, 1652, at 18 yeares of age; now a Christian and a dominican friar; your brother saw him at Turin.[3] It is a very good and serious face; on the back side hee sent more French verses concerning the pope and king of France, and that one Chairo[4] of Milan is now the famous paynter. You may see hee went through many of those townes I mentioned, and the passinge of Mont Cenis.

DEAR TOM,

I am glad to heare you will [judge?] prudantly of things, and if you dooe not find them acording to expectation, com home to us againe. I will send your weg by the choch, and the buf cotte if I can gett it. If you want more monyes then you thinke fit to take of my cosen, Mr. Scoltowe will latt you have it, butt bee suer to spand as little as you can. Latt mee here from you. Bee carfull and sivell to my cosens, Mrs. Cottrall, and the Howalls, and carey all our services to them. I besich God bles and dereckt you.

Your loving Mother

Novem. 25. [1664.] DOROTHY BROWNE.

Thes for Mr. Thomas Browne, att William Barkers, Esq.
in Clarken Wall upon New Prison Wallke, London.

Dr. Browne to his son Thomas.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

HONEST TOM,

God blesse thee, and protect thee, and mercifully lead you through the wayes of his providence. I am much

[3] See p. 71.

[4] The name is not to be decyphered in the original *hieroglyphics*, and is not explained by our copy of the letter referred to, p. 71.

greived you have such a cold, sharpe, and hard, introduction, wch addes newe feares unto mee for your health, whereof pray bee carefull, and as good an husband as possible; wch will gayne you credit, and make you better trusted in all affayres. I am sorry you went unprovided with bookes, without which you cannot well spend time in those great shipps. If you have a globe you may easily learne the starres as also by bookes. Waggoner[5] you will not be without, wch will teach the particular coasts, depths of roades, and how the land riseth upon several poynts of the compasse. Blundevill[6] or Moxon[7] will teach you severall things. I see the litle comet[8] or blazing starre every cleare evening, the last time I observed it about 42 degrees of hight, about 7 o'clock, in the constellation of Cetus, or the whale, in the head thereof; it moveth west and northerly, so that it moveth toward Pisces or Linum Septentrionale pisces. Ten degrees is the utmost extent of the tayle. Anno 1580, there was a comet seen in the same place, and a dimme one like this discribed by Mæstlinus.[9] That wch I saw in 1618 began in Libra, and moved northward, ending about the tayle of Ursa Major; it was farre brighter than this, and the tayle extended 40 degrees, lasted litle above a moneth. This now seen hath lasted above a moneth already, so that I beleeve from the motion that it began in Eridanus or Fluvius. If they have quadrants, crosse-staffes, and other instruments, learn the practicall use thereof; the names of all parts and roupes about the shippe, what proportion the masts must hold to the length and depth of a shippe, and also the sayles. I hope you receaved my letters from Nancy, after you were gone, wherein was a plaine electuary agaynst the scurvie.

Mr. Curteen stayed butt one night, pray salute him sometimes, my humble service to Captaine Brooke, whom I take the boldnesse to salute, upon the title of my long acquaintance

5 Wagenar, L. Jans. E. Speculum Nauticum; translated into English by Ant. Ashley, 1588.

6 Thomas Blundeville, of Newton Flotman, in Norfolk. Referring probably to his "Theorique of the Planets," or "Exercises in Arithmetic, Cosmography, Astronomy," &c.

7 Joseph Moxon, F.R.S. Concerning the Use of Globes, fol. 1659.

8 Mentioned by Mr. Edward Browne, in his letter, Rome, Jan. 2, 1664-5, p. 78.

9 Michael Mæstlinus, a celebrated German astronomer, published several treatises on Comets.

with his worthy brother Sr. Robert and his lady. God blese you. Your loving father,

THO. BROWNE.

Norwich, January 1, [1664-5.]

Forget not French and Latin. No such defence agaynst extreme cold, as a woollen or flannell wascoat next the skinne.

DEARE TOM,

I am in much care and fair for you. I besich God of his marcy bles you; trust in him, for it his marcys only can suport you. Bee as good a husband as you can posable, for you know what great charges wee are now att. Your sisters present their trew loves to you, and Franke prayes for her prity brothar dayly, so dooes your affectionate Mothar

D. B.

Mis Corbet and the Hothams, and the rest of your frinds present their loves to you.

For Mr. Thomas Browne.[1]

Mr. Thomas Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1910.]

SIR,

I send you the journall which I made of our voyage with Sir Jeremie Smith, the last winter; which proued not so successefull as we hoped, hauing not taken many prizes, met with much foul and tempestuous wether, and at last not without much sicknesse, there dying thirtie in our shippe, and no less than fiftie in the admirall.

THOMAS BROWNE.

[No date, but in 1666.]

[1] It does not appear how this letter could have been forwarded to him; for if the date is correctly *decyphered* he must already have been on his voyage.

Thursday, December the 21st, I arriued at Portsmouth, in order to embarck myselfe in Sr. Jeremy Smith's fleet, consisting of 16 sail of frigats, 2 fire shipps, and 4 ketches; the Mary, admirall. Saturday 23rd I spake with Sr. Christopher Minns, who then rid admirall in Portsmouth harbour, in the Fairfax. Sunday 24th, not hauing opportunity to fit my self for the voyage in so short a time, I was forst to expect a convenience in the reere of the fleet. Sr. Jeremy saild this day with 12 frigats, 1 fire ship, and the ketches. Thursday 28th I went on board the Mountague, a third rate ship, and was receiued by the commander of her, Captain Fenn. This day arriued the Jarsy, who brought us news of our admirall, that he had only touchd at Plimouth one night, and had proceeded on his voyage. The remainder of this week and the next being partly spent in expecting provisions for the shipp, but mostly of a fair wind, on Saturday the 6th of January, wee set sail from the Spithed, having that morning taken aboard Sr. Robert Southwell[2] and his retinew, agent to the King of Portugall: being in company, the Mountague 3d, Newcastle, Portland, and Reeserve, fourth rate ships, with the Brier, a fier ship. We turned out at St. Ellens Point, the Newcastle struck on the Horse, but receiued no damage; about 2 o'clock wee wethered the island, and leauing the bay and castle of Sandford, the 7th, we were off Portland and Torbay; the 8th, Plimouth and the Lizard; the 9th, Huissant,[3] and entred the Bay of Biscay. The 10th wee spied a sail, and made chase after her; hauing made our shipps, she lay by for us, not knowing of the warr.[4] The Portland took her; shee was a Frenchman of about a hundred and fifty tonne, loden with sugar and tobacco, from St. Christophers to Haure de Grace, upon the companies account. Tenn gunns she had, where of two they had cast over board in foul weather, which they had much of. All this way from the channell wee had a great foame of a sea from the west-

2 Of Wood Rising, in Norfolk; Principal Secretary of State for Ireland, and President of the Royal Society. He was employed by Charles II. on several negociations.

3 L'Ile d'Ouessant, off the north-west coast of France.

4 Louis XIV. joined the Dutch, and declared war against England in the early part of January, 1665-6.

ward, the signs of a precedent storm that sore shatterd Sr. Jeremyes fleet, as wee afterwards understood.

January 10th, the French captain came the same day on board us, the best humor'd and least giuen to the French fantastickness, that I have obserued. His name was .... La Chapelle, of St. Maloes. The 11th, 12th, and 13th, wee stood on our cours. The 14th wee chast a small Englishman that came from Bideford, laden with fish, and was bound for Lisbone. Hee told us he had met with verry bad wether, and been forst unto the coast of Ireland, there chast by 12 sail of Hollanders. The 15th wee made the Burlings, somthing towards euening, they appeared like two sails under the shore. The 16th wee hald close into the shore, about a league to the northward of the rock of Lisbone. All the shore full of castels and small redowts to the seawards, and up the riuer to Lisbone. About tenn o'clock wee were in Cascales Rode; hence wee had a prospect up to the citty of Lisbone, the castle in the midst of the riuer, and famous monastery of Boelyn, St. Gillens Castle, reported to have 300 pieces of ordinance in it, the woodden castle, and verry many others of meaner force and beuty, on each side of the riuer. Here wee put Sr. Robert abord the small Englishman, as the best conuenience to convay his retinue and baggage to the citty. After the salutes past from each ship to him at his departure, about two o'clock wee stood on our course; that night had sight of Cape Spitchel and Mount Chigo. The 17th Cape St. Vincent, and Cape St. Maryes, Granada hill, and Mount Chigo. The 18th wee spied six saile and chased; they stood with us and made us, then went from us, wee not being able to fetch them. They were Turks men of war, and had spoke with Sr. Jeremy Smith. Four of them, 2 dayes after, set upon a great ship, in sight of Cales,[5] and after a long dispute took her; shee was then supposed to bee a French ship of 36 gunns, coming from Newhauen, worth 100,000 pounds, bound for Cales; they reckoning by her departure and not hearing of her long after. A Barca Longa told us this morning of the Dutch fleets departure from Cales, and the English fleet passing by soon after. Wee saild along the coast with a

[5] Cadiz.

small brize of wind. Medina wee had a prospect of, liing on the brow of a hill within the land, St. Peters Island, and Conib, a pritty large town, close to the shore, Cape Trafalagar known by the great quantity of white sand which lies bare on the side of the hill.

Saturday, the 20th, wee were of Cape Sprat, about six in the morning, from whence to the Jews riuer the land is all couered with woods and green shrubs. From the Jews riuer, (which is for the most part drie, unless after rains, which, falling from the mountaines, giues it a streme), is little above two miles to Tanger. Wee came to an anchor in the bay about ten of the clock; here wee had inteligence of Sir Jeremies being at Malaga, haueing staied here a day or two in his way. Tanger, situated to the westward of the bay on the bending of a hill, from whence to the sea side is a verry deep descent. I take it to bee a verry ancient citty, as the old castle and staires to the sea ward, thoug now ruind, do no les testifie. Yet not that Tengis written of in ancient historyes, as namely of Plutarch in the life of Sertorius, who affirmes hee past ouer from Spain into Barbary, tooke Tengis, and finding a tomb reported to bee that of Antœus, broake it open, and found bones of an exceding length: this, if true, must bee understood of that old Tanger now call'd, to the eastward of the bay; a ruinous building, with a broken bridge ouer the riuer, whose ruines do show it to haue been a place far more antique then this. Tanger, now inhabited, is allmost fower square, the best street in it is that which runneth from Port Catherine downe to the Key gate, and is called the market; the rest inconsiderable, narrow, and crooked streets. A towne of little force and lesse proffit, till put into the English hands, now verry much mended as to the former, and in great hopes of raising the latter, if the mould goes forward for a security of marchant shippes lying there, the bay beeinge somthing too open a roade. On the east point of the bay stands two towers, one aboue the other. Hauing left our French prise here, about fiue o'clock wee wayed and stood ouer for Malaga; in the night, spiing a strange ship, wee fired at her: coming under our lee, shee struck against our counter, beat in her side, and did her self some other damage,

carried away our ensigne staf, and one of our lanterns. Shee was a Turks man of war. The captaines came aboard of us; in the hurly burly two slaues got aboard of us, but, after long search, one of them was found again and carried aboard.

The 21st, in the morning, wee arriued in Malaga roade, where wee found Sir Jeremy, in great expectation of us, with but eight of his twelve sail, and one of his ketches; the rest hauing lost their masts, were put back again with the foul weather. He had not only been denied product here, but with none of the ciuilist expressions from the governour; a spight they bore him, I thinck, since his namesake, Cap: Eustace Smith, with a squadron of frigats, beat the towne and castle about theyr ears, fired theyr ships in the mould, and threw their guns into the sea, in the last Spanish wars.

The rest of this day, and the 22d, wee stayd in Malaga road. Wee rid farr from the towne, therefore could take but little notice of the strength or bewty of the towne. There is a castle standing on a hill, with two walls running downe to another that stands in the bottom by the sea side. It appears to be a large towne, and well built; the land very high about it. Cape de Mole to the westward of it, the Granada hills, farr up in the land, seen here, couered with snow. The 23d, by one in the morning, wee wayed, and stood ouer for the Barbary coast. The 24th wee had sight of Ceuta point, and stood in for Tetuan bay. It was verry hazy and calme, wee stood of to sea again. That night, 25th, wee hal'd in for the shore again, and in the afternoon, about one o'clock, made it about four leagues to the westward of Busema, verry high rocky land. Wee stood along the shore till we open'd the bay, being about a bluf point verry remarkable, and an island with in it. Wee sent the ketch in, who, finding it an open road, beginning to blow fresh, stood of to us again. This night wee had a verry great storm at north west, which lasted till five in the morning. Wee past betwen the maine and a small uninhabited island, calld Alboran; some of our seamen had been formerly upon it; being a mere sandy island, rushes and drye shrubs growing on it, some few rabits breed there; about halfe a mile long, not halfe so broad.

The 26th wee were under Cape One; there is good riding in the bay, and a small rocky island of the cape, which may bee sailed about on either side. The 27th wee were of Cape Falcon, and that day ly in sight of Busema castle. Behind the westwardmost point of the bay there is a high round hill, with a watch tower on it, that stands over the castle. The towne is a league up the bay; the whole country about forty miles round are subject to this towne, so that it is verry plentifully stor'd with all manner of provisions, and a great quantity of corn shipt from hence yearly. We stood in nearer, and sent our ketch in. The 28th the ketch came of again, with a letter from the gouernour, and a small present; there came two small gallies out with her, bound for Spain; they saluted the admirall, and stood on their course. Wee understood no Hollanders to bee in the bay; some small French settees, one Englishman, the rest Spaniards. The 29th wee stood ouer for the coast of Spain. The 30th, about euening, wee were of Cartagena; that night wee lay by. The 31st we were of Cape Palos.

February 1st, wee came in sight of Alicant in the morning, hauing notice by a small Englishman that came from thence of five saile of Hollenders riding in the roade, loden with corn. Wee went in with an easy sayl, purposing to set on them, but they had hald verry neare the town, and in verry shoald water. Wee came to an anchor within less then a mile of the towne, which is pretty large, and hath a verry strong castle built on the top of the high steep hill. The gouernour was so ciuill as to let us haue diuers things brought us to the mould hed, though he could giue us no product in the towne. The Spanish army, that had been rowted by the Portugese,[6] was about eight leagues of. An English souldier, coming from thence, came aboard of us. The 2d and 3d wee rid here, hauing put the Dutch ships in sufficient fear, least wee should veare aboard them. The fourth, about two in the morning, wee wayhed, and stood of to sea. That day had a storm so violent that a Prouinçal prise wee had taken was like to haue founderd. The fift wee stood in again to Cape

[6] Perhaps alluding to their defeat by the Portuguese, under the command of the Marquis of Marialva, at the battle of Montes Claros, on the 7th of June, 1665.

Palos. The 6th wee were of Cartagena. The 7th wee stood along the coast with an easy saile. The 8th wee sald in close with Table Round Bay; there is a tower on the eastermost point, and a castle in the bay, which is all sandy, and a good watering place. About three in the afternoon wee were close under the Round Table, a hill to the westward of the bay, that showes it selfe like a table. This night wee got about Cape de Gallo, and the 9th, in the morning, wee opened Almeria Bay, a large sandy bay, the pleasantest I euer saw. In the bottom of the bay layes the towne and castle of Almeria, and to the westward of it Roguetta. Wee stood in to the bay till noon, and then came out again. All this day wee sayled by a low sandy shore, but the land mountainous inward; that night wee past Modrill, Malaga, and Veles, hauing sent our ketch into Malaga. The 10th, in the morning, wee had sight of Gibralter hill, and stood ouer for the Barbary coast. About noon wee were of Ceuta Point, and sailed fair in with the shore; saw Ceuta in the bottom of the bay; it stands very low: there is a large place walld about on the hill, to the eastward of the bay, and another, but much les, to the westward, diuers watch towers to the land ward. Wee sayld by Apes Hill, a vast high rock, hauing nothing growing on it, but full of great clefts; there are two towers at the bottom of it. Something to the eastward wee saw Alcaser, and an old castle, on a hill; in the bay is another castle by the sea side. About five o'clock wee came by Tangier. All this afternoon wee had the greatest fret of wind I ever was in, at east: I judge the wind beeing forst between these two high lands to bee the cause of it. That night wee lay by, between Cape Sprat and Trafalgar. The 11th wee anchored of Rota, hauing driuen a French man of war from his anchor there, into more security nearer the towne of Cales. The 12th wee had order, with fower sail more, to cruse between Cales and the straits: wee waighed about four in the morning, and lay of St. Peters Island. About ten wee spied six small sails comeing about Cape Trafalgar. It proued our ketch, in return from Malaga, chasing five sail of settees; four of them hee brought by the lee, the fift was too swift of sail, and getting close under the shore had scapt him; wee man'd out two pinnaces, and forst

him a shore near St. Peters Island, and, at the flood, brought him of verry leaky. She was a French settee, called Nostre-dame de Carme, belonging to Martegues, in Prouence, now come from Oran, loden with corn for Cales; the master of her, Jaques Antoine, was brought aboard wounded, and died a day or two after. Wee had one man wounded in the dispute. Wee sent in the other fower settees, whereof one allso prou'd prise. The 13th, in the morning, wee sent in our settee, not being able to keep her longer aboue water. The 14th, wee chasd a bark with our boats; shee was loaden with corn for Cales; the Spaniards had left her, fearing us to bee Turks, but it was sent in and deliuerd them again. The 15th, went into Cales to Sir Jeremy; where wee had certain news of the Lion, Antelope, and Crown's arriuall in England, sore shattered, but no news of the Mitford. The 16th wee came out of Cales road betimes in the morning; that night were thwart of the straits mouth, it blowing extreamly hard out of the gut; an Englishman and our Prouinçall prise lost company. The 17th, in the morning, being shot under the Barbary shore, wee had little wind, some shippes not halfe a mile a stern of us hauing as much as they could carry their top-sails with. Wee chasd a ship in the after noon, shee was an Englishman come from Cales; this night wee had a great storme. About 7 in the morning Cape Sprat bore east and by south of us, about 7 or 8 leagues of; wee had lost company of our admirall, and could see but 8 sail of our whole fleet. Two verry large sharks and a grampus came verry near our ship, and some time after a large drift tree with the bows and leaues on it. About 9 or 10 we spied our admirall a hed, and that afternoon were all together again. The 19th being calme wee lay by most part of the day of the white cliffs betwen Arsilla and Larache. The 20th wee chasd an English shipp; shee was bound for Genoa, and told us of severall frigats ready to sail that were comeing to us from England. The 21st wee stood in within three leagues of Larache, which is a town of the Spaniards, standing with a great castle on the side of the south point of the bay, which hath allso a riuer running into it, though but shole; opposite to it on the north point of the bay are some buildings, or

rather ruins; on the top of the point there lyes a sand before the riuer's mouth, and is a place of little trading. They fired many gunns from the towne and castle whilst wee were before it; wee heard afterwards they were then hard beseeg'd by the Mores. This night wee tackt and stood to the norward. The 22d wee were of Cape Sprat, that night lay by. The 23d wee ly of the Barbary coast; being change day, riding under Cape Sprat N E, wee found the tide that came from the westward, 8 of the clock, and the estern tide to run until 2 o'clock, being calme; thus wee found the tide to shape its cours. Observed, that under Cape Sprat, riding in 20 fathom water, wee found that at 3 o'clock the currant came so strong toward the east that wee thwarted wholly up to the east; wee had good ground but coarse, the Cape N E and by N, about 4 leagues of. The 24th wee anchord in the bay to the southward of the Cape, a fine sandy bay, in the bottome of it a pleasant vally, all sowne with corn, the hills covered with woods, the bay full of diuers sorts of fishes, especially of porgues,[7] of which wee took diuers, and some small nurses,[8] the 25th, 26th, and 27th, being most spent in this exercise. The 28th wee waighed and came into Tangier Bay, where hauing got some water from the shore, the wind comeing easterly again, the 1st of March we waighd and stood to the westward. The 2nd the ketch went again to Tangier. The 3rd wee were betwen the Cape and Cape Trafalagar, somthing of to sea. The 4th wee came again into Tangier Bay; that night I went a shore and lay in the castle. The 5th, hauing walk't about the lines, seen the new towne at the coue, tooke some obseruation of the ruind stairs, and the mould, wee came abourd and that night waighed. The 6th wee were again under Cape Sprat, it blew hard at east. The 7th wee were of Arzyla, and stood in within fower leagues of it, not so near as to make any great obseruacions of it; it is under the command of Guyland, and one of his cheef seats, from whence, in the yeare .....[9] the Earle of Sandwich

7 The Porgee, or Porgy; *Sparus Chrysops*, Lin.

8 Some species of shark, or dog-fish; very probably *Sq. Canicula*, or *Catulus*.

9 "August 20th, 1662. To my Lord Sandwich, whom I found in bed. Among other talk, he do tell me that he hath put me into commission with a great many persons in the business of Tangier, which is a very great honour to me, &c. I per-

treated with him; tis said to bee pretty strong, though not verry large; all I could obserue of it is, that tis a square towne, standing on a small rising close by the sea side, with many turrets in it. The 8th wee past, with little worth obseruance, under the Barbary shore. The 9th wee stood ouer to the Spanish coast, and, hauing little wind, wee lay most of the day of Trafalagar and Conill, examining a small fleet which came from Cales, who were most of them Genoese. About eleven at night wee were alarmd with a fleet of eight sail of ships a hed; the admirall made his false fire, and wee were in a fighting posture presently, the wind comeing about wee were not able to reach them, and in great doubt what they were; they had made us sooner, and sent theyr boats aboard of us about six in the morning; they proued the Lion and Swallow, with six marchantmen and victuallers bound for Tangier. They stood on their course, and wee in with the shore, hauing with us a prise which the Lion tooke, coming from Lisbone, laden with sugar and tobacco. That afternoon came to an anchor in the Bay of Bulls, of Rota. The 11th wee waighed again, and came to an anchor in Cales roade.

Mr. Thomas Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1745.]

From aboard the *Marie Rose*, at the Buoy of the Middle Grounds, July 16, 1666.

DEAR FATHER,

If it were possible to get an opportunitie to send so often as I am desirous to write, you should heare more often from me, especially being now so neare the grand action, from which I would by no meanes bee absent; because it is gene-

ceive there is yet good hopes of peace with Guyland, which is of great concernment to Tangier."—*Pepys's Diary, &c.* vol. i, p. 160.

"August 21st, 1663. Lord Teviott has received another attack from Guyland at Tangier, with ten thousand men; and at last, it is said, is come, after a personal treaty with him, to a good understanding and peace with him."—*Pepys*, vol. i, p. 247.

rally thought it will bee the conclusion of the warre, and an utter confusion of one partie. I extremely long for that thundering day; wherein I hope you shall heare wee have behaved ourselves like men, and to the honour of our country. Wee have been for divers dayes from the body of the main fleet, since we heard of the Duch being out; and are now with some other frigates riding at the buoy of the middle grounds, as a forlorne hope, in sight of the Duch fleet; where wee wayt and observe their motions, and make signes accordingly to the fleet. Five dayes wee judge will bee the longest time before wee engage. If the Duch will stand to it, wee hope to make an end of the warre, otherwise wee may have cause to repent that wee ever beganne it; wee having now the strength of England with us. Our men are resolute; and I know the temper of our squadron; that by God's assistance you may expect notable service from them. Wee now lye in a sollicitous and wachful guard, in the face of the enemie; but expect dailie to joyne with our fleet, in order to sudden action. I thank you for your directions for my eares agaynst the noyse of the gunnes, butt I have found that I could endure it; nor is it so intolerable as most conceave; especially when men are earnest, and intent upon their business, and unto whom muskets sound but like pop gunnes: it is impossible to expresse unto another how a smart sea fight elevates the spirits of a man, and makes him despise all dangers. Hee that so often stands in the face of a cannon will thinck nothing terrible. In and after all sea fights I have been very thirstie, which makes mee alwayes provide some bottles of quick and fresh middle beere to carry with mee, whereby I having found so great relief in the hot fight the last moneth,[1] I have got six bottles from a gentleman on the Essex shoare, which I reserve for that use. For want hereof I found a great inconvenience when I was in the Foresight, at Bergen fight;[2] where wee had little and bad beere. I humbly crave your blessing and good prayers; and if it shall please God that I survive this battayle, I hope to see you before winter. I am very sorry

1 On the third of June, between the English fleet, commanded by Lord Albemarle, and the Dutch, under De Ruyter and Van Tromp.

2 Third of August, 1665.

to heare the plague increaseth so much in Norwich; butt am glad you are removed out of it. I receaved your two last letters, and give you many thanks for the discourse you sent me out of Vossius *De Motu Marium et Ventorum.* It seemed very hard to mee at first; butt I have now beaten it out, and wish I had the booke. Butt I am not able to beat it into our seamen's heads; and the truth is, I meet not with any so refined as to enquire after such ingenious tracts; and so I leave them to their Wagoner and Seaman's Kalender, as their *nil vltra.* Reading in the Fiery Columne I found this passage: "Among the rocky islands in the coast of East Finland, neare Cape Sound, and the Liet of Abboo, among the rocks lyeth a great rock vnder water, which is a magnes or loadstone; and the ground seemeth there to have the virtue of the loadstone; for there the compasse doth not stand, but runne and turne without any certain station, till you bee at least at a league past it." Nor must I omitt a story which an honest knowing seaman lately told mee, while hee sayled formerly in the Crowne frigat with stormy weather in the Gulf of Lyons: there appeared two Corpos Santos, or St. German's fires; the one in the foreyard arme, about the sheet-block, the other, being lesse, on the crosse sack: hee having seene some before, and now desirous to knowe what substance they were of, went up, and sliding along the foreyard, perceaved it to make from him, till it came to the end; and being at the extreme part, began to drop down in light droppes; hee laid his hand on it, and found it extreme cold and slimie, sticking to his fingers, where it would seeme to burne while the matter was dryed on, and having drawne it to him a good while, till most of it was consumed, he left it. They are many times seen sticking to the skuppers of ships in very fowle weather, and the like I remember I saw in bad weather upon the coast of Oran, in Barbarie, in our voyage with Sir Jeremie Smith. If Radziuill had observed or knowne what a poore peece of corruption this admired light was, hee might have spared his superstitious feares concerning it, which may bee seene at length in his Trauayls: but hereof I hope to receave something hereafter from you. I was diuers times on shoare when we lay farther up. At Quinborough I saw the foundation of

a very old round castle, nothing now standing above ground, a poore and meane place. At East Church, at the other end of the Isle of Sheppey, there hath been a very noble howse, belonging to the Earle of Penbrooke, now almost runne to ruine, and only vsed for a farme howse. Many of the people on both shoares are runne up into the country as fearing the presse, and some of our seamen have been so rude as to bring away not only common labourers, butt farmers and constables, not sparing a justice of peace from the Essex side. They are at a very great height of licentiousnesse, which wee are fayne to overlooke in many things, because of the present action; yet there were two hanged last weeke for a mutinie, at the buoy of the Nore. I should have been very glad to have seen my brother Edward, hee having been almost in all the places of France where I have been. I hope wee may exercise that languadge together. When hee writeth or goeth to Cambridge, I desire him to present my service to Mr. Craven, Mr. Nurse, Mr. Arrowsmith, and all our friends in Trinitie College. I humbly beg your prayers and blessing, resting,

Sir, your most obedient and dutifull sonne,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Sir Thomas Allen and Captain Darcy present their service.

Mr. Thomas Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1745.]

September, 1666.

HONORD FATHER,

After our returne from the coast of Holland, the firing and destroying of at least an hundred and fiftie good marchand shippes and some men of warre, and the burning of the handsome towne of Brandaris, on Skellink island, we returned to England, to fitt up our shipps, especially such as had been damaged in the last July fight; and to make hast out agayne to meet with the Duch fleet, who, by this time, had recruited, and had, as wee conceaue, an intention to joyne

with the French fleet. Wee went out agayne well prouided and resolved, the Duch making to the French coast, and, indeed, sauing themselues there; for had not the winds been uery high, in all probabillity, wee had ruined their fleet. In the late July fight, though it lasted not many howers before the Duch made away, yett our shippe spent many shot, and not in vayne; butt a Duch flagge shippe lay hard upon us, and so batterd our sayles and mayne-mast, that Sir Thomas Allen thought it best that wee should make for England, and repayre, and so make hast to them agayne, then going for the coast of Holland. Butt wee were not willing to heare of that, but fished our mast, and so well repayred our shippe at sea, that wee were in good case to go along with our squadron, and returned not till all was over at Skellink, in company with the fleet. Then I brought the shippe to Woollage, and layd her fast in the dock; the captaine being gone to London. She is now repayred, and wee are designed to conuay the Cales and Malaga fleet, with others bound for the Straights. Wee are to take up the marchands at the Downs, and conuey them through the Channell to Plimouth, and there to expect admirall Kempthorne, with 6 or 7 shipps more, and so to passe forward. Wee are now riding in the Long Reach, and hindred by this hard wether, which is so extreme that the whole riuer of Thames is couered ouer with huge flakes of ice, which, with the foame of the tide, doth so gall us, that wee are forced to lay chaynes ouer our cables, and fasten great elme plancks to the sides and bowes of our shippe to saue her; and if this extreme wether continueth, wee shall bee fayne to hale her ashoare, the wind not presenting to carry us lower downe. I confesse I could not butt call to mind what I had read in captain James his trauayles, though with no comparison unto his dangers. I receaued some time ago all the things you sent; violin, nocturnall, and Wagoner, which is a very good one, though not of the last edition, which was printed 1600. No newes at present butt what cometh from your coast, of the taking and spoyling 5 sayle of Duch men of warre. The discontent of the seamen, for want of pay, is no newes unto you. Yesterday diuers of them, now bound outward, presented a petition to

the Duke of York, for some of their pay, to prouide for themselues and families, wch they are to leaue at home. What the euent will bee it is easie to judge, by what hath alreadie passed. Certaine it is that they are in a sad and pitifull condition; and no small trouble it is unto us, who are to command a company of mutinous unpayd men. For my part, while I haue a penny, I cannot but releiue them, of whose fidelity and valour I can giue so good testimonie; nor do I find them so untractible, who all this while, though the captaine were ashoare, haue kept them aboard and unto their duties better then I might haue feared I should haue done. I cannot butt wonder at this unreasonable and unpolitick course, to disoblige the seamen, who haue behaued themselues so stoutly, and discontent the whole land, who haue so largely disbursed for their paye. The consequence must be bad, and at least no honourable peace. I neuer looke to see another fleet so well manned and readie for the seruice, except a speedie recouery be made of their affections unto it. I hope by this, my third winter voyage to the Strayghts, much to improue my knowledge of what I haue seen and learned alreadie, and wee hope to bee in England by April, before any action. Prince Rupert being pleased to take notice of my endeauors, gaue mee counsell by all means to take paynes to be a good channell man, and to understand the narrow seas as exactly as I could; and therefore, though I haue alreadie taken the best notice I could thereof, yet in this voyage I shall bee a more strict obseruer; and if it please God I returne, shall send you my obseruations thereof, with what discriptions and draughts time will give mee leaue to sett downe. I am much satisfied that I haue got my boy Will Blanchot's pension settled for his life; haueing had his thigh broake by a splinter in the last fight butt one, to the greif, not only of myself, butt of all the shippe: it will be hard to meet with a boy so boald and useful in a fight, though I haue another that doeth well. I shall take all the care to bind him out; and I hope it is alreadie done by those I have employed about it. His father was chief gunner of our shippe, at Bergen, where hee was slayne, and his sonne left to the wide world till I tooke him into my care. The honest Moore hath leave to go to London

for some days, but I hope I shall haue his company with mee this voyage also. Hee is a right honest and stout man, and hath now the oversight of 6 gunnes to better his pay. There is not such a man in all the fleet, hee understands and speakes Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, high Duch, Polish, and the vulgar Greeke! I exercise my Latin and French with him, and intend this voyage to practise Italian with him; hauing an Italian grammar with mee, and hauing Latin and French, find it will be easily obtained. Hee is much affected to my brother Edward since he was with us at Southwould bay; whether if wee come agayn I intend that hee should wayt upon you at Norwich. I intend to draw his picture in litle,[3] as I have done the masters and some others.

[MS. SLOAN. NO. 1745. FOL. 31.]

From the Thames to Falmouth.

The 29th day of Nouember [1666],[4] being Saterday, I parted from London to goe aboard the Mary Rose friggatt, then fitted out at Woolidge, and intended for Cales and Tangier. The 1st of December she fell downe into the Long Reach, where she stayed to take in her prouisions and stores, till the 2nd of January ffollowing. Our long stay there was cheefly caus'd by an extraordinary ffrost for about a fortnight together, which couered the whole Thames with great fflakes of ice, hindring all passage up or downe by water, some of which were halfe a musket shot ouer, and of a great thicknes, which by the violence of the tide were forc'd upon us with such impetuousnes, that wee were forc'd to new seruice our cables, continually fastning our top chains to them; allso the best 3 inch plancke wee had dayly fastned to her bows, were forc'd away like durt, the ice grinding there continually, and

[3] In miniature.

[4] On reference to tables in Nicolas's Notitia Historica, it appears that the 29th of November fell on a Saturday in 1662 and 1673. Notwithstanding this, I have no hesitation in affirming 1666 as the date of the present journal. See *Pepys's Diary*, vol. ii, p. 10.—"Feb. 3, 1666-7; away home, and received some letters from Sir W. Coventry, touching the want of victuals to Kempthorne's fleet, going to the Streights, and now in the Downs."

making a hideous noise, shaking the whole shipp. At length, wearied out with this kind of labour, and ffearing iff the frost should continue, it might sincke our shipp, the sheathing being quite torn from her bowes, and part of her bends beginning to be shatterd, wee wayed, and fell with the tide before Grauesend, where then rid a considerable fleet of merchant shipps bound out, with seural newly arriued from Gottenborg. From hence to London tis somwhat aboue twenty mile by water, the riuer turning and winding seuerall wayes, which our seamen call reaches. The townes that stand on it are, Debtford, one of the king's yards for building and repairing of shipps; Greenwich, an ancient seat of pleasure of the kings; the howse during the rebellion was pulld down, but now very magnificently building again with free stone, the queen's howse a little aboue it, a handsome building, to which joins a verry spacious parke. Blackwall hath the largest wet dock in England, and belongs cheefly to the East India Company. Woolidge hath another dock yard of the king's, with magasins and stores for the conuenience of his nauy. Eref[5] and Purfleet, a mannor of the king's, at the upper end of Long Reach; the lower is Gren-hiue,[6] a market towne, and Grayes,[7] opposite, on the Essex side. Northfleet, a village about a mile from Gravesend. Gravesend is a maior towne, pretty large, but yields no other trade than what the marchant shippes continually lying there afourd it. There is a castle and block-house on eyther side the riuer, where all merchant men are stopt and searcht, paying some duties to the castle. Wee lay our shipp ashore near the block-howse, to mend such damages as the ice had done us, and the 9th wayhed and came into the Hope, a noted anchoring place, there being a conueniency for many shipps to ride in safety together; near this, Tilbury, a small village, famous for Quen Elizabeth's camp there. The next day wee waighed again, and, haueing stopt one tide near Old Hauen, wee came to an anchor again at the buy of the Nore, where rear-admirall Kempthorn[8] then rid commander-in-cheef, with

5 Erith. 6 Greenhithe. 7 Grays Thurrock.

8 Afterwards knighted, and made Commissioner at Portsmouth, which place he represented in parliament. He died 1679.

6 or 7 sail of frigats. A little aboue the buy of the Nore, is Lee Towne and Roade, where the London, a second rate ship, was blown up in the year 1665; but 13, out of 300 and od men, saued in her. The Nore is a sand that shooleth of from the south point of the riuer; upon the outwardmost end of it lies a buy continually. Opposite to this is Shear nes, on the island of Sheppy, where the king hath lately built a yard, and furnisht it with all manner of stores for the fitting his fleet, which before were brought from Chattam and Woollidge. Between the Nore and Shearness runs in the Swale to Quinborow, which is an old mayor towne, and had formerly an ancient castle, lately demolisht. Up the riuer Medway is Chattam and Rochester citty, where in time of peace the nauy shipps are laid up. At the buy of the Nore wee rid till the 19th, when the wind comeing fair wee sailed. There are two wayes to sail out of the riuer, from the northward, along by the Nase, and through the Kings Channel; or from the southward, by the North Forland, which is not to bee done neither but at spring tides by the great shipps, and is called the Flats. From the east point of Sheppy to Whitstaple lies in a bay, which is not to bee sayled in by ships of burthen. The Recculuers is a small towne; the church hath two spires in front, a great land marke for sailing ouer the flats. Marget is a towne on the foreland, with a peere, where small vessels may come in at half tide and ly dry, it is remarkable for the North Down ale brued there. Ramsgate and Broadstairs, two small towns on the pitch of the forland with peers allso; the forland is a rocky promontory running out into the sea, on the extreamity of which are two light howses; when you come about the north foreland, the Downs open it selfe, being a bay that lies between the N and S forlands, and is secured from the violence of the sea by the Goodwin sands, dry at low water; the north part is called the Small Downes. In the bottome lies Deal, a pretty large towne, alltogether sustained by the concours of shipps dayly arriuing there. There are three castles for the security of the Downes; Sandowne, about half a mile to the northwards of Deal; Deal castle, standing near the town, and Wamouth, a mile more southward, by the south foreland, is much like

the north, being a high white cliffe, with 2 lighthowses also on it, to direct the going in and out of the south channell. Wee arriued in the Downes the 20th; and the 22nd the rear-admirall came to us, hee being a third rate, and forc't to goe about the king's channell. Wee rid here till the 29th, when the wind presenting, wee sailed with a conuoy of about 38 sail of marchant men bound for Lisbone, Cales, Tangier, &c. About a league from the foreland is Douer; the castle is verry large, fortified after the antique manner, and stands on the top of a verry high cliffe; the towne stands in the bottom beneath, it hath a peer for shipps, which is kept at a great deal of charge. From hence wee sail along by Dungeon ness, a low nook of land with a light house on it; to the westward of it lies Ry, in a should bay, that hath only a channell for small vessels, and the old ruind towne of Winchelsy; the other hedland of this bay is Fayr Lee,[9] from whence wee haue Becke,[1] one of the most renown lands in this part of England, it being a great white cliffe. Before wee come to the Isle of Wight, lies the shoulds of the Owers, aboue a league from the land, from which wee see Culuer cliff, a great square white cliff, and Dunnose, the southermost land of the Isle of Wight, and soon after St. Ellens Point, couered with trees and shrubbs. Further in upon the main is Portsmouth, a uerry strong towne, and one of the cheefest magasines in England, both for sea and land; not far from it is Porchester, an old castle, built by Julius Cæsar, as they will haue; there haue been diuers old medals found near it. Southsea castle, about a mile from Portsmouth; there is allso Calshot and Hurst on the main. There was formerly one at the Spit-hed, but long since demolisht. On the island, which is verry fruitfull, is Newport, a large market towne, besides severall other inferior; the castles are Yarmouth, Cowes, and one in the bay between Culver clif and Dun nose. The Needles at the west end of the island, verry remarkable rocks, being 3 of them, which stand loose from the cliff, a pretty way in the sea; in going in wee sail verry near them, to auoid a sand that lies on the other side. West from the Needles is Sandwich bay, where Sir Thomas Allen commands a cas-

9 Fairlight. 1 Bexhill.

tle.[2] Toward night we made the land of St. Albans, and that night past by Portland, which is a peninsula, the land of it is high, from whence comes our Purbeck stones. The race which sets off of it, is very remarkable, being a meeting of the tides, which is sometimes with that violence that ships have been very much endangered going through it. It blew very hard all this night, at east. Eight o'clock wee lay by, to auoid over shooting our port, being bound to touch at Plimouth. In the morning wee made sail in with the land, thick rainy wether, the first we saw was the rock which lies to the southward of Torbay, and soon after the ferry which is the land beyond it; about 9 o'clock, we saw Dartmouth range, which are a company of rocks lying of that port; after wee had opened the harbour, we sailed fair by the Start, a ragged point reching into the sea; wee sailed along by Praul and the Boult, two other headlands, and at 4 in the afternoon, came to an anchor, in Plimouth Sound, abrest of St. Francis Island, where wee found the rear-admiral Vtburd, who commanded the western squadron, with fiue or six sail of 3 and 4 rate ffrigats, hauing taken seuerall prises to the westward. The bay of Plimouth, is one of the most comodius in England, being about two leagues deepe and lying in. The two head lands are the Mewstone with the point that lies of from Weemberry; the westermost is the Ramhed or rather Pen Lee, which is another point within it, about which is Caisson bay, a small fisher towne, lying in the bottom of it. Of the eastermost point lies a long ridg of ragged rocks, the outwardmost of which is calld the Shagg Rocke from the number of those fowl which are continually upon it, the whole sound is generally rocky, unles it be west [of] the bay under Mount Stamford, where there is very good ground for a good compas, but it lies rocky of a great way from the island. To the northwards of the island again is good ground, and in Cawsome bay there are two very good harbours in the sound, Catwater,

[2] Pepys (vol. ii, p. 41,) says, "Sir G. Carteret did tell me on one occasion how Sir Thomas Allen was tried for his life, in P. Rupert's fleet, in the late time, for cowardice, and condemned to be hanged, and fled to Jerzy, &c." The storm, however, blew over; for he was sent out in 1668-9, in command of the Mediterranean fleet.

where all shipps that are bound to the westward ly, and Ham ose for those bound to the eastward, beside the Barbican which is the harbour in the towne, and lies dry at low water. Mount Buttin is the outwardmost point of Catwater, being a round hill, almost an island, with a round tower on it; in the siege of Plimouth, it served notably to straighten the beseiged, the channel being not above musquet shot ouer, the kings party then hauing a fort on Mount Stamford, and continually plying this place with store of small shot. The tower upon it hath been since built to hinder the like inconueniences. Opposite to it is the fort of Plimouth, built upon the extremity of a rock, the lower part of which is called Fishers Nose; it hath always been accounted very strong, but is now much strengthened by the new fortificasions which run along the hill. To the westward behind this hill, lies the town of Plimouth; you can see nothing of it but the top of the steeple, as you rid in the sound; it is a very large towne and of great trade, and keeps a number of shipping; it hath been formerly walled, but is now quite dismantled. There is an ould square castle in the towne, which hath been long made a prison and is now pulling downe for the new workes. To sail into Ham ose, you pass by the island St. Frances, leaving it on your larbord side; it is a rocke that lies in the sound, hauing no possible access to it but one, which is allso verry difficult and well fortified. The top of it is green, and hath a large fortified howse on it. A little within this stands Mount Wise, a great house, on Plimouth side, and on the other, Mount Edgcome, a very handsome howse and pleasant seat, belonging to Sir Richard Edgcomb; it is verry well wooded down to the sea side, and hath a very handsom parke; between these goeth in Ham ose and Milbrooke; between Mount Wise and Plimouth, is Stonhowse and Milbay, where small vessels do anchor, there is a good watering place. The 7th of February, rear-admirall Kempthorn ariued with the rest of our frigats. We continued here waiting a wind, till the 19th, when, it comeing eastwardly, wee sailed all together, the rear-admiral of the white being bound to cruce of the Lands end, and wee to the southward with our conuoy. About 12 at night, the wind scanted upon us, and our mar-

chant men not being able to make any thing of it, wee put back again for Plimouth, severall of them went into Falmouth. The rear-admirall of the white only, with his squadron, kept the sea. The 21st, the wind came about eastwardly again, and the Mary Rose was ordered to way and call the marchant men out of Falmouth, and stay there for the coming of the fleet. About 10 at night, we wayed, hauing a fine small gale, that night wee ly by about 3 howers, and by 6 in the morning, were of the Deadman, a point of land shooting out from the rest; to the westward is still another point, of which about halfe a mile lies the Gull rocke.

Falmouth is a deep bay, that takes its name from a rock which lies almost in the mid channell, at the entrance, on either side of which stands a castle; Pendennis castle on a high hill in a peninsula, being one of the strongest in England, is on the west side, and St. Maurs on the side of a hill, on the east. There are seuerall towns in the bay, as St. Maurs, Perin, and Falmouth, which is named and made a corporacion by the king, it being formerly a place that had no other name but Penylome Quick, being only a few ale howses for the reception of seamen; the rock only was calld Falmouth. Truro lyes in the bottom of the bay; it is very much used by merchant shipps, being not so commodious for the great shipps of warr there as at Plimouth; the shipps eastwardly bound run up to Perin, the westwardly toward Truro, the eastward point of the bay lies of rocky, as at Plimouth, and hath a shagg rock continually covered with that sort of fowl. Something to the westward of Pendennis castle, is Hilfort, a small towne that hath a harbour for small vessels; about two leagues from that is the Manackles, a ledge of rocks that ly aboue a league of the Blackhead, which is part of the land of the Lisart. The Lisart hath three points, the eastwardmost of which is the Blackhead, of which lies the Manackles, the southermost, which is commonly called the Lisart, hath a ledge of rocks running out from it aboue water, called the Staggs, the westermost is Predamour point; they are all much like one another, being flat land, not very high, and all three bluf steep points.

[MS. SLOAN. 1745.]

Admiral Kempthorne's General Orders.

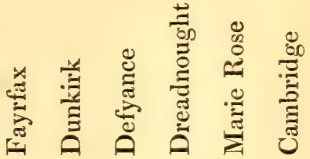
Instructions in particular for the present outbound expedition:

1. That the Defyance and Dreadnought keepe in the van of the fleet. The Cambridge on the starboard wing, as neere the middle as may bee. The Fairfax on the larboard in the same manner; the Dunkirk and Marie-Rose in the reare, according to the description hereunder.

2. That none give chase out of the sight of the fleet upon any pretention whatever.

3. In case of separation by foule weather, or any other accident which may happen, that then the rendezvous of meeting be at Tangier.

4. In case we should meet a considerable enemie that may stand to engage us, that wee fall into the posture as heere deciphered.



5. When the admirall desireth to speake with any of the commanders hee will abroad a pendant

In the	Main yard arme	for the	Cambridge
	Fore yard arme		Fayrfax
	Mayne topsayle yard arme		Dreadnought
	Fore topsayle yard arme		Dunkirk
	Mizen topsail yard arme		Marie Rose

JOHN KEMPTHORNE.

Mr. Thomas Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1745.]

[February, 1667.]

SIR,

Wee are now riding in Plimmouth Sound, whether wee brought safe our convoy of 38 marchand shipps. Heere I found Captain Utberd, with five good men of warre; many considerable prizes have been lately taken, and dailie some are brought in, both Duch and French. Wee now attend the coming of Rere-admirall Kempthorne, butt I hope I may bee so happy as to receave one from you before wee sayle. I lately read a good part of Lucan, whose sentences, orations, and noble straynes, I like very well; and to say truth, some other poets of great name, seeme to mee butt flat in comparison of him. The speech of Vulteius is very remarkable, and handsomely expressed; and I was much affected with it. I

beleeve the translation by May will come short of it. Hee was one of Cæsar's commanders, who, finding his shippe entangled by ropes layd purposely in the sea, and surrounded with a great body of Pompey's forces, fought it out an whole day with them; and seing no way to auoid taking, rather than to bee slaves and prisoners, exhorted his souldiers in the shippe to kill one another, which was effected the next morning, himself being first slayne, and afterward all the rest. It is in the fourth booke; [beginning]

Libera non ultrà paruâ quam nocte Juventus

and so on, unto

Sed virtus te sola daret.

His character of Cæsar I like very well;—

Acer et indomitus, &c.
Nil actum credens, si quid superesset agendum.

This temper would haue serued well, and had probably concluded the warre in our first fight with the Duch.

I am like to see Tangier the third time. Our voyage must not bee long. I expect to receave your farther commands by the next. Your obedient sonne,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Dr. Browne to his son Thomas.

[MS. SLOAN. 1745.]

I receaved yours, and would not deferre to send vnto you before you sayled, which I hope will come vnto you; for in this wind, neither can Reare-admirall Kempthorne come to you, nor you beginne your voyage. I am glad you like Lucan so well. I wish more military men could read him; in this passage you mention, there are noble straynes; and such as may well affect generous minds. Butt I hope you are more

taken with the verses then the subject, and rather embrace the expression then the example. And this I the rather hint unto you, because the like, though in another waye, is sometimes practised in the king's shipps, when, in desperate cases, they blowe up the same.[3] For though I know you are sober and consideratiue, yet knowing you also to be of great resolution; and having also heard from ocular testimonies with what vndaunted and persevering courage you have demeaned yourself in great difficulties; and knowing your captaine to bee a stout and resolute man; and with all the cordiall friendshippe that is between you; I cannot omitt my earnest prayers vnto God to deliver you from such a temptation. Hee that goes to warre must patiently submitt vnto the various accidents thereof. To bee made prisoner by an vnequall and overruling power, after a due resistance, is no disparagement; butt upon a carelesse surprizall or faynt opposition; and you have so good a memorie that you cannot forgett many examples thereof, even of the worthiest commanders in your beloved Plutark. God hath given you a stout, butt a generous and mercifull heart withall; and in all your life you could never behold any person in miserie butt with compassion and relief; which hath been notable in you from a child: so have you layd up a good foundation for God's mercy; and, if such a disaster should happen, Hee will, without doubt, mercifully remember you. Howeuer, let God that brought you in the world in his owne good time, lead you through it; and in his owne season bring you out of it; and without such wayes as are displeasing vnto him. When you are at Cales, see if you can get a box of the Jesuits' powder at easier rate, and bring it in the bark, not in powder. I am glad you haue receaued the bill of exchange for Cales; if you should find occasion to make vse thereof. Enquire farther at Tangier of the minerall water you told mee, which was neere the towne, and whereof many made use. Take notice of such plants as you meet with, either upon the Spanish or African coast; and if you knowe them not, putt some leaves into a booke, though

[3] In the action of the 3rd of June, 1666, Albemarle, the commander-in-chief, confessed his intention rather to blow up his ship, and perish gloriously, than yield to the enemy.

carelessely, and not with that neatenesse as in your booke at Norwich. Enquire after any one who hath been at Fez; and learne what you can of the present state of that place, which hath been so famous in the description of Leo and others. The mercifull prouidence of God go with you. *Impellant animæ lintea Thraciæ.*

Your louing father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

For Mr. Thomas Browne, Lieutenant of his Majesties shippe, the *Marie Rose*, riding in Plimouth Sound.

Mr. Thomas Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1745.]

From aboard his Majestie's shippe, the *Marie Rose*, in Portland Roade. [Early in May, 1667?]

SIR,

I receaved not your letter at Cales before wee were readie to returne; and therefore sent no answere, in hope I should bee in England before that could come vnto your hand: and, God be thanked, I am now riding in Portland Road, and, if the wind favour, hope to bee to-morrowe at Portsmouth, from whence this is to come vnto you. The last I writ vnto you was from Plimmouth, from whence wee sayled the 21st of Februarie, with Rere-admirall Kempthorne, and about fiftie marchand shippes. The order, and manner of the sayling of our men of warre in this expedition, I have set downe in a sheet of paper, as ordered by our admirall. The 28th wee had the length of the North Cape; and were ordered to convoy in all the marchand shippes in our fleet which were bound for Lisbone. So the first of March wee stood into Cascales Road, and saw our convoy safe up the river;[4] and being to make hast after our fleet, that night wee got almost Cape Spichel or Picher; the next day Cape St. Vincent; and the sixth day wee arriued at Tangier; two dayes before the admirall. There wee stayed four dayes, then wayghed,

[4] Tagus.

and went for Cales; where wee stayed about a fortnight, to bring away such shippes as were readie for our convoy. I found Mr. Knights ashoare at Porto Sta. Maria; of whom I tooke up an hundred and fiftie six peeces of eight; which I haue now aboard in sherry sack; and which I hope will turn to good account. I have also six jarres of tent, each containing about three gallons; which I intend to present vnto my friends; and a roll of excellent tobacco, as they tell mee who have taken of it; very noble sweet waters, and orange flower butter, which may prove welcome presents to some friends. I stayed three dayes at Porto Sta. Maria, which is a large towne belonging to the Duke of Medina, wherein are two very fine churches; the one of St. Victor, the other of St. Anna; severall also of the king's galleys are layd up in this river, which cometh from the citty of Xeres, commonly called Sherrez. From hence I passed over to Cales, where I stayd some dayes: a very strong and well peopled place, with severall fayre churches, of one whereof I tooke a draught; butt the streets are narrow and ill paved, hauing little or no fresh water butt what is brought from other places; from whence also they have their hearbes, fruits, meal, and other necessaries; standing itself on a meere sand, it little differs from the figure of it in Brawne's[5] Book of Citties. From hence wee sayled with our convoy of marchands, which came in timely enough for us, and hauing made the South Cape were agayne ordered to go into Lisbon with the Revenge, who had sprung a leake. Wee stayd one day, and left the Revenge, to bring away the marchantmen in the river. I was not sorry I stayd no longer; hauing been twice there before, and hauing taken a full view and observation of that place and all considerable places, forts, castles, and the famous conuent of Belim, in my first voyage in the Foresight with Captain Brooke, when, for a fortnight, wee dailie visited the court, attending the commands and dispatches of the Conde Melhor, the favorite, and minister of state, who sent divers letters and juells to our queen. Wee have had much fowl weather, and contrarie winds since wee parted from Lisbone, till within these six dayes. Wee had putt into Plimmouth this morning, butt it

[5] Braun.

blowing hard last night, wee overshot the port, being up with the Steart Poynt by break of day; and this evening wee are come to an anchor.

Mr. Thomas Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1745.]

[May, 1667?]

HONORD SIR,

I am newlie come into Portsmouth, and have alreadie disposed of my adventure from Cales. Wee came in with full expectation that wee should have found our fleet readie for this summer's action; butt, to the great grief of ourselves, and all honest publick spirited souldiers and seamen, wee find all contrarie to our desires; and that our great and most considerable shipps shall not be employed this summer. And in the meane time wee vnderstand, for certaine, the Duch are coming out with a good fleet. I confess as yet I vnderstand not this counsell at land; butt I dare confidently say, wee shall sadly repent of it. The Duch would never have given us this advantage; and I beleeve they will not neglect to make vse of it now wee haue giuen it them. Sir Thomas Allen hath a squadron of shippes at Plimmouth of the third and fourth rate, butt not able to oppose a fleet. Some shipps are heere, together with the Souernign, which is vnprouided. Wee heare of none in the riuer of Thames; nor how the fort at Sheerenesse is fortified or manned. I am sure it was butt in meane case when I was at it in January. To treat for peace thus vnprovided, without a cessation of armes, or acts of hostilitie, is not pleasing vnto us; butt wee are readie to embrace a peace which should bee made with our swords in our hands. Wee stayed butt four dayes at Tangier, this voyage: of the towne I tooke a draught before, which I have sett downe in my Journall of my voyadge with Sir Jeremie Smith, which I sent vnto you; and I can say litle more of it than what I said there, only, the mole goeth well forward, they hauing the assistance of some Italians acquainted with that

kind of work: tis a very great attempt, the sea being deepe, and as they aduance will bee deeper, and then they will come from a rocky to a sandy bottome, where the stones will sinck deeper, and the work take time to settle. When it is compleat it will be a notable peece, and scarce to be matched. I should thinck that in some places it were as easie to build an amphitheatre. I was curious to obserue the whole manner and way of making of it; and spent some time in obseruing, discoursing, and questioning about it; and haue set downe the way of it. I walked agayne about the line on the land side, and viewed the forts, redoubts, and workes, which make it very strong. When I first saw it with Captain Brookes, I thought it a poore and contemptible place; butt since, I perceave, there are diuers new buildings, and the towne is fuller, and hath diuers nations in it, and they haue notably thriued by this warre, and like to driue a trade. Of that great masse of building, like stony stares, by the sea side, at the bottome of the towne, which is sett downe grossely in the mappe of Tangier, in Braun's Book of Citties, I could learn no more then that the Moores, in old time, kept their market upon them, butt who built them is vncertain, though they seeme of good antiquitie. Of the city of Fez men heere knowe as litle of it as though it were much farther of. I beleeve it is much altered since Leo Africanus described it, by reason of the continuall warres: and I doubt is not so noble a place now as Vincent Leblanck, a much later trauayler, made it. I spoke with a Jew, who informed me much of severall parts of Barbarie; and told mee that some of their nation had been at Fez, and were then butt at Arzilla. I obliged him much by two English knifes; and he promised mee that hee would gett an account sett downe by them, which hee would putt into French, and I should haue it whenever I came again, or sent for it; hee intending to abide in Tangier. Three Spaniards which were imprisoned by the Moores about Azamore, by contriuing a woodden key to open the prison doore, made their escape, and came to Tangier.

Tangier is situated to the westward of the bay, upon the bending of a hill, from whence to the sea-side is a very great descent; it is almost four-square, the best street in it is that

which runneth from Port Catherine downe to the Key Gate, and is called the Market; the other streets somewhat narrow and crooked; the mole will bee of great vse for the securitie of shippes, the road being too open. I take this to bee an ancient citty, as the old castle and stayres to the seaward, though now much ruined, do testifie; yet not that Tingis from whence Mauritania Tingitana had its name; and which is so often mentioned in ancient histories; as, namely, by Plutarch, in the Life of Sertorius, where it is set downe that hee passed over from Spayne and tooke Tingis, and finding a tomb, reported to bee that of Antæus, hee broake it open, and found therein bones of an exceeding length: which must surely bee understood of that which is now called Old Tangier, situated a little more eastward in the bay; where I have seen a great ruinous building and a broken bridg ouer the river, with ruins which shewe it to haue been a more ancient habitation then this of our Tangier.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CCCXCI.]

Letter from Sir Thomas Browne to his Son, a Lieutenant of his Majesty's ship the Marie Rose, at Portsmouth.

[May or June, 1667.]

DEAR SONNE,

I am very glad you are returned from the strayghts mouth once more in health and safetie. God continue his mercifull providence over you. I hope you maintaine a thankful heart and daylie bless him for your great deliverances in so many fights and dangers of the sea, whereto you have been exposed upon several seas, and in all seasons of the yeare. When you first under tooke this service, you cannot butt remember that I caused you to read the description of all the sea fights of note, in Plutark, the Turkish history, and others; and withall gave you the description of fortitude left by Aristotle, "Fortitudinis est inconcussum δύσπληκτον a mortis metu et constantem in malis et intrepidum

ad pericula esse, et malle honestè mori quam turpiter servari et victoriæ causam præstare. Præterea autem fortitudinis est laborare et tolerare. Accedit autem fortitudini audacia et animi præstantia et fiducia, et confidentia, ad hæc industria et tolerantia." That which I then proposed for your example, I now send you for your commendation. For, to give you your due, in the whole cours of this warre, both in fights and other sea affairs, hazards and perills, you have very well full-filled this character in yourself. And allthough you bee not forward in commending yourself, yett others have not been backward to do it for you, and have so earnestly expressed your courage, valour, and resolution; your sober, studious, and observing cours of life; your generous and obliging disposition, and the notable knowledge you have obtayned in military and all kind of sea affayres, that it affoordeth no small comfort unto mee. And I would by no meanes omitt to declare the same unto yourself, that you may not want that encouragement which you so well deserve. They that do well need not commend themselves; others will be readie enough to do it for them. And because you may understand how well I have heard of you, I would not omitt to communicate this unto you. Mr. Scudamore, your sober and learned chaplaine, in your voyage with Sir Jeremie Smith, gives you no small commendations for a sober, studious, courageous, and diligent person; that he had not met with any of the fleet like you, so civill, observing, and diligent to your charge, with the reputation and love of all the shippe; and that without doubt you would make a famous man, and a reputation to your country. Captain Fenne, a meere rough seaman, sayd that if hee were to choose, hee would have your company before any he knewe. Mr. W. B. of Lynn, a stout volunteer in the Dreadnought, sayd, in my hearing, that you were a deserving person, and of as good a reputation as any young man in the fleet. Another, who was with you at Schellinck's, highly commended your sobrietie, carefullnesse, undaunted and lasting courage through all the cours of the warre; that you had acquired no small knowledge in navigation, as well as the military part. That you understood every thing that belonged unto a shippe; and had been so strict and criticall an

observer of the shipps in the fleet, that you could name any shippe sayling at some distance; and by some private mark and observation which you had made, would hardly mistake one, if seventie shippes should sayle at a reasonable distance by you. You are much obliged to Sir Thomas Allen, who upon all occasions speakes highly of you;[6] and is to be held to the fleet by encouragement and preferment: for I would not have him leave the sea, which otherwise probably he might, having parts to make himself considerable by divers other wayes. Mr. I. told mee you were compleately constituted to do your country service, honour, and reputation, as being exceeding faythfull, valiant, diligent, generous, vigilant, observing, very knowing, and a scholar. How you behaved yourself in the Foresight, at the hard service at Bergen, in Norway, captain Brookes, the commander, expressed unto many before his death, not long after, in Suffolk; and particularly unto my lord of Sandwich, then admiral, which thoughe you would not tell me yourself, yet was I informed from a person of no ordinary qualitie, C. Harland, who when you came aboard the admiral after the taking of the East India shippes, heard my lord of Sandwich, to speak thus unto you. "Sir, you are a person whom I am glad to see, and must be better acquainted with you, upon the account which captain Brooke gave mee of you. I must encourage such persons and give them their due, which will stand so firmely and courageously unto it upon extremities, wherein true valour is best discovered. Hee told mee you were the only man that stuck closely and boldly to him unto the last, and that after so many of his men and his lieutenant was slayne, hee could not have well knowne what to have done without you." Butt beside these I must not fayle to tell you how well I like it, that you are not only Marti but Mercurio, and very much pleased to find how good a student you have been at sea, and particularly with what success you have read divers bookes there, especially Homer and Juvenal with Lubines notes. Being much surprised to find you so perfect therein that you had

[6] There is evidently some omission here, either in the original or the copy; the following sentence appears to be Sir Thomas Allen's remark, the beginning of which is apparently wanting.

them in a manner without booke, and could proceed in any verse I named unto you. I am glad you can overcome Lucan. The other bookes which I sent, are, I perceive, not hard unto you, and having such industrie adjoined unto your apprehension and memorie, you are like to proceed [not only] a noble navigator, butt a great schollar, which will be much to your honour and my satisfaction and content. I am much pleased to find that you take the draughts of remarkable things where ere you go; for that may bee very usefull, and will fasten themselves the better in your memorie. You are mightily improved in your violin, butt I would by no meanes have you practise upon the trumpet, for many reasons. Your fencing in the shippe may bee against the scurvie, butt that knowledge is of little advantage in actions of the sea.

The absence of any correspondence between Sir Thomas and his son Edward from 1665 to 1668, favours the supposition that the latter resided at Norwich during the greater portion of that period. He was incorporated of Merton College, Oxford, in June, 1666, and took his degree, Doctor of Physick, July 4th, 1667. In August, 1668, he went over to Holland, but probably intending only a short excursion. He remained abroad, however, for nearly a year and half, extending his travels from place to place, far beyond his original plan, and in direct opposition to his father's urgent and reiterated requests. It is, indeed, most edifying to contrast this persevering disobedience with repeated and verbose professions of profound respect and implicit obedience to his "most honoured father," followed by a profusion of the humblest apologies and most sorrowful regrets for having disobeyed "such indulgent parents."

His letters to his father are so voluminous, that it was absolutely necessary to curtail or omit the far greater portion of them; especially as the substance has been published in his Travels, fol. 1685.

Dr. Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

DEAR SONNE,

Though the wind served, yet I was confident the shippe would not sayle, the wind being so high; pray God, when it groweth lower, the wind do not turn against you. My humblest service and thanks unto Mr. Johnson. Betty and I searched for the Transactions, butt could only find the lesser part, wherin that discours is not; butt I have sent you all myne, wch are loose. When it shall please God you are in the Netherlands, it were good to take notice of such plants as you see, obseruing what growes common, what not so, on the wayes and fields; and putt up some in a booke. If your bill of credit bee at Amsterdam, I know not whether you have mony enough with you, to carry you thither, being to land at Roterdam. God blesse and preserve you. I rest your loving father, THO. BROWNE.

Aug. xiii, [1668.]

Dr. Browne to his son Edward.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

DEARE SONNE,

Though I haue nothing to adde, yet I could not omitt to send these few lines as a testimony of my true and deare affection towards you, whereof you shall neuer want the reall expressions. Confirme still the good reports I haue euer heard of you. As I am alwayes sollicitous for you, so shall I euer endeauor and pray for you. The mercifull

prouidence of God go with you, and return you safe agayne unto us. Your euer louing father,

Aug. 14, [1668.] THO. BROWNE.

You may haue often occasions to speake Latin in those parts, wch I would haue you do boldly. My humble seruice to Mr. Johnson.

Bettis loue to you. I wish you a happy voyage.[7]

Its since writing, an arithmetick table was sent by Mr. Denton, and another will bee sent on Thursday. If Mr. Windham and Mr. Meade will haue them they shall, except you would haue another kept, or one at least. To preserue it 'twere good to keep yours in a bagge.

These for Dr. Edward Browne to be left at Mr. James Johnson's hous in Yarmouth, with 2 portmantles and an hamper.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1660-1.[8]]

Rotterdam, Aug. 26, Styl. nouo. 1668.

HONOURED SIR,

Wee sett sayle from Yarmouth, on Friday, at 6 in the afternoon, and leauing the St. Nicholas sands, and afterwards the Nowl (which is a new sand) on the starboard side, and the next day by ten in the morning discoured Grauesandt steeple, and entred the Maes at thirteen foot water, wee arriued at Rotterdam a litle after 6 o'clock on Saturday, and saw part of the Kermes. On Sunday Mr. Hill preached at the English church, who was proctour in Cambridge in my time. The cleanenesse and neatnesse of this towne is so new unto mee, that it affoordeth great satisfaction, most persons going about the streets in white slippers. ED. BROWNE.

Aug. 17, Styl. vet. 1668.

[7] This line is in the hand-writing of his sister.

[8] These two numbers form one volume.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1660-1.]

SIR,

I stayed 4 dayes at Rotterdam, where Mr. Panser was very obliging. Great shipps come up to their howses through most of the graefts or cutts out of the Maes, which I obserue as yet no where els. From Rotterdam I passed by Ouerschee to Delft. In an howse of this towne, I saw the marks in a wall which a bullet made at prince William, who was thereby murthered. From Delft I went to the Hague. I saw the princes court, the piazza by it full of green trees, the prince his grandmothers howse, the cours where the coaches meet, and many fine howses in the towne, the pell mall, the wood, the park, and went downe to Scheuelin, where our king tooke shipping at his return to England. From thence I went to Leyden, and one day I made an excursion to Alphen, with Mr. Thompson of Lynne; heere wee dyned at a country mans howse. In this place they make much oyle for soape, make great store of tyles, and build boates. On Monday I came back to Leyden by Goukerk, where is the oldest hows in Holland. In Leyden I tooke notice of that antiquitie called Hengist his castle, or the Berg. In the anatomy schooles, are a very great number of sceletons, the 2 leggs of an elephant, the sceleton of a whale taken out of another whale, of an horse, deare, cow, cat, fox, and what not; diuers sceletons of men and woemen, some with muscle, one with the whole flesh and skinne; butt I haue since seen farr neater curiosities of this kind at Amsterdam, performed by Dr. Reus. From Leyden I came to Harlem, where, being alone, I fell in company with the gouernour of Maynhems sonne, who is a captaine heere, and now going agaynst the duke of Lorraine, in seruice of the Electour Palatine. From hence in 3 hours I passed to Amsterdam, where I haue seen so many curiosities, and am so highly satisfied, that I thinck I cannot see better; butt many tell mee Antwerp surpasseth it, which I hope to see sud-

denly. In the howse where I lodge, there lyes also one Mr. Vernon, an Englishman, who hath trauelled these 6 yeares, speakes excellent Latin, Spanish, Italian, high Duch, and French; hath been almost in all parts of Christendom, beside Barbarie, with him I haue seen many things. I heare your booke of Vulgar Errors is translated into low Duch, and now in the presse. EDWARD BROWNE.

Amsterdam, Sept. 14, 1668.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1660-1.]

SIR,

My last I wrote to you from Middleburg, since which time I have been at Brussells, and am returned unto Antwerp. In Brussells, there are 3 hundred howses infected, so I made litle stay there. I wayted upon Mrs. Waldegraue, a nunne, in the English colledge, who presents her duty to my lady, my sisters, and spake very worthily of yourself, in remembrance of the great good you had done her father Sir Henry. . . . . .

From Terueer I went to Middleburg, where Mr. Hill, the minister, was exceeding obliging. I dined at his house; hee gave mee a booke, and when I went to Vlussing, accompanied mee to the boat, and sent his kinsman with mee; hee told mee that the same man who translated your Religio Medici hath translated your Vulgar Errors into low Duch. At Brussells they cannot dissemble their joy that Castle Rodrigo[9] hath left them, and stuck not to say upon his departing on Michaelmas day, that their patron, St. Michael, had now overcome and cast out the diuell. I pray direct a letter to mee, at Frankfort, my letter of credit being for that place, upon Monsr. Pierre de Neufille.

Your obedient sonne,

EDWARD BROWNE.

Antwerp, Octob. 1, Styl. nouo, 1668.

[9] The Marquess of Castel Rodrigo, the Spanish governor of the Low Countries.

Dr. Browne to his son Edward.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

DEARE SONNE,

I have receaued seuerall letters from you, the last dated Sept. 14, from Amsterdam, by Mr. Pecket, and am sorry I cannot write so often to you, not knowing wheither to direct, but I would not omitt to aduenture this unto you in Mr. Johnsons couert to Mr. Houenaer. The mony you tooke up is payd, and though you have a letter of credit for a great summe, yet I conceaue and hope you will take up butt a part, for the yeare is spent and I would not have you make wide excursions. I receaued some prints by Mr. Dearesly which I like. Capt. Cox is not yet returned. I like it well that you take notice of so many particularities. Enquire also after the policie and gouernment of places. Wearie not nor tire thyself, butt endeauor to preserue thy health by sparing thyself from labour and obseruing a good dyet. I am glad you haue met with a person who speakes so many languadges; you may practise your Latin and Italian with him, little troubling your head with the languadge of the Netherlands. I am glad you haue seen the best of Holland. What way you tooke from Utreckt I am uncertaine; but probably, toward Antwerp, which were very well worth the seeing, if the contagion and disorder of souldiers in those parts will permitt. But before this can probably come to your hand, you may have seen that place. Buy no bookes: what are small and portable, if any: for by London we can send for such bookes as those parts afford. Nancy writ mee word that shee receaued a letter from you. Your mother, Betty, and sisters, pray for you, wishing your returne, which God prosper. Many friends enquire after you; but no letters have come for you, since the last I sent to Yarmouth, they understanding you are abroad. When you were at Amsterdam, I wished you had enquired after Dr. Heluetius, who writ Vitulus aureus, and saw proiection made, and had pieces of gold to shew of it. Hold up thy spirits and bee not deiected that you

receaued no more letters, for if we were assured of their deliuery we would write weekely. God blesse and protect you. I am, your euer loueing father,

Sept. 22, Norwich, 1668. THO. BROWNE.

I wish you would bring ouer some of the red marking stone for drawinge, if any very good. One told mee hee read in the French gazette, that the Duch had discovered the north-east passage to China round about Tartarie. I do not care whether you go into Zeland, but if you should, Flushing and Middleburgh are only worth the seeing.

If you have opportunitie, you may obserue how the Duch make defences agaynst sea inundations. Obserue the seuerall fish and fowle in markets and their names. Wee haue not heard a long time of Lewis de Bills, his practise of preserving bodyes, &c. What esteeme haue they of Van Helmont, in Brabant, his own country? Since I wrote this, I receiued yours this morning, from Dort, and am exceedingly glad to see how God hath blessed you, and that you haue had aduantages beyond expectation. Your accounts are very good of all things. God blesse you. Madam Burwell is at present with mee. Hee and shee send their seruice. Wee are on the declination of the assises which last 2 dayes. The contagion may hinder you from going into Flanders, butt Brabant, I thinck, is not much vnder it. Mr. Johnson is with mee at this hower, and I hast to send this by his letter to Mr. Houenaer. The mercifull protection of God bee with you. Mr. Johnson, Hawkins, Whitefoote, Robins, &c. salute you.

A Monsr. Monsieur Edouard Browne, Francfort.

Mr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1660-1.]

Wien in Austrich, Novemb. 29, Styl. nouo.

SIR,

I wrote to you from Passaw. Since when it hath pleased God to continue his blessings in my health and a

prosperous passage to Vienna. The farther I go the more my desires are enlarged, and I desire now to see Presbourg, Leopoldin, the strong fortification which the emperour hath built in lieu of Newheusel, as also Rab, Comorra, Buda, and Chremnitz, where the gold mines are, and other places: butt I haue trespassed too farre alreadie upon your goodnesse, and intend to looke no farther. Here is at present a Tartarian embassadouer, desiring a league offensiue and defensiue with the emperour, his name Cha Gagi Aga, Cha signifieth master, Gagi somewhat like proselyte, and Aga signifieth king. They haue brought diuers horses with them of high esteem here, but not the least beautifull. Some of the Tartars haue syluer rings, with the same signature as the Turkish seales. They take much tobacco in very long pipes; their tobacco is not in rowles butt in leaues and drye. Heere is a fayre in the citty, where yesterday I mett the Tartars, who were strangely delighted with it, and very much with the babies and figures in gingerbread. The emperour presented the Cham of Tartarie with a syluer bason and ewer, and a fine wach of curious work; sent also presents to the 4 brothers of the great Cham, to the chamerine his wife, and to his sisters; yet after all this kindnesse they are jealous heere, as hauing newes out of Hungarie, that Siebenbergen is to bee putt into the hands of the Tartars. The varietie of habits in this place is very remarkable, as of Hungarians, Transyluanians, Grecians, Croatians, Austrians, &c. In the riuer there is kept a tame pellican, which heere they call a lettelgantz or spoongoose. I saw a comedie in the Jesuit's colledge, the emperour and empresse present. In the emperours chappell is very good musick, vocall and instrumentall, performed by Italians, whereof some are eunuchs. I saw the emperour at chappell on Wednesday, hee hath a very remarkable aspect, and the Austrian lipp extraordinarily. Count Cachowitz is Maistre del Hostell. Montecuculi, the generall, is a leane tall man. On St. Nicholas day I sawe the emperours mother and his 2 sisters, as they lighted out of their coach to enter into the monasterie of St. Nicholas, his sisters are very beautifull sweet ladyes. The empresse hath a very good looke butt somewhat sad at present, perhaps too

sollicitous about her deliuerie. I would willingly leaue this place in order to my returne the first weeke in February, or sooner if I haue the happinesse to heare from you.

Dr. Browne to his son Edward.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

Dec. 2, Norwich, 1668.

DEARE SONNE,

Vpon the receit of your letter from Passau upon the Danube, dated Nou. 1, styl. vet. I got our louing friend Mr. Couldham to send this vnto Venice, to Mr. Hayles, in whose hands it may lye till you ether call or send for it. I am sorry you are to make that long round agayne, and once more be inclosed within the Alpes: butt if it hath pleasd God to bring you safe to Venice out of Germanie, and through so bad a winter passage, with your thankfull acknowledgments vnto God, make the best vse you can of such places for your improuement and knowledg the time you linger there; and whereuer you go, in your returne, bee neuer without some institution or the like of physick, whereof you may daylie or often read, and so continue [1] the method and doctrine of physick, which intention [2] upon varietie of obiects of other subiects may make you forget. Wearie not nor wast your spirits too much in pursuing after varietie of obiects, which I knowe you cannot butt do with earnestnesse, for thereby you shall, by God's blessing, conserue your health, whereof I am very sollicitous. Make what conuenient hast you can homewards and neerer England, according as the passages and season will permitt. To returne by sea is thought by all no fitt or good way for you: 'tis very hazardous in many respects, nothinge considerable to bee learned, and of litle credit. In places take notice of the gouerment of them, and the eminent persons. Burden not yourself with superfluous luggage, and if you buy any thing lett [it] bee of easie portage. Keepe yourself still temperate, which virtue may conserue

[1] Hiatus in MS. [2] Intentness.

your parts. You are in your trauayl able to direct your self; God also direct and preserue you. I do not know that you shall want accommodation for mony, butt Mr. Couldham hath been so courteous as to write to Mr. Hayles, in case of necessitie, to accommodate you; whereof I hope you will make vse butt vpon good occasion, and moderately. Informe your self concerning the state of Candia, and enquire whether there bee any relation made thereof, so far as it hath yet proceeded. Padua, I presume, you will take notice of agayne: butt seriously I would not haue you make excursions remote and chargeable. Consider how neerely it concerneth you to bee in your country improuing your time to what you intend, and what most concerneth you. Of all your letters sent out of Germanie, that only wch you sent from Bing[3] miscarried. I wish you had met with Heylin, or some short description and diuision of those countryes as you trauayled, and if you haue not, do it yet; for that may produce a rationall knowledge of them, confirmed by sence, and giue you a distinct apprehension of Germanie, wch to most proues the most intricate of any in Europe. Your mother prayes for you and sends her blessing, and would bee happy to see you. Shee is in health, as your sister B. and Mal. Crane[4] liuely and cheerily, butt leane, and another sharpe feuer [may] yet soone take her away. Beside limning, Bet practiseth washing in black and colours, and doth very well. All is quiet enough, butt the countryman complaines, and rents are still badly payd, corne and inward commodities being at lowe coste. It hath yet been an open winter, no snowe, fewe and small frosts, much rayne and wind, wch hath made catarrhs, coughs, and rheumatismes . . . . . affectinge the most common diseases among us. The parliament is adiourned to the 1 of March. Mr. England of Yarmouth was prickt for knight of the shiere, but got of, and Sr George Viner, a Londoner, prickt in his place. The Bishop and Mr. Hawkins haue been some moneths in Norwich: he enquireth of you. I receiued your things in Capt. Coxe's ship, the Concord. The description of Amsterd. Mr. Primerose brought mee.

[3] Bingen.

[4] Probably Moll. I suspect that *Crane* should be *Franc*, for *Frank*.

My lady Maydston was well satisfied with your letter. Mr. Skippon is to marry Mr. Brewster's daughter, of Wrentham by Southwold, as I heard credibly. It were well you could obserue any thinge in order to the Royall Societie. These things I putt together, though the whole letter may bee vnsertaine to come to you. Your letter from Passau not assuring your determination: but before you can receaue this, I hope to receaue one from Vienna, which may tell more of your resolution, and whether you intended to returne by Prague or Venice. The mercifull protection of God go with you, guide and direct and blesse you, and giue you euer a gratefull heart vnto him.

Your louing father

Dec. 2, Norwich, 1668. THOMAS BROWNE.

I sent a letter to Franckfort long ago, butt could neuer tell how to send since, your place being vncertaine. You did well to send often to mee. I was ioyfull to heare you had so good rencountres. God continue the like. My humble seruice to Mr. Hayles, a person whom wee must euer respect.

Dr. Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Decemb. 15, styl. vet. 1668, Norwich.

DEARE SONNE,

I receaved yours from Vienna, dated Decemb. 6, when I came home this evening; and would not deferre to write to Mr. Johnson this night, to Yarmouth. 16 dayes ago I writ to Venice, according to the desire of your former letter, wch Mr. Couldham, your friend, enclosed to Mr. Hayles; and writ unto him, that, if you were necessitated for mony, you might be conveniently accommodated, wch I did out of abundant caution; becaus you expressed no desire thereof, and I thought you had still gone on upon the credit from Mr. Hovenaer, wch might have been continued from place to

place. None of your letters have miscarried, butt onely one from Bing; pray bee moderate as possible in what summes you take up, and especially not to take up much at a time, butt after the rate which you have yet done. If you had declared your intention for Vienna, wee had not fayled to have sent, some way or other, that you might have receaved ours at your first coming thither. You have travayled far this winter, wch hath yet proved very favorable. I would have you spare your self as much as you could conveniently, and afford some rest unto your spirits, for I see you have observed much and been earnest therein. My prayers you have daylie for you, and want not assistance to my utmost abillitie. Wch way you intend to take in your returne, I knowe not. I should bee glad if you could escape a journey to Venice, butt rather thither then any further eastward, ether to Poland, Hungarie, or Turkie; which both myself and all your friends do heartily wish you would not so much as thinck of. Your letter is very obscure at the end, that I would not forbid you any thing that might happen in the meane time for your advantage, wherein I pray consider yourself seriously, and lett your thoughts and determinations bee very well grounded. From Constantinople, or Turkey, I am most averse, for many reasons, wee all wish you in England, or neerer it. I doubt not butt that you will ever have a gratefull heart unto God, who hath thus farre protected you. If you had gone to Venice, wee were very solicitous how you would have returned, and all were against going . . . . . ,[5] as not only inconvenient, butt dangerous and uselesse unto you, and of no great credit. Have alwayes some physick treatise to reade often, least this varietie of obiects unsettle the notions of it. Vienna is an universitie, and some things probably may be learned in knowledge and chymistrie; it were fitt to take a good account of the emperor's court, &c. being upon the place. My L. Maydstone was glad of your letter. Sr Daniel Harvey[6] is by this time in Turkey, and my lord, probably, upon coming away, as they heare. Pray bee mindfull to

[5] Probably "by sea."

[6] He married the sister of Ralph, Duke of Montagu, was knighted, made Ranger of Richmond Park, and afterwards Ambassador to Constantinople.

order your speech distinctly and leasurably, and not after that precipitous way of France. Your mother sends her blessing, sisters their love, and wishes for you; the mercifull and gratious protection of the almightie bee with you. This letter will bee somewhat long a coming to you; when you go from Vienna, leave order with Mr. Beck, how to send to you; for probably I may send one not many dayes after this.

Your ever loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

Decemb. 15, Norwich.

DEAR BROTHER,

Wee wish for you dayly, but especialy at Shrovtide; for then my sister will please you and us better than ever she did, I should be glad if this would tempt you. My lady Maidston was much delighted with your letter; that you may have all happynesse and a safe return, are the continuell desires of your ever afectionat sister E. B.

S. Moll, and Franks love to you.

A Monsr. Monsieur Edouard Browne, Anglois, chez Monsr. Johan. Beck, à Vienne, en Austriche.

Dr. Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Decemb. 21, 1668.

DEARE SONNE,

The same day whereon I receaved yours, Decemb. 6, I sent unto Mr. Johnson, Decemb xv, to write to Mr. Hovenaer, to accommodate you with a letter of credit or exchange at Vienna, and enclosed a letter of myne to bee sent by Mr. Hovenaer. Mr. Johnson hath writ me word, that hee wrote the next day, and that, if the letter doth not unfortunately miscarrie, you shall, God willing, heare of it. Hee sayth hee also writ to Mr. Dreenstein, at Venice, and also

one to Monsr Morelli, I thinck, at Venice, in your behalf, and to accommodate you, if need required; and this I suppose hee did, because you writ before that you intended for Venice. Mr. Couldham also sent a letter of myne to you, in one of his, to Mr. Hayles, to keep it while you called or sent for it, and whereby he desired Mr. Hayles to accommodate you, if need required; wch letter is, by this time of my writing, at Venice. Now all this is done out of my abundant care and caution for you, butt I hope you will heare from Mr. Hovenaer at Vienna; for I should bee glad you might decline Venice, and so, after a bad journey, bee shutt up agayne within the Alpes. Vienna is at a great distance, and there is litle communication between it and London, so that it is not so easie to send unto you as to receave from you, and I beleeve postage is to bee twice payd, after it goes from London, before it will come to Vienna, butt where I yet knowe not, butt have taken the best care I can at London. Direct no letters immediately to Norwich, for you mention one lately sent so directed wch I received not; one I receaved from Mr. Panser, who sent it from Rotterdam. Before you leave the place you may write something of it, and of the emperours court. Which way you will returne I cannot advise, only am very unwilling you should go farther. If you come southerly, by Ausberg, Ulme, &c. to Straesburg, you gett at last unto the Rhyne, butt after an hilly and long passage, and not a great roade; if you go by Prague, and so, through part of Saxonie and Turingia, by Erfurt, it is a long way also, butt perhaps more travayled from Vienna; and if you were in Turingia, [you] might find convenience for Collein, eschewing the countries, townes, and provinces, on or toward the Baltick, lesse worth the seeing of any, and the coldest. God direct, guide, and protect you, and returne you safe unto all the longing desires of your friends, who heartily wish you were at a more tolerable distance. All yours, except one from Bing and another directed lately to Norwich, have come to my hand. Take notice of the various animals, of places, beasts, fowles, and fishes; what the Danow affordeth, what depth, if conveniency offers; of mines, minerall workes, &c. They say spelter or zink is made in Germanie; from thence

also pompholyx, tutia, mysi, sori, zaffera, &c. You are to bee commended for observing so well alreadie; I wish you could take notice of something for the information of the Soc. Reg. to learn speciall medicines and preparations: butt, as I still saye, try not thy spirits too farre, but give due rest unto them; I doubt not butt you will be warie of the vice of the country. Beat not thy head too much about the languadge; you will learne enough to proceed . . . . . if you shall thinck fitt. Wee lately read the seidg of Vien by Solyman, when it was much weaker than at present; now the bullwark of Xtendom. I should bee sorry you should want money at this distance; I hoped you had once taken up more, by your credit at Franckfort, upon Mr. Neufville. Tis generally sayd that Mr. Howard goes embassadour to Morrocco unto Taffelsur; who hath driven Guiland into Argier, whether hee is fled; taken Benboker, and killed the king of Morrocco, and is crowned king of Morrocco and Fez. Mr. Mayow, your friend, hath putt out a booke, *De Respiratione et Rachitide;* some endemical and proper diseases there may bee in those parts where you are also. Your mother, sisters, and many friends recommend, praying and wishing for you. The mercifull protection and blessing of God bee with you.

Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Norwich, Decemb. 21, 1668, styl. vet.

I shall bee very happy to heare you have receaved this; and of your resolutions toward your country: beleeve it, no excursion into Pol. Hung. or Turkey addes advantage or reputation unto a schollar.

Eduardo Browne, Anglo, apud Dn. Johannem Beck, in ædibus vocatis Keller-hoff, Viennæ.

An dem Hern Edwart Browne, Englander, bey dem Hern Johanne Beck, gelosert in Keller-hoff, Wien.

Dr. Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Norwich, December 23, 1668.

DEARE SONNE,

I wrote unto you eight dayes ago, which Mr. Johnson, of Yarmouth, sent inclosed to Mr. Hovenaer, of Amsterdam, to bee sent unto you, with a bill of credit from him to Vienna; which I hope you have receaved. I sent one to Venice, three weekes ago, inclosed in Mr. Couldham's letter to Mr. Hayles, whereby you might bee accommodated if you fayled elswhere. Hee sayth one Mr. Hobson keepes the howse, though Mr. Hayles bee consul; butt I beleeve the letter is in Mr. Hayles' hand, if hee left it not with Mr. Hobson; butt you need not retard your journey for the letter only, which will take some time to recover, and there is nothing peculiar in it or private. Yesterday I receaved another from you, which I thought had miscarried, of an elder date, November 24; wherein I understood what accommodation there was for travayl to Prag, Magdeburg, and other good townes, to Hamburch; which, though a great place, is a good way from Amsterdam; and to come from Hamburch by sea, in winter, is very discouraging, from rough seas and benumbing weather. Spare thyself what you can, and preserve your health, which is precious unto us all. I am very glad you are in an howse where you are so kindlye vsed; if Mr. Beck hath any friend in England, wee will endeavour to expresse no ordinarie kindnesse unto him. That I wrote two dayes ago, I sent to London, to your sister, to get Mr. Skoltowe to send it, in some marchand's letter, or deliver to the post, paying the postages part of the way; butt this I send to London, to bee delivered to the forraine post, paying what they require; which I putt to the adventure, though perhaps you may have left that place before this may come unto you. You mention travayling from some places, in three dayes and three nights; butt I think travayling by night, in those parts and in winter,

very uncomfortable and hazardous unto health. God send you still happy rencountres and good company. It were good to have an *Itinerarium Germanicum.* Heylin accounts twenty-one universities in Germany, whereof Vienna one, (butt I doubt chiefly for divinitie,) Coln, Mentz, Heydelberg, Franckford, Leipsick, Jena, Wittenberg in Saxonie, Prag, which is thought the greatest citty in Germanie, made out of four citties, like Passaw out of three. Studie the mappe of Germanie, and have the chorographie thereof distinctly in your head, with the politicall divisions and governments, which are therein more numerous then in Italie; the lesser owing some acknowledgment to the greater, beside free cities. Just now I heare that Mr. Johnson will write agayne, this night, to Mr. Hovenaer. Dresden is accounted one of the remarkablest places of Germanie; where the duke's court. Magdeburg is I beleeve rebuilt, since burnt by Tilly, in the Suedish warres. Brunswick sayd to bee bigger then Nuremberg. Take the best account you can of Vienna as to all concernes; for tis hard to find any peculiar account of it. Bohemia is a round large country, about two hundred miles diameter, containing many mines, mineralls, and stones. Bohemia granates, and other stones, you may take notice of, if you passe that way; in the country, and at Prag, and at Vienna, such stones may bee seen probably. I have heard that among the emperour's rarities severall conversions there are of basser metall into gold. Take notice of the great and many cellars in Vienna. Learne the most authentic account how the half moone was set upon St. Stephen's; which, in Brawne's Booke of Citties, seemes a very noble one. If you can fix any probable place where a letter may meet you, I will endeavour to find out a way to send a letter. Wee have had no winter till this day, and not now like to hold, so that wee feare a back winter. A Yarmouth man just now tells mee that about ninety vessells, great and small, went out this yeare to other parts, with red herrings. The king is sending the order of the garter to the young King of Sarden, by my lord of Carleisle. Dr. Merrett's comment upon *Neri de Arte Vitriaria* is new come out in Latin. His *Pinax Rerum Britanicarum* not yet published; I send to him agayne next weeke. Mr. Mayoe, of All Souls,

his booke *De Respiratione et Rachitide,* newly come out; also Mr. Boyle's continuation of new experiments concerning the spring and weight of the ayre, English, 4to. I keepe the sheets of the Transactions as they come out, monethly. Our forrein letters do not despayre of Candy. Sir Thomas Allen hath renewed and confirmed the peace with Argiers. Sure you have gazettes at Vienna. Tangier in a good condition. The parliament adjourned to the first of March. Mr. Hawkins, White. Rob. Bend. &c. recommend, wishing a good returne. God's blessing bee with you.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

Your mother, sisters, are daylie mindfull of you. Just now Mr. Couldham came to mee, and tells mee that he writes this night to Venice, to Mr. Hayles, to send the letter writt above three weekes ago unto you, and to accommodate you if you should bee disappoynted; his letter will bee in nineteen dayes at Venice, before this can come to you, which I thinck must go by Hamburch, Prag, &c.

Eduardo Browne, Anglo, apud Dn. Johannem Beck, in ædibus vocatis Keller-hoff, Viennæ.

An dem Hern Edwart Browne, Englander, bey dem Hern Johanne Beck, gelosert in Keller-hoff, Wien.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1660-1.]

Vienna, January, 1668-9.

SIR,

I hope my letters are so fortunate as to trauayl safe vnto you through vnsafe countries, for wee heare of robberies often about Flanders, and the Holland embassadour's sonne and the secretarie, whom I met at Nuremberg, were robbed before they could get home, returning from Constantinople by land. I am sorry for it, because they were discreet and obliging persons; I doubt their trauelling in Turkish habits was some temptation to the robbers. And from Hungarie wee

heare that Ostracapo, a Grannisk Waradinsk cavallier, set upon the Turkish courier in his returne and tooke four thousand florins from him. Yesterday came vnto mee a Greek priest who hath been in Holland and England to find a youth sayd to bee taken by some of our frigates. Hee was kindly entertained at Trinitie Colledge, and other places in England, whereof hee hath a very high resentment,[7] and will allow no nation to bee so learned as the English, having met with many that spoake Greek with him, and satisfied him highly in any poynt of knowledge, withall obliging him by their ciuillities. Hee hath sent this enclosed, which I pray send by the Cambridg caryar, being a short Greek letter. Hee is striuing to get a passe for Constantinople, which hee will not readily do, though hee was borne in that citty. If not, hee intends to go for Venice or Liuorno. My Lord Castlemain hath been heere, endeauoring to get into Turkey this way, butt obtained not his desire. The Grecian tells mee that there are great mountaines in Sagora that beare northward up the Danube, or Thonaw, as the Germans call it; butt that Moldauia, on the other side, is a flat, fruitfull, country, and supplies Constantinople with butter and cheese; that giuing a Janizarie half a crowne a day, a man may trauell into any part of the Turkish empire. Hee sayth that the English in Turkey, of all other nations, hath the greatest priuiledges, and that when the Patriarch of Constantinople was deposed and threatened by the Vizier, hee made the English embassadour's howse his refuge. One Rudolpho, the emperour's courrier vnto the Ottoman court, tells mee that the Grand Signor is still in Morea in order to the siedg of Candia, whereon hee is so intent that hee will not return into Adrianople this winter, nor remoue any farther then Salonica, where the Sultana is to meet him; a woeman, as hee sayth, somewhat marked with the small pox, of low stature, and a Candian by nation, so much beloued by him that hee litle regards his other woemen. The Grecians heere play upon a musicall instrument which they call a τζιβωρι; it is about four spanns long, hath three strings of wire, the neck is three-fourths in length vnto the whole; the back is either made of a gourd or back of a tor-

[7] From the French, *ressentiment*.

tois; two of the pegs are fastened upon the same place where they stop, and one on the side as in a violin; they play upon it with a quill, and sing withall as with a guitarre.[8] Last Saturday the court had newes of a great earthquake, which happened the last October, in Angrony, in Persia, lasting fiftie dayes together, whereby, beside other great mischief, there perished six thousand men at Giansianistan, and eighteen hundred at Focqueto and Bobic. On Tuesday the Venetian embassadour made his entrance, with a great number of coaches and six horses. Here is also a Turkish enuoyè, butt will soone depart.

The letter of the Greek Priest to Dr. Pearson, Mr. Barrowe, and Dr. Gunning.

τοις σοφωτάτοις καὶ εὐγενεστάτοις,
προεστῶσι, τοῦ φροντιστηριου
της πανταχραιτορικης τριά-
δος τῆς ἐν Ακαδημία, κυρίῳ
Πέρσωνι καί κυρίω Βαρωνι
ευπράττειν

Σὺν πολλῶ πόνῳ καὶ διὰ μακρᾶς τῆς μεταξὺ γερμανίας ὁδοῦ ἐσώθην εἰς πόλιν καίσαρος Βιενναν, ευτυχὼν δὲ τῷ εὐγενεστατω κυρίῳ, Επβάρδω Βρουνω κοινῶ φίλω, ουκ επιλέλησμαι προσαγορεῦσαι ὑμᾶς μεμνημένος τῶν πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ὑμῶν ἐυεργεσιῶν. ἐῤῥωσθε.

Ιερεμίας ὁ ἀπὸ κωνσταντινουπόλεος
μὴ δὲ ὁ κύριος γοῦνιν ὑπολειπάτω τῆς προσηγορίας.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

1. To procure for me, upon the account of the Royall Society, what ingenious correspondents you can in matters

[8] This instrument is common to the whole Archipelago, and to the southern provinces of Italy, particularly Naples and Sicily, and is called by the Italians, a *Mandolino*. The description of the author of this letter agrees perfectly with the word, if we change the *zeta* for *ro*, and Βωρι for Βοᾶ:—thus, Τριζοᾶ. Τρι, three; Βοᾶ, to bellow, sound, or ring.—*J. W.*

philosophicall, mathematicall, mechanicall, chymicall, but chiefly for natural philosophy, and what observations and experiments may occurre concerning the same, in Hungaria, Austria, &c.

2. Particularly to inquire in those parts, what is observable there, as to mineralls, springs, warm baths, earths, quarries, metalls, especially the kinds, qualities, vertues of minerall waters, and how they are examined? What are the particular conditions of the quarries and stones, and how the beds of stone lye in reference to north and south? Item. Whither there be any marles, earths for potters wares, bolus and other medicated earths; whither those parts yield any coles, salt mines, or salt springs, allum, vitriol, sulpher, and yet more particularly,

3. To inquire into and procure some of all the severall sorts of antimony and antimony ore; but especially of the best Hungarian vitriole, and the cinnaberis native to be found in Hungary; and to put them up in severall boxes, according to their severall kindes, and to superscribe the severall places whence they come.

4. To enquire after the true gold and silver earth or ore, said to be found at Cranach, in Hungary, whence the gold is called Cranach gold; first lighted upon by the care of the Emperor Rudolphus, and worked chymically by his particular order and inspection.

5. To enquire into, and, if it may be, to bring over some of that kinde of vitriole which is affirmed to be found crystallised in Hungary.

6. To get a good account of the salt pits in Transylvania, said to yield two sorts of perfect salt, the one being a sal gemmæ, the other a common table salt, and to bring over a specimen of both. Further, to observe how deepe those salt mines lye from the surface of the ground, how deepe they have been digged hitherto, and what damps are met with in them.

7. To inquire after the veins of gold and quicksilver at Cremnitz, in Hungary, and after those of silver at Schemnitz, and to endeavour to get some of their ores to bring over.

8. Whether the waters of the Therma that passe by Schemnitz depose a certain sediment, which, in time, turnes into a

yellow stone? and, if so, to procure and bring over some of the same.

9. Whether, in all the mines of gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, of Hungary, and particularly about Newheusel, there be found every where quicksilver and sulphur?

10. Whither it be true that in the copper mines of the place called Hernn-ground there be found no quicksilver at all?

11. Whither it be so that in some parts of the Upper Hungary the ores of copper, iron, and lead, be sometimes so commixed, that there is often found in the upper part iron, in the midst copper, and in the lowermost lead? As also that in other places coppery fluos are mixt with leaden ores?

12. Whither it be true, what Kircher writes from relation, that the ductus of metalls doe sometimes run north and south, sometimes crossewayes?

13. To learn if it may be the way of extracting the perfect metalls out of their mineras without lead, which is said to be performed by casting a powder upon the minera, that make a quick and advantagious separation, of which sulphur is supposed to be one of the ingredients.

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

I received these inquiries from the Secretary of the Royall Society this last weeke, and, according as I have opportunity of informing my selfe concerning any of these particulars, I will, if you please, sir, set them downe in my letters to you, that, if I lose my papers abroad, or any other accident hinders me to serve the society as I desire, as much as I am informed of may be in your hands, sir; and those things which I procure for them I would willingly sende to your selfe first, sir, if I had any friend at London to whom I could addresse letters or sende packets. To the third demande I am informed that there are two sorts of antimony ore, and two sorts of cinnaberis native, which I hope to procure. To the 5th, that [there] is cristallised vitriol in Hungary, natural, as cleare as any dissolved, filtrated, and coagulated. To the sixth, Captain Broden, an Irish captain, tells me that there are salt mines in Transilvania very deepe; that the salt is softest at

the bottom, but hardened at the top, and when it is brought into the open aire; that the soldiers choose to use it, because it is most convenient for cariage, and they scrape of it at any time they need, and that the countrymen give of it to their sheep and oxen often, as once in three or four dayes. In Hungary there is rock salt, and great pillers and stones of salt; but it is forbidden to be brought to Vienna by the command of the emperor, who hath the salt there, as the king of France hath in France; and we use here a white salt brought from Saltzburg, made from a salt spring, as at Nantwich, Northwich, and other places in Cheshire, and elsewhere in England.

Mr. Du Bois, an apothecary, tells me, that nigh to Transylvania, there is a spring which changeth iron into copper.

I hope, sir, with your assistance, to give some satisfaction to these proposalls, and upon some of them a good discourse may be raised, backed with what my experience here, in some time may afford me. On Thursday, sir, I hope to write to you again, so, as in the mean time, with my duty to my dear mother, and love to my sisters, I remaine

Your obedient sonne,

EDWARD BROWNE.

Februar. 3, st. nov.

If you direct your letters in French, sir, it is sufficient, for so I received one from Mr. Oldenburg. A Monsieur Edward Browne, Anglois, chez Monsieur Beck, in de Keller-hoff, Vienna, en Austriche.

These for my honoured father, Dr. Browne, at Norwich, to be left with Ms Anne Browne, at Esqre. Barker his house, in Clarkenwell, neare New Prison, London.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1660-1.]

SIR,

I receiued yours, and shall, God willing, pursue your directions. I haue bought some Hungarian vitriol. I

can haue great quantitie of *cinnaberis natiua* in powder, butt not in lumpes or pieces. Nigh unto this place is the tomb of Modestus, an Irishman, who, with Virgilius, planted the gospell in these parts. It began to freez heere the same day that it did with you in England. The ice now beginnes to break, and, while I am writing, I heare that it begins to come downe with such force, that it hath alreadie caryed away part of the great long bridge ouer the Danube. The *colica austriaca* is a disease endemicall to this country, and uery obstinate, enemata helping litle, nor many other medicines. An Italian comming this day to see mee preuented my sending by the last post: hee is of Fiume, in Istria: hee hath been upon the Euxin sea, and tells mee that Pompey his pillar is still standing there, and that at Belgrade there are very fine baths from hot springs. I haue herin enclosed the figure of a magicall glasse, whereby the emperor Rudolphus saw many strange sights, and the manner of conversing with spirits; perhaps the same or like that of Dee and Kelly.

Vienna, Feb. 14.

Dr. Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

March 1, styl. vet. 1668-9.

DEAR SONNE,

I receaved your last letter, Febr. 14, with others which should have come before, but they all came together. I sent to you about xii dayes ago. Yours came together of late, when some have layn by the way a weeke or more, and so they come unto your sister safe at last, and therefore, I thinck you may so direct them from any place. I cannot conceaue your stay will bee longer at Vienna, perhaps not while this may come unto you; but out of my love and care of you, I would not omitt to send adventure this. For satisfaction of the queries of the R. S. putt yourself to no hazard or adventure, butt learne and make the best enquiries you can of

things in Hungarie, and at distance, by others, and what is neere Vienna or in it, you may observe yourself. Your chief buisinesse must bee to settle a correspondent, who may write unto you at any time and answer your letters, in order to the R. S. or to their secritarie, if need requireth, which must bee some person resident in Vienna, of an ingenious and inquisitiue temper, who make it his businesse to enquire particularly of himself or according to your queries, or what may bee further hinted hereafter. There is an author named Wernherius, or Vernherius, de rebus Pannoniæ, which is Hungarie and part of Austria, who hath writ of all the mineralls and all minerall waters in and about those parts; out of whom Baccius, de Thermis, hath taken what hee writes of such things in Austria, Hungarie, and neere Poland. I doubt whether you can have the opportunitie in any librarie there to looke upon it. You may receave some knowledge about the mines in your queries by proposing them all, or some, to some of the emperours officers implyed about the mines, which you may find in Vienna, or some practicall workmen that hath observed them. Quarries of ..... are probably not farre from the city. The baths of Baden, by Vienna, are mentioned in Baccius, de Thermis. You may enquire of what they consist, and what tryall hath been made of what mineralls they consist. You may enquire about an hot bath by Buda, very hot, which Baccius calls purgatorie, from the popular name. Vitriolum Hungaricum, the best is only worth the obtaining; Cinnaberis nativa, best in lumps; and Vitriolum Crystallinum, and other things you mention; but how you should send them, I see not, sure not by the post, in respect of dearenesse and hazard to bee lost. You must fall in with some merchands that send any goods to Amsterdam, and so putt them up distinctly in boxes; the saline bodyes being apt to relent by moyst ayre; and some smaller quantities of what is singular you may putt in your portmantell. I confesse I should bee willing to receave or see such things. Take as good account, and as particular as you can. Whether you should give any account now, or rather hereafter, to the R. S., I make some doubt; for in your returne you may observe many things, perhaps considerable, in

those poynts; butt, however, you may signifie them, and write of them, in your letters to mee. You may enquire of Mr. de Bois concerninge thus and myrrha, non arborea, sed fossilis, found at Gradisco in Moravia, whereof you may read in Ortelius his Geographie in the cap. of Moravia; read also his chap. De Mansfieldiæ comitatu, where scheyffersteyn are found, and a lake wherin the shape of fishes and froggs are found in stones. I am glad you gave account of so many things in your letters. It was high enough to go up 338 stepps in St. Steph. steeple; and very much that the half moone should stand so longe. The ice showes exceed others in any place. Clusius, the learned botanist, that writ De stirpibus Pannonicis, was over the emperours garden. Endeavor by all means to see his treasure of rarities, and what is remarkable in any private custodie. I am glad you have anatomies there. 'Tis not hard to converse with learned men in those parts. I am sorry the great bridge is broke down, which must much incommodate the citty. How came you to see Rudolphus his glasse, and what credit doth it beare? Dee I thinck was at Prag in his time.[9] The fountaine at Saltzberg is noble. I could make a shift to understand the Duch writing in it. I like the Turkish foot ensigne well, &c. The Turkish Asper was not in the letter. 'Tis good to see the manner of the executions in all places. I beleeve Nurnberg is the largest towne you have yet met with. You do well to observe fishes and birds, and to learne the Duch names, which commonly are significant, and are set downe with the Latin in Aldrovardus. By that time you are on your returne, the hearbs will showe a litle in the fields and trees also, which you may take notice of. Enquire what tree that is of which they make musicall instruments; a white waved wood which is called *ayre*, and sayd to come from Germanie. I bless God for your health, good rencountres and protection of you, and that he would continue the same, is the prayer of your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

9 Dee and Kelly were at the emperor's court at Prague in 1585, but were soon afterwards banished from his dominions as magicians, at the instigation of the pope's nuncio.

What minerall waters you see you may tast, butt take downe none, nor any way hazard the discomposure of your body. We are all glad you have layd by the thoughts of Turkey or Turkesh dominions. Observe the great jaspis agayne, whether of a good green colour where it is worne. What kind of stone is that which stoned St. Stephen, pebble, flint, or freestone? See the emperour's librarie or any other. De Terris Bohemicis you may read in Musæum Wormianum, terra Bohemica, Silesiaca, &c. whereof divers. I have conferred with some who knowe the country about Saltzberg well, for that is plentifull in mines, mineralls, sallts, sulphur, antimony, &c. Mr. Scoltow is much out of London, at his mothers; cosen John Cradock is constant at Mr. Thomas his howse, at the Sheaf, in Covent Garden. Hee was heere [at] Christmas, and Nancy never out of London. The Bishop, Mr. Hawkins, Mr. Dentry, now with the Bishop, Whitefoot, Robins, Bendish, and all friends, present respects. Your mother, Betty, Moll, and Franck, also. I have payd the bills of fortie pounds. I hope you will not bee to seeke for credit, as at your coming to Vienna; but that you may go on upon the former credit, as need requireth, in your returne. Sir Tho. Woodhowse, now with me, presents his respects. We all hope your returne before the hott wether.

DEAR BROTHER,

Wee are mightily delighted with your little pictures. Now I hope you will be heare as soon as you can. My sister is still at Clerkenwell, and I believe ever will be out. Every body you left, they all desire to see you, cheefly

Your affectionate sister,

E. BROWNE.

DEAR SONNE,

I am sorry to heer your coming home is defured; for there is nothing we all desire more then to see you. I besich God of his mercy bless you, and send you well to us, and as soone as may be. [D. B.]

A Monsr. Monsr. Edouard Browne, Anglois, chez Mr. Beck, in Keller-hoff, Vienne en Austriche.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

I wrote to you my last from Vienna, in which I enclosed a figure of three suns, which appeared at Cassovia, in Upper Hungary, the last 30 of January, and another of 5, which was seen the last Easter day. I should be glad to hear they come safe to your handes. Before that I came from Vienna, I waited upon Baron La Haye and the Conte Leslye, who was very courteous to me. I went to the great quarry for stones, out of which much of Vienna is built. The stones are large; they cut and carve them at the quarry. The water that drains from the top of the hill, betwixt the stones, incrustates them with a substance like to that of Ockey Hole in Somersetshiere, or of Pooles Hole in Derbyshiere. The colour of the stone is of a light graye. This day I came by Hungarish Altemburg, over a plaine like Newmarket heath, to Rab. As I proceed, I shall write to you, sir, of it. Mr. Beck, my landlord, accompanies me. I shall go no farther in Lower Hungary then Gomorrha, and then go over the river where it is most safe, towards the gold mines if it please God.

My service, sir, to my friends. I should be glad to heare from my dear mother. My love to my sisters. The Hungarian women weare a great linnen cloth about their head, which makes it show very big. The maids goe in their haire with a garland upon their heads, their haire hanging downe, at its length, behind them. The mens habits are blew, or red, or white, with a black cap; but I will observe more as I go into the countrey and return to Vienna, I hope within fourten dayes, where, if I meet with a letter from you, sir, it will be a great comfort to me.

Your most obedient sonne,
EDWARD BROWNE.

March 9, 1668-9. Rab in Ungarn.

DEAR SISTER BETTY,

I want you with me, to draw me abundance of fine pictures of strange things; but seeing that I am too far from you to hope that you will come to me, I thinke of returning to you, and, though I have spent the winter without you, I must not thinke of being from Norwich this summer, whither I hope to returne to a great deale of joye, if my friends be in health. Pray tell me that you are so, as often as you can. A whole sheet full of news will not cost me sixpence. Dearest sister, I am your loving brother,

ED. BROWNE.

These for my honoured father Dr. Browne, at his house in Norwich.
Leave this with Ms Anne Browne, at Esqr. Barker his house, in Clerkenwell, upon New Prison Walke, London.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

Vienna, Aprill 28, 1669.

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

I wrote to you the last post. Most of my letter was concerning dampes in mines; which account may be, by it selfe, if you thinke fit, sir, communicated to Mr. Oldenburg; if not, at my returne, which I hope in God will be in a few months, with the rest of my observations. I have now taken up three hundred florins in preparation to goe into Turkey this next weeke; but, if it please God, I hope to be at Vienna again by that time that I can have an answer to this. I hope, sir, you will forgive me this excursion, and helpe me to returne to you by giving me credit again upon the same marchants as formerly, the same way, by Mr. Johnson, for the heirs of Mr. Fuchs; Mr. Triangle particularly, at Vienna; for he tells me that my credit is limited so as I have had all, which I knew not; but since my returne out of Hungary, I have had, since my coming abroad, 700 reichs-tallers: but I hope,

with Gods blessing, a small summe more will helpe me to come safe home. I shall continue to write still; and shall have many occasions; and it will make me happy at my returne to hear from you, sir, and from any of my friends. My duty to my most dear mother, and love to my dear sisters.

Your most obedient sonne,
EDWARD BROWNE.

These for my honoured father, Dr. Browne, at his house in Norwich.
Leave this with Ms Anne Browne, at Esqre Barker his house in Clerkenwell, upon New Prison Walke, London.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

Wien, Aprill 4-14, 1669.

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

It hath pleased God, after a very prosperous journey, to bringe me safe to Vienne. As my journey was somewhat harsh and laborious in Hungary, so also it was very fortunate to me, and I have informed myselfe in many things which the Royall Society inquired after, and found friends unexpectedly in all places, both among the officers and commanders of the soldiers, when need was, to convoy me, and amongst the officers in the mines, who have presented me with many curiosities. The earle of the chamber, Sigr. Gianuelli, did me a great deale of honour and favour, both in his countenance at Schemnitz, and his order to the governours of the mines, by Chremnitz and Newsol, that I should have all things shown me; which was performed with so much kindnesse, generosity, and true heartednesse, that I shall never have occasion to acknowledge it enough; and this journey is already so much the more comfortable to me, that I am in a probability to serve the society without hazarding the repute of their name, and what upon my owne account I have procured, I may be the more free to present it them, as you shall thinke fit, sir. I should have been too happy at my returne if I had met with

a letter here from you, sir; but I hope the best. I hope that God will still blesse me in the preservation of yours and my dear mothers healths. My service to Mr. Hawkins, and Mr. Whitefoot, Mr. Robins, with the rest of my friends. I heard from Mr. Panser, of Rotterdam, lately, and from one Mr. Verrin, of Amsterdam, a learned young man, who is going into England, and at whose fathers neat house at Amsterdam I was kindly treated; I should be glad my friends would show him kindnesse. Your obedient sonne,

EDWARD BROWNE.

These for my honoured father, Dr. Browne, at Norwich, to be left with Ms Anne Browne, at Esqre Barkers house in Clarkenwell, London.

Dr. Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Aprill 28, st. vet. 1669.

DEARE SONNE.

I am heartily sorry my letters come not to you, as yours do to mee. I have writ eight or nine letters beside those by Mr. Hovenaer and Mr. Hayles. All yours haue come to my hands, except one, wch your letter lately mentions, that you wrote from Schemnitz. I received all the rest from Rab, Komara, Treistad, Cremnitz, and yours yesterday from Vienna, dated Aprill 14, styl. novo. I am heartily glad, and blesse God, that you are returned to Vienna. I had many sollicitous thoughts for you. His gratious protection still goo with you, and returne you safe unto your country, to serve him all your dayes. You have taken good observations of very many things, and used great industrie every where, wch, though I like well, yet I cannot but renew my old admonition, to afford convenient rest and quiet unto thy selfe, nor to fatigate thy spirits and body to the discomposure of your health or hazard thereof. Georgius Wernerus hath writ De aquis Hungariæ. You may probably get a view thereof in some parts or libraries in Germanie, as of Kirchir in his sixt and tenth booke of

his Mundus Subterraneus and Baccius de Thermis. Lazarus Erker hath writ of mineralls in high Duch, and was a practicall man therein, as Agricola de Mineralibus et Metallis, in Latin; wch last I have. The mines you saw are notable ones, and you are not like to meet with any like them; and having well viewed them, I would not have you hazard your health in going farre, or staying long in any, if you meet with any more. All your letters are writ out into a booke. Many things I proposed in letters, wch came not to your hand; as, to informe yourselfe at Vienna of the myrrha fossilis, found in the ground about Gradisco, in Moravia; of ginger, which thrives well at the bottome of Haimburg hill, not farre from Presburg; to enquire after the stones in a lake in Comitatu Mansfeldiano, wch represent severall animals. Though you go not thither you may reade of them in Ortelius, in the cap. 'De Comitatu Mansfeldiano.' Bellies or backs of fiddles are made out [of] a wood called ayre, wch they say is a kind of maple brought out of Germanie. In what proportion Lutherans, Calvinists, Catholicks, Jewes, are in Germanie. Where the best high Duch is spoake. To take notice where copper is made or wrought, and whether the pompholyx and tutia may be discerned from them; and whether they take notice of mysi, sory, chalcitis, &c.[1] Mines, baths, and minerall waters, have been more taken notice of, and writt of, in other parts of Germanie then in Austria and Hungarie; and you have done well to take so exact account of them. You must be warie in the conveyance of what you have, and may divide them, and send them in two parcells, and send them at twice; that, if one be lost, the other may escape; and bring also some part of them. Do as you conceave best. Enquire after smalt, a stone whereof they make blewing, for paynting and starch. It comes out of a stone or earth in Germanie, and much. . . . . get to Amsterdam. If I had knowne which waye you would have come, I would have contrived a letter to have met you; and now, doubting the post caryadge, I have sent this to Mr. Panser, by Mr. Robins his helpe, to send it unto you. Mr. Denton writ to you; but I beleeve it never came to you.

[1] These are all kinds or sulphate of iron, green vitriol of copperas, as it is commonly called.—*Gray.*

Your mother also, and Betty, writ to you in my letters, and Nancy hath writ to you. I am very sorry none came unto you since the two first. I writ a note also out of Dr. Jorden, of minerall waters and baths. Beside naturall things, you may also enquire into politicall, and the government, and state, and subsistence of citties, townes, and countries, wch, though you have done, yet you may be still mindfull thereof; for histories are short therein. Sir John Denham is dead, and they say Dr. Wren shall have his place.[2] The theatre is finished at Oxford, and used this act; my Lord Howard hath given twenty and more of his statues unto it. The Prince of Tuscanie is now at Newmarket with the king, to see horse races and hunting. Bee carefull of your health now the summer season approacheth especially. The blessing and mercies of God go ever with you. I rest your ever loving father,

THO. BROWNE.

I sent the figure of the soles parelii to the society, wch was very well taken.[3] Dr. Merret presented it for you; your informations hereafter will bee very welcome. Mr. Verrin is well at Cambridge. I will provide some furre for him at Oxford, whether he goes at the act. I intend to send next weeke by Mr. Johnson, to have a letter left at Mr. Hovenaers, whenever you send for it. I payd the 100 florins taken up March 18, and shall assist you to my abilitie alwayes.

A Monsr. Edouard Browne, Anglois, chez Mr. Beck,
in Keller-hoff, Vienna, en Austriche.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

May 9, 1669.

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

I thought to have sent to you this day by a worthy honest gentleman, captain Mackdughall; but the last night

[2] Denham died in 1668, and was succeeded by Wren as P. R. S.

[3] An account of two parhelias, or mock suns, lately seen in Hungary, Jan. 30, 1668, by Edw. Browne.—*Phil. Trans. vol.* 4, *p.* 953, *No.* 47. 10 *May*, 1669.

he fell sick again of the collick, which hath hindred his journey. Mine is also put by, in regard that Sigr. Gabriel, who was to have been sent this weeke to Larissa, in Thessaly, by the emperour, stayeth here still, to entertaine and assist the Turkish envoye. We have news that Buda is burned downe to the grownde, and that the Grand Seigneur is sick. I wrote you, sir, a letter by the last post, with a catalogue of what I observed more particularly in the emperours library. The woode which they make violins of groweth by Saltzburg. I hope to procure some of the leaves. The woode here is not deere; they make trenchers of it. It is called *Augenes Holtz*. The stone with which St. Stephen was stoned is a kinde of pebble. I will sende you, sir, a piece just like it; but it looketh like marble, and is polished, and worne a little hollow in the middle by the continual touching of it by every one that goeth in or out of that door of the church wherein it is fixed. I thinke to returne right by Mansfield, so as I may inquire after those fishes you mention, sir, and frogs found in stones. I read of the frogs, in Agricola, found at Schneberg, on the borders of Bohemia. I hope to see some things remarkable in my returne, which I wish may be sodainly; but all things are uncertaine. Howsoever, if I bee again disappointed of my Turkish journey, though it would be very advantageous and considerable to me, I thinke not to waite longer, but come away for Prague. Pray sir be pleased, howsoever, to write to me. This little fish is ill coloured; but I had rather have this then no figure of it. My duty to my most dear mother, and service to my friends. We heare that the French are fallen into Flanders again. I have inquired after the myrrha fossilis in many places, but cannot procure it. I reade in a description of Moravia concerning it, (Gradsco, the village where it is, lies within three miles of Allmitz the chief towne,) that there was a man founde and digged out all of mirrhe in the mine at Chremnitz, in the gold mine. The woode which supports the stollen, or cuniculos, was once set on fire by the carelesnesse of a boy, and fifty miners smothered therein. They were all taken out but one, who was afterwards founde to be dissolved by the vitriole or vitriolate water; nothing of him escaping, either bones or

flesch, but his clothes alone. In my next, I will write better and more orderly; but I was unwilling to loose the opportunity of this poste. I remain, sir,

Your most obedient sonne,
EDWARD BROWNE.

These for my honoured father Dr. Browne, at his residence in Norwich; to be left with Ms Anne Browne, at Esqre Barker his house, in Clarkenwell, near New Prison, London.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1660-1.]

Venice, June 14, styl. nov. 1669.

SIR,

I rested some time at St. Veit, and after, as occasion presented, proceeded forward not in a direct road, butt from one curiositie to another, till I arrived at this place. And first I went to Saal Sala, colonia Soluensis, where I saw many Roman antiquities. From Saal I went to Clagenfort, of old called Claudia. At this place I receaued great kindnesse from my lord Peasly, whose company quartered in this town, and very much favour from my lord Lesly and baron La Haye, unto whom I had the honour to bee knowne last winter, at Vienna. My lord Lesly invited mee to his table during my staye, and carried mee in his barge through a fine artificiall cutt into the lake of Clagenfort or Werde sea, so called from the towne of Werde seated on the south side thereof, and so to a howse of pleasure called Loretto, finely seated, and which hath also a chappell in it of the same figure with that at Loretto in Italie; he also gaue mee letters to Vienna, which is a great peece of German kindnesse. Baron La Haye entertained mee with his trauells in Turkey, and if I would trauell that way they both promised to take such care in my behalf that I should not bee iniured, and to procure meanes of my safe journey by the order of Montecuculi, president of the counsell and gouernour

of Rab, which courtisie I receaued with many thanks, butt made no acceptance thereof at that time. [E. B.]

Dr Browne to his son Edward.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

June 25, styl. vet. [1669.]

DEAR SONNE,

I should bee glad this might come unto you, many of myne having miscarred. I have receaued all your letters from Vienna and Hungarie, and one yesterday from Venice, and the same day another from St. Veit in Carinthia. Mr. Coldham was with mee this day, and sayth hee hath goods to come from Venice to be laden in a short time in a shippe of London, by Mr. Hayles, and will be glad to do you any service. Mr. Hayles sent a bill of credit to you at Vienna, butt you were come away before you could receeue it. I presume you will find also that Mr. Hovenaer hath renewed the credit expired, for I tooke care for it 6 weekes ago. I am glad you did not go into Turkey, though probably you have had butt a hard and toylesome iourny of this. I hope to heare from you within a few dayes, and your passage through Carniola, Goritia, and part of Friuli. Most of the places I find in my mappes, and Saal I thinck is Colonia Solunensis in Ortelius his mappe of Carinthia. I sent your observations [concerning damps] in the mines of Hung. to the R. S. adding some particulars out of the other letters, and the firing of Chremnitz mine by a boy. Oldenburg sent mee a letter and another of thancks to you unto Vienna. In my former letters I sent a good note out of Dr. Jordans booke of bath and minerall waters. God preserue thee in health and euer go with you. Though your body bee in motion, maintaine a tranquillitas and smootheness of mind, which will better conserue to health. Your mother and sisters recommend, &c.

I rest your louing father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Ænæas Syluius, who was after named Pope Pius Secundus, hath in his works in his epistles one chap. de descriptione Viennæ, you may if you have time see how it agreeth to the present state of that place. In all Bohemia, Saxonie, &c. you may understand much of metalls. Goldecranach is the name of a place where gold is or hath been found, not farre from those parts, as in Agricola de mineralibus nouis et veteribus I find it, but you need not go to the same.

A Monsr. Edouard Browne, Anglois, chez Monsr. Beck,
in Colnerhoff, Vienna, in Austriche.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

Venetia, July 5, st. nov. 1669.

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

I wrote to you two letters from Padoa, which I hope are come to your hands, and am in great expectation of receiving divers letters at Vienna, if it please God to bringe me safe thither. At present I cannot desire you, sir, to write to me, because I hope to be at Vienna before that you receive this, and doe not thinke to stay there above a fortnight; so that any answer to this would come too late. Howsoever, I shall continue to write as often as I finde good opportunity of sending. At Padoa I caused a booke to be made of six hundred plantes, which I have with me, and thinke to send it from hence to Yarmouth. There are few English at present at Padoa; and I was unfortunate in the losse of Sign. Carlo Theobaldi, who died two days after my coming thither. Dr. Cadinet, a Scotchman, is there still, whom I knew formerly; and by his telescopes I had a good sight of this new moone. He hath one of those made at London, and sent him by my lord Howard. Mr. Morillon, who taught my lord Howards sonnes at Norwich, after that Sir Samuell Tuke had dismissed him, came into Italy, hath lived at Rome, and is now a language master at Padoa. He

presents his humble service to you, sir. I revieued at Padoa many things which I had seen before; as the garden, the churches of Sant Antonio and Santa Justina, the Cardinalls Pallace, his hall wherein are the pictures of all the bishops of the place, from St. Peter to the present Cardinall Barberigo. The statua of Gatamelato on horseback, by the Santo, esteemed above that of Bartholomeo di Bergamo, by St. Giovanni e Paulo, at Venice. The duke of Norfolk is much as he useth to be. There is one Mr. Leeth, a Scotchman, in good reputation, who liveth with the Cardinall; and one Mr. Edmunds, an Englishman. I hope sodainly to write again so as I will at present present my duty to my dear mother, and rest your obedient sonne

E. BROWNE.

MOST DEAR MOTHER,

I have travelled into many places since that I left Norwich, which I did not thinke of or desighne at my coming abroad; so that I have been a great expense to you this yeare; but I am now returning, though the way be long, and doe not thinke to make any stay more then is necessary in any place till I arrive in Holland; so as in October I doe promise myselfe great satisfaction. It hath been a melancholy time for me, that I have heard so little from my friends since I came abroad; but I hope before this that divers have wrote, and that I shall receive their letters with great joye at Vienna. My coming into Italy was merely accidentall; and my stay in it will be but few dayes more. If there comes a boy to Norwich, who was with me in Hungary, and waited upon captain Mackdugall from Vienna to London, I humbly desire that you would be pleased to entertayne him in your service. I hope all are well, with my uncle Bendish and the rest of my friends at Norwich. My service to Mr. Deye, to Madam Burwell and her family, to Mr. Whitefoot, Mr. Robins, Mr. Hawkins, Mr. Corbet, to my aunt Gawdy, my aunt Tenison, my unkle Mileham, and all my relations and friends. So, with many thankes for your long continued indulgence, I remain, Your most obedient sonne,

EDWARD BROWNE.

DEAR SISTER BETTY,

Though I make many journeys, yet I am confident that your pen and pencill are greater travellers. How many fine plaines do they passe over, and how many hills, woods, seas doe they designe? You have a fine way of not onley seeing but making a world; and whilst you set still, how many miles doth your hand travell! I am onely unfortunate in this, that I can never meete you in any of your voyages. If you had drawne your lines more towards Austria, I should have been a greater emperour, in my owne conceit; but I hope you denied me that favour upon no other account then that I should make the more haste to you, who know not how to live without something of you. If so, your intention is good, but, like yourselfe, too severe to

Your loving brother,
EDWARD BROWNE.

DEARE SISTER MOLL,

How unlucky was it that you did not goe with me into Holland; for (so being obliged to returne with you into England) I had in all probability been with you at present. I have no remedy now but patience, and yet am very impatient till I see you. I am, dear sister,

Your loving brother,
EDWARD BROWNE.

DEAR SISTER FRANCK,

It seemeth to mee seven yeares since I saw you; so as, if it were not for my great love to you, I might lawfully take another wife. To assure me that you are alive, pray write two or three wordes to me; for any thinge of you, that are all life, will easily convince me of it. I would give you a fine peach if you were with me; but I suppose that you will not want for fruit, for a husband, and brother,

I am yours,
EDWARD BROWNE.

Since I began to write this, I received a kinde letter from Monsieur Morillon, at Padoa, and the inclosed to you.

These for my honoured father, Dr. Browne, at his house in Norwich, *viâ* London.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

July 21, Vienna in Austria, 1669.

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

Yesterday, at my return from Venice, I received one from you by the means of Mr. Panser, who wrote to me, and inclosed yours. I am very unfortunate that your letters come not to me. The fault must be at London, where perhaps the letters were put in without paiing for them, and so they stopt at Brussells. Mr. Dentons came to me; and I have had letters and answers again from Mr. Oldenburg very speedily. In his last he lets me know that my observations were well accepted by the R. S., and that they had commanded him to write me word so, and that they did not doubt but I would further communicate what I meet withall to them. I know not what you sent them besides the figure of the soles parelii. I would not give them an account of Hungary, till I have drawne it into some method, or be able therewith to answer their first proposalls to me; but if you please (I inclosed an account of the lake of Zircknitz, which I visited in my last journey into Carniola and Carinthia) if you have received it, it may be sent to them. I am, I thanke God, once again arrived in good health at Vienna, notwithstanding the great heat of the weather and the tediousnesse of my journy from Venice, all alone. I am sorry that my letter from Schemnitz is lost. That, and the other from Bing, I was forced to trust others with, in the putting them into the posthouse; but by the next post I will recollect something, and write to you what was in my Schemnitz letter. In the mean time I will speake something of my journey

through Friuli, Carinthia, Styria, Austria, hoping that you have received all my letters from Venice; the last of which hath one enclosed in it from Mr. Morillon, whom I met at Padoa. I suppose that my lord Howard is by this time out of England. I am so desirous to hear again from home, that I would beg a letter by the same way again of my loving friend Mr. Panser, if I were not resolved to leave Vienna shortly. Howsoever, the heat of the weather will keepe me here some dayes; and it will not be lost, althoughe it misse of me in this place; and pray, sir, write word whether captain Mackdugall be arrived in England. The next poste I will write again, not despairing yet of hearing from you again, sir, sodainly, in answer to my request at Venice. I am most happy by Mr. Oldenburg's meanes, who assures me that you were well in health in June; the continuance of which will be the greatest blessing on earth, if it please God, to

Your most obedient sonne,

E. BROWNE.

These for Dr. Browne, at his house in Norwich, in Norfolke, these present with care.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

Wien, 25 August, 1669.

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

This day twelvemonthes I arrived at Rotterdam; since which, although I have informed myself in some things, yet I can not but have a great deale of regret for spendinge so much time from you, sir. If it please God to returne me safe to you, I hope to improve my selfe, and enjoy a more quiet settled life. The heat beginning to decrease, I shall have a good season to travell in. The last autumne was very faire. If I goe somewhat out of the way, I hope, sir, you will pardon it, and continue your goodnesse and blessing to me, which maketh me happy, and able to goe through many diffi-

culties. Lambecius, a most learned, worthy person, doth again present his service to you, sir, and is kinder to me then ever; offering me, showing me, and instructing me, in any thinge that I mention; and because that the emperour expressed his esteeme of your workes, sir, and this noble person doth courte your acquaintance, if you would be pleased to write something to him, or of him, in a letter to me, directed as formerly, though I be gone from hence, I will order it so that he shall thereby see, sir, that I have not neglected his civility. I hope that all my friends are well at Norwich. My service to Mr. Whitefoot, Mr. Hawkins, my unkle Bendish, who, perhaps, is mayor by this time, and to all his family. I learned of a soldier to make looking glasses with a mixture or amalgama of quicksilver, bismut, tin, and lead. I wrote to my sister Betty this last poste. I hope that my sister Ann is longe since returned, well satisfied, from London. My duty to my most deare mother. When I once again heare from home, it will be a greate contentment and joye to me.

Your most obedient sonne,
EDWARD BROWNE.

I have inclosed here this antiquity at Petronell; it being the other side of the arch of which I already sent you a cut.

For my ever honoured father, Dr. Browne, at Norwich.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

Vienna, October 17, 1669.

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

I am just now arrived again at Vienna after a hard journey. God's holy name be praised for ever! His mercy hath been infinite to me, in preserving me; and I hope, sir, that you will forgive this excursion. I will make haste homeward, soe that I beg of you to write to me into Hollande soone after the receipt of this. I saw the Grand Seignor at

Larissa, in Thessaly. He is now gone into Negroponte, and the Sultana is come to Monaster, or Toli, by which place I passed in my returne. The English embassadour is expected at the Ottoman court; but that and greater considerations could not stay me from returning poste to Vienna. I hope in God that he still blesseth me with your health, sir. My duty to my most dear mother, and love to my dear sisters.

Your obedient sonne,

EDWARD BROWNE.

I received a letter from Mr. Oldenburg this day, and from Mr. John Fairfax, from Constantinople, and from Mr. Donellan.

These for my honoured father, Dr. Browne, of Norwiche, to be left with Ms Anne Browne, at Esq. Barker his house, in Clarkenwell, near New Prison, London.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

Vienna, October 24, 1669.

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

I wrote to you twice since I arrived here; and if I had been successefull this morning in my petition for a passe from the emperour, to avoyde searching or other hindrances in my journey, I had immediately taken a place in the coach which goeth to Prague. Howsoever, with God's blessing, I hope to continue my journey homeward sodainly. I would willingly set downe something more of my Turkish journey; but the consideration of my rashnesse and obstinate folly in undertaking it, renders my thoughts of it unpleasing. Howsoever, God's infinite goodnesse and mercy protecting me and preserving me, in rendring both the rage and subtil malice of man unable to hurte me, and keeping me from all dangers, day and night, I hope I shall rejoyce in his mercifull providence all my life, and more cheerfully imbrace all conditions

and fortunes through which God shall please to leade me. Hoping in God that you are in health, sir, with my most deare mother and sisters, I rejoyce that I have this opportunity to say, sir, that I reste

Your most obedient sonne,
EDWARD BROWNE.

My service to Mr. Whitefoot, Mr. Robins, Mr. Hawkins, my unkle Bendish, and all my friends. I pray sir, write to me to Mr. Hovenaer, or to Mr. Panser. I just now saw Mr. Cottrell, Sir Charles Cottrell's sonne. He goeth soone to Venetia.

These for my honoured father, Dr. Browne, at his house in Norwich.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

Prague, November 9th, 1669.

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

I wrote to you the last of October, just before my leaving Vienna. I am since (thanks be to God) safely arrived here. My greatest joye would be to receive a letter from you, sir; but I know not how to propose any probable way of accomplishing it, unlesse, sir, that you would be pleased to write to Hamburg. Sir Nevel Catlin, I beleeve, hath a brother there, a merchant, Mr. James Catlin, formerly my school-fellow; a letter sent to him for me would come to my handes, if that it pleaseth God to give me safe journey thither. Gottenberg, or Cottenberg, is eight Bohemian miles from Prague. They have worked here seven hundred years; there are about thirty mines. I went downe into that which was first digged, but was afterwards left for a long time; but now they dig there again. It is called the Cotna, auff der Cotten, upon the Cotten or Coate hill. A monke walking over this hill founde a silver tree sticking to his coate, which was the occa-

sion that they afterwards built these mines, and the place retaines this name of Cottenberg. I have read that the princesse and great sorceresse of Bohemia, Libussa, did foretell many thinges concerning these mines; but in such matters I beleeve little; knowing how confident men are in such superstitious accounts. In the mines at Brunswick is reported to be a spirit; and another at the tin mine at Slackenwald, in this kingdome, in the shape of a monke, which strikes the miners, singeth, playeth on the bagpipe, and many such tricks. But I doubt, if I should go thither, I should finde them as vain as Montparions drumme; but the winter, and my great desire to return home speedily, will not permit me to goe so farre out of the way. From Gottenberg by Colline and Bohemian Broda, to Prague; where, I thanke God, I am very well, after such tiresome voyages as I have made; and when I looke back upon all the dangers from which it hath pleased God to deliver me, I can not but with some assurance also hope that his infinite goodness will also bring me backe into my owne country and blesse me there with the continuance of my dear father's life, health, and prosperity. I have divers thinges to write to you, sir, concerning Turkhia; but I will not trouble you, sir, too much at once. I know, sir, that you cannot but reasonably be offended with my long stay abroad; especially in countryes of small literature; but I hope that your displeasure will not continue, and that you will adde this to the rest of your great goodnesse and indulgence to me, to pardon my rashnesse, and the expense I have put you to. My duty to my most dear mother, and love to my sisters and friends. I an uncertaine which way I shall take. Travelling is not certain here, as in France. If it were not for my portmantle, I would buy a horse, and come streight into the Low Countreys. Your most obedient sonne,

ED. BROWNE.

These for my honoured father, Dr. Browne, at his house in Norwich.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

[Dresden, Nov. circa 20th, 1669.]

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

I wrote to you last from Prague, and shall continue to sende letters upon all occasions, the onely means which I have of expressing my obedience at this distance. The last which I received from you, sir, was of June 21, st. veter. I have since been deprived of the like blessing by my allmost continuall travelling; but I have great hopes, sir, to have a letter from you at Hamburg. I will inquire at the posthouse when I come thither. Be pleased, sir, to direct, a Monsieur Edward Browne, or thus, a Mr. Catlin, pour faire tenir a Mr. Browne, Anglois, presentement a Hamburg. Sir Nevel Catlin his brother, I thinke liveth there; and if you would be pleased to write, I beleeve that your letter would arrive at the same time with me; for though I make all convenient speede, yet I doubt it will be the fourth or fifth of December, old style, before my arrivall there; the boates not going any longer downe the Elbe, by reason of the season; so that I thinke to goe from hence to Leipsick, when I finde opportunity, and so continue my journey that way. My duty to my most dear mother, and love to my sisters.

I remain your obedient sonne,

ED. BROWNE.

Sir, at Prague I founde out Captain Makdugall, who hath had many misfortunes since my parting with him. He was invited to a gentleman's house, who first borrowed money of him, and afterwards his servant robbed him. Then the Hungarian boy ran away from him (but had only two ducats of him). Since that he hath been divers months sick, and, of nigh a thousand dollars which he brought out of Milan with him, he hath so few left, that he hath [been] forced to pawne his ringes, watches, and other thinges. I am sorry for his mis-

fortune, being a gentleman who is generally obliging, and hath been particularly kinde to me. I have all my thinges of him again.

I am now come to Hamburg,[4] and have seen Mr. Catlin, who hath the small poxe, but is recovering.

DEAR MOTHER,

I have been above once since my coming abroad so happy as to hear from you. I am in hopes that now I am coming nigher unto you, you will be pleased to write to me to Hamburg. I have not done, I think, advisedly to stay so long from my most dear parents; but I hope you will forgive it, and that your goodness will meet your prodigal son now that he returneth. I should be sorry to have travelled beyond your kindness. If it be so, I should be much out of my way. I hope the best; having had all my life-time experience of your goodness. And for what is to come, when it shall please God to bring me home, I shall strive to let you see, by my obedience to you, that I have no greater desire or design than that of being always with all thankfulness and submission, most dear mother, Your obedient son,

EDWARD BROWNE.

For my honoured father, Dr. Browne, at his house in Norwich. Leave this with Ms Anne Browne, at Esqre Barker his house, neare to New Prison, in Clarkenwell, London.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

Hamburg, December 16, 1669.

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

I hoped at my first coming to Hamburg to arrive at Norwich before that time in which you will receive this, hav-

[4] This last paragraph, written at Hamburgh, must have been added in making up a pacquet of letters, sent thence, for it appears that the present and following letters were not sent till he reached Hamburgh.

ing met with a ship bounde for London, and the winde was then goode, since which time it hath turned and continued most at west. It now beginneth to freeze, so as that I hope it will soone be easterly again, for I am loath to travell any farther by lande. In my last I wrote you something of Magdeburg from whence I came hither in four dayes time through a countrey most of it barren; little accommodation, nor any thing worth the seeing; first through the Electour of Brandenburg's countrey, and then through the Prince of Luneberg's. There are sometimes rowes of stones as in the Danish antiquities, and in one place I tooke more particular notice of them where three great stones were in the middle incompassed in a longe square by other large stones set up an end. Here, at Hamburg, I have met with divers courteous understanding persons, as Mr. Griffin, the minister, a good scholler and preacher, and hath been particularly obliging to me; as also Mr. Free, the treasurer, he tells me that he was this last summer at Norwich; Mr. Bankes, who hath travelled in divers parts of Turchja, as through Natolia and the Holy Lande; and Mr. Catlin and his partner, Mr. Tounly, who are so civill as to offer to furnish me with money, but I hope my stay will not be so longe as to want any. The English have great priviledges here, and a riche trade; there are ships come laden hither with cloath to the valew of an hundred thousand pounds sterling in a ship. Here is one Mr. Jenkinson, a merchant, who hath given me a letter to you, sir, but I am to deliver it to your owne hands. Hamburg is one of the greatest townes in Germany; fortified *a la moderna*. The churches are many of them faire, with high steeples covered with copper; the front of St. Katharine is beautifull. They have sermons every day as in all Lutheran countries. I lodge at the signe of the City of Lubeck. I am in some hopes of hearing from you here, sir, especially if you received a letter from me, sir, from Prague, in which was something concerning the mine of Gottenburg, in Bohemia. I heare here that the Lord Bishop of Norwich is deade, and that Mr. Skottow hath left the towne. I should be glad to finde the rest of my friends in health and prosperity, to whom my service. My duty to my most dear mother, and love to my sisters. I have read

here a little booke in High Dutch, translated out of English, of the three great impostures of this age. Padre Ottomanno, whom I have seen, he himselfe cannot be much guilty of the cheats. John Michael de Cigala, the description of whose life, in French, I read at Larissa, in Thessaly, but it was laughed at there, and one Sigr. Georgio, an interpreter, told me that he was a Greeke, he is set downe a Wallachian. And of the third I have heard Turkish songes; but I have no more roome at present onely to present my duty.

Your obedient sonne,

EDWARD BROWNE.

For my honoured father, Dr. Browne, at his house in Norwich. Leave this with Ms Anne Browne, at Esqre Barker his house, neare to New Prison, in Clarkenwell, London.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

Retzbütell, or Cookes-haven, Dec. 15, st. vet. 1669.

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

I hoped to have been at Norwich before this; but contrary windes have hindered our voyage. I left Hamburg the tenth of this month; which day I wrote to you my last letter from thence, the dayes being at the shortest, and the night darke in the new of the moone. The tide falling also in the day time, we were able the first daye to sayle no farther than to Stadt, belonging to the king of Sweden, five miles from Hamburg, where the ships which come up the river pay custome. Decemb. 11, we sayled by Gluckstat, the king of Denmarks. The castle, the kings palace, and the church, show handsomely upon the river. We anchored this night before the mouth of the Ost, a river which falleth into the Elbe out of Bremertland, a mile below Brunsbütell, on the other side of the water. December 12, we lost sight of the northern shoare, passed Cookes haven, in full hopes to be able to put to sea that night, but were

becalmed about three in the afternoon, a league and an halfe below it, where we were forced to anchor again, lest that the stronge ebbe should set us on grounde. So we lay that night between the Dick, or thick sande, on the north, and newwerch, on the south, right over against a light house. Decemb. 13, the winde turning westerly, and blowing harde, we returned to Cooke haven, where our ship now is at anchor. Yesterday I came on shoare, and went up the lande to the fort here, belonging to the towne of Hamburg. It is a high square worke, with a double ditch. Some vessells come up to the fort; but the ditch which comes thither from out of the Elbe is drye at low water. The towne is called Retzbütell: here are some other vessells driven in with us also. God send us well out, that I may once again come to you, sir. In the mean time I have sent this to Mr. Catlyn, to sende to you. My duty to my most dear mother, and love to my sisters. Your most obedient sonne,

EDWARD BROWNE.

These for my honourd father, Dr. Browne, at his house in Norwich.

Dr. E. Browne, after his travels, settled in London. From the directions of his father's letters, we gather that he changed his residence several times before 1673. In that year he was tempted to another short visit to the Continent, which is described in his travels, fol. 1686, at p. 180. July 29, 1675, he was elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians, and lectured in that and several succeeding years. He was first chosen censor in 1678. From 1675, throughout the whole of his father's life, he resided in Salisbury-court, Fleet-street. During the long period of his practice in London he was in constant correspondence with his father; from whom it is quite evident he derived much of the materials of his

lectures, and great assistance in all his engagements, both literary and professional. He appeared to have had considerable practice among the higher ranks, both in London and in the country. He attended the celebrated Earl of Rochester in his dying illness, at Woodstock Park. Some of Sir Thomas's letters have been omitted, and several are considerably abridged, especially those which are strictly professional, and such as contain passages for his son's lectures.

Dr. Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

DEAR SONNE,

Mr. Burwell hath held out tolerably this journey. Hee being some dayes at leasure, I gave him pills and an electuary. I writ in my last about an addition of the baths of Villach, butt I beleeve too late, so you may do what you please; the Transactions of May beeing probably printed alreadie.[5] Now, at leasurable times, you must thinck of historicall and narrative observations concerning your last travayles, you may sett downe maney wch may be acceptable, and your letters will afford many beside, such as you have not sett downe, and particular passages will be pleasing and somewhat instructive, and the draught of things wch Betty drewe will help much; I may give you hints of some. God blesse you. Your loving father,

THO. BROWNE.

June viij, [1670.]

[5] The following communications from Dr. Edward Browne appeared in the Philosophical Transactions:—

Of two parhelias, or mock suns, seen in Hungary, Jan 30, 1668: vol. iv, p. 953, published May 10, 1669.

On the damps in the mines of Hungary: iv, 965, June 21, 1669.

Relation of the quicksilver mines of Friuli.—Account of the Zirchnitzer sea in Carniola: iv, 1080, Dec. 13, 1669.

Account of the copper mine of Hern Grund, in Hungary, as also of the stone quarries and Talc rocks in Hungary: v, 1042, May 23, 1670.

On the mines, minerals, baths, &c., in Hungary: v, 1189, April 25, 1670.

Queries and answers concerning the Zirchnitz sea: ix, 194, Dec. 14, 1674.

I only mention these things now because your friends thinck you should, though not suddenly, sett them downe, and not lett all passe in silence concerning countries travaylled by so fewe.

For Dr. Edward Browne, at his lodging in the back street over against the Royall Oake, in Hatton Garden, London.

Dr. Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

DEARE SONNE,

I writ unto you last Monday, and I have litle now to say; only I have half an howers time, wch opportunity I would not lett passe, this being the post day. Mr. Deane, after a languishing sicknesse of about two yeares, left this world early on Thursday morning.[6] He voyded for a long time many small stones, much gravell, and often, of late, much blood, and together with the very parenchyma of his left kidney. Hee held out much longer then could be expected, and so was emaciated to a sceleton, which expyring condition gave opportunitie to very many to make for his place, and more than ever I remember for that dignity. I wish our honest friend, Dr. Hawkins, might bee the man. Dr. Burton wee say heere could not be admitted, as yet to yong. The deane died a good Christian, and like a clergieman of old, leaving not much more then what may pay all the world and serve for his burial, which is this evening. Hee gave mee his chariott and harnesse. Hee found much good in drincking the clarified juices of urtica and plantago in milk, for his bleeding, sweeten with syrup or cons. of red roses and the like. You showed mee a litle draught of the crowne of Hungarie, different from other crownes, and wee could not tell how to drawe it distinctly as you discribed it. I read last weeke about it, and what a venerable and sacred opinion the Hungarians have of it, as sent from heaven by an angel; and

6 Dean Crofts died July 27, 1670, and was succeeded by Herbert Ashley, Sep. 2, 1670.

in Pinedas Monarchia Ecclesiastica, in Spanish, I think I found out the ground and originall of that opinion. King, or St. Stephen, being christined by Adelbardus, bishop of Prague, to further that religion, made two archbishops, the one of Colocta, and the other of Strigonium, wch was the place of his nativitie, and the metropolitan see. And sent to Rome, unto the pope Benedect, to confirme him in his dominion, and to send him the regaglios[7] of it. At the same time the king of Poland, newlie Christian, sent about the same errand. The pope provided a crown of gold and sceptre for the king of Poland; butt in the mean time, by an apparition of an angel, hee was warned to send the crowne unto Stephen, wch hee did; and from hence may probably be derived the opinion that it was sent by an angel, &c. I am uncertaine whether you bee at London, or return to Tunbridg to Mr. Burwell, if hee come not from thence. My humble service unto him and his lady, the chal. medecins may, I hope, supply the use of the waters, wch some day did not agree with him. I rest your loving father,

THO. BROWNE.

July 29, [1670.]

I sent the manuscript of the Seraglio by Mrs. Holyburton; it is quickly read over.

For Dr. Edward Browne, at his lodging in Hatton Garden, in the back street over agaynst the Royall Oake, these, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

DEARE SONNE,

I now send you the rest, if you will take the paynes to write your journey into Upper Hungarie to the mines, you may beginne at Comorn or Raab, and so to Gutta, Schella, Schinta, Freistad, for you have alreadie writt particularly of

[7] Regalia?

Raab, Comorn, &c. in your journey to Larissa, and so must passe them lightly over as having writ of them elsewhere; you have also discribed Leopolstad. I know not how to do any thing in this, you having the booke of your letters; and the transactions will afford you matter about the mines and baths, you may sett downe the baths much as they are in the transactions, adding anything unto them, as the story of the man that putt a snake's head into his mouth in the bath; and of the huzzar whch bathed in a frost at midnight; and, for the mines, you need not be so particular as to give the full account of separating the metalls, in this narration, butt how you went in, how deep, and what you observed, &c.: do as you thinck fitt. Remember to putt in the green jasper color'd tomb at Larissa in the barber's shop, (see the red book;) and Croatian provender into that part wch contains observations and occurrences in the journey to Larissa: as thus, "they dock not their horses, butt lett their tayles growe at length, or handsomely make them up; and in their journeys sometimes light from them, and strongly pull out their foretop, or forehead lock, and thinck that doth much refresh them; which the strangers that travell here call Croatian provender." When you print it, it may bee best to deale with some substantiall setled stationer. I shall, God willing, write agayne by the next post. Visit Mr. Jenkenson, and you must be doing something alwayes to satisfy him: if my writing may do any good, I will write unto him.

Your loving father,

Decemb. 1, [1671 or 2.] THO. BROWNE.

You may adde to the quecksylver mines this:—"They keep a register of the names of all strangers, who come from any remote parts, to see these mines. Looking over the names I could [find] butt one Englishman who had been there before myself;" and so you may name him or not, as you please, or are acquainted with him. I did not observe, in this great abundance of quecksylver, that they tooke the advantage of making cinnaber, mercurie sublimate.

For Dr. Edward Browne, at Dr. Ternes howse in Lymestreet, London.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Coln, June 20, 1673.

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

I wrote to you the last post, and had done it sooner, but that we have always been at uncertainties, and made no stay any where. While I am writing this I can hear the gunnes from Maestricht, although it raineth hard; and yesterday morning the shooting was so fierce, and the winde westerly, that it shaked the earth upon the workes of Cullen; at which time, we understand since, that the French tooke two half-moones. Mareschal Turenne is with his army beyonde the Rhine, almost as high as Franckfordt; and it is thought he will afterwards come downe with a great force into Friesland. I heare that the English have also a designe upon Zealand; in the middle of which, the Hollanders have a fine time to brag of their victories over the French and English, in all their letters and gazettes. Being at Mr. Elburg's the apothecaries to write a bill, I met with Helvetius, he who wrote De vitulo aureo. He is come hither physitian to the Dutch embassadours, and I intend to have some further discourse with him. We went then together, to see the body of one of the innocent children killed by Herod, and the tombe of Duns Scotus, in the Minims church. Mr. Elburg is a civil person, where Sir Alexander Fraser lodged, and was apothecary to his Majesty, when he lived here. He offreth me to lodge in his house, which I will accept of, if I stay. Here are good Roman coynes digged up, of which he shew me divers, and I am to see a good collection to-day. When I was at sea, I was taken with captain Welsh, a blunt right down man, but a most notable seaman, and one of the greatest pyrates that ever was. We have with us here one Mr. Christmas, the best trompet in England, and a Swede; and a little boy who exceede all upon the violin; and Mr. Hadly upon the flagelet, which instrument he hath so improved as to invent large ones, and outgoe in sweetnesse all the basses whatsoever upon any other

instrument. At Antwerp, Mr. Duart came and carried me to his house, and shewe me the best collection of pictures that any man hath in those parts; the flowers by Van Ems outgoe Seghers, or any else; a piece of King Henry the Eight, when he was a childe, is well done; and the picture of a Capuchin in his cell; besides many of Van Dike, Quintin, Hans Holbin, Correggio, &c. These citadells I have seen, since my coming out, which are very remarkable; the citadelle over against Gravesend, near Tilbury; that of Shernesse; Dunkirch, which is most beautiful, ... of Ghent, said to be the first . . . . . shape, having four bastions; and . . . . . of Antwerp. Pray sir, direct to me A Monsier Brown, docteur en med. . . . . chez les ambassadeurs d'Angleterre, a Cologne. I hope in a short time to be in England again, and that you will pardon this excursion, intending soon to returne to my house. My duty to my most dear mother, and love to my sisters.

Your most obedient sonne,
EDWARD BROWNE.

For pictures, I saw a very fine one, at Mr. Elburg's, of Alexander, drinking his potion, and at the same delivering the letter to his physitian, in which he had notice he would poyson him; and I cannot contrive a better than the duke of Chaune or Chosne, the French embassadour here, at supper, in a large roome with all the windowes open, with the ladyes at table, a rowe of servants about them behind them, a rowe of musick rounde the table, and behind them still mulettiers.

For my honoured father Sir Thomas Browne. For Ms Browne, at Dr. Tern his house, in Lime Street, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

June 21, [1675.]

DEAR SONNE,

Some occasion of this letter is, to rectifie a mistake in the paper of yours, which I sent yesterday, by Mr. Miller,

Mr. Tho. Peck's brother-in-lawe, who dwells not farre from you and by whom I returned the first of your lectures; in that I putt in a paper, with the draught of the kidney, and heart of a vitulus marinus or seale, which Betty drewe out fresh, from one I had in blewe paper before. The mistake was this; that I sett it downe the kidney of a dolphin, for it is the kidney of a vitulus marinus, and is not much unlike that of a dolphin, in the numerous divisions; butt it may serve to showe in discowrsing of the kidney. The passage you mentioned out of Bartholomeus Georgevitz, is not to bee omitted for it comes in very well; it is a prettie little booke, and you having seen something of Turkie, I wish you would read it over, for it may bee often useful unto you.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

A litle shippe, with 6 small gunnes, came up from Yarmouth to Carrowe Abbey, this night, and hath taken a great deale of mony by selling wine and the like; a strange number of people resorting unto it, taking twelve pence for every shott[8] at healths.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Feb. 25, [1676?]

DEAR SONNE,

My neibour, Mr. Bickerdik,[9] going towards London to-morrowe, I would not deny him a letter; and I have sent by him Lucretius his six bookes *De Rerum Natura*, because you

8 The King, in Hamlet, may illustrate this passage:—he says,
"This gentle and unforc'd accord of Hamlet
Sits smiling to my heart; in grace whereof
No jocund health that Denmark drinks to-day,
But the great cannon to the clouds shall tell."
Hamlet, Act I, *Sec.* 2.

9 Nicholas Bickerdike, an alderman of Norwich.

lately sent mee a quotation out of that author, that you might have one by you to find out quotations, which shall considerably offer themselves at any time. Otherwise I do not much recommend the reading or studying of it, there being divers impieties in it, and 'tis no credit to be punctually versed in it; it containeth the Epicurean naturall philosophie. Mr. Tenison, I told you, had written a good poem, "*contra huius sæculi Lucretianos*," illustrating God's wisdome and providence from anatome, and the rubrick, and use of parts, in a manuscript dedicated to mee and Dr. Lawson,[1] in Latin, after Lucretius his style.[2] With it goes along a very litle Tullies offices, which was either yours or your brothers; 'tis as remarkable for the litle sise as the good matter contained in it, and the authentick and classicall Latin. I hope you do not forgett to carry a Greeke testament allwayes to church, you have also the Greek or septuagent translation of the other parts of scripture; in reading those bookes, a man learnes two good things together, and profiteth doubly, in the language and the subject. You may at the beginning of Lucretius, read his life, prefixed by Petrus Crinitus, a learned philologer or humanist, and that he proved mad and dyed by a philtrum or pocula, given him by his wife Lucillea. Mr. Tho. Peck and his good wife are dead; shee died in childbed some 8 or 9 moneths past; he left this life about a moneth ago. Hee found obstacles that he could not come to Skickford,[3] without compounding with the widdowe in possession for a thousand pound, though his father, Mr. James Peck, parted with his owne share upon tolerable termes unto Mr. Thomas. Hee lived in Norwich, was growne very fatt, and dranck much. They saye hee dranck dayly a quart bottle of clarett before dinner, one at dinner, and one at night. If any company came to him, which was seldome, hee might exceed that quantitie; however, he made an end of that proportion by himself; he died suddenly, none being with him. His daughter finding him indisposed, asked whether shee should send unto mee, hee putt it of, and soon after was

1 Dr. Lawson was brother-in-law to Archbishop Tenison, each having married a daughter of Doctor R. Love, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

2 This MS. was never published.

3 Qu. Spixworth?

found dead. Hee had litle or no money in his howse; his father James sent ten pounds for his buryall, which served the turne. Surely if hee had lived a little longer, hee would have utterly spoyled his brayne, and been lost unto all conversation. Happy is the temperate man. God send all my friends that virtue. God blesse my daughter Fairfax, my daughter Browne, and the litle ones.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

June 14, [1676.]

DEAR SONNE,

I am sorry to heare Mr. Bishop is so much his owne foe; surely his brayne is not right. Probably you may heare agayne of him, before hee returnes into his country; hee seemed to be fayre conditiond when hee was in these parts, though very hypochondriacall sometimes. Mr. Hombarston, whenever his brayne is distempered, resolves upon a journey to London, and there showes himself, acts his part, and returnes home better composed, as hee did the last time; hee would not bee persuaded to bleed agayne before hee went. If the dolphin were to bee shewed for money in Norwich, litle would bee gott; if they showed it in London, they are like to take out the viscera, and salt the fish, and then the dissection will be inconsiderable. You may remember the dolphin opened when the king was heere, and Dr. Clark was at my howse, when you tooke a draught of severall parts very well; wch Dr. Clark had sent unto him. Bartholinus hath the anatomie of one, in his centuries. You may observe therein the odde muscle whereby it spouts out water, the odde larynx, like a goose head, the flattish heart, the lungs, the *renes racemosi*, the multiple stomach, &c. When wee washed that fish a kind of cuticule came of in severall

places on the sides and back. Your mother hath mast[4] to dresse and cooke the flesh, so as to make an excellent savory dish of it; and the king being at Newmarket, I sent collars thereof to his table, which were well liked of.

Though you must take the paynes to compose a new set of lectures, yet I do not see why you should not retaine the greatest and necessarie part, for information of the auditors; allthough [you] may alter or adde some things, as observation or reading shall informe you, or as you find they are not cleare enough, or fully enough expressed.

I shall returne the lect. upon the first good opportunity, that you may have them by you to make use of; and send hints as they occurre. Your loving father,

THO. BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

June 16, [1676.]

DEAR SONNE,

This daye I sawe the transactions of May; in which Dr. F. Beale gives an account of shining flesh of veal.[5] I remember the societie hath had account of the like in London, and Mr. Boyle hath mentiond something like; and Bartholinus mentions the like, in his medicall epistles; centuria 1ma, epist. 9. "*Caro lucens ac si accensa esset condita*," which hee observed at Montpelier long agoe. Butt it may bee fitt for anatomists, to take notice of what Dr. William Cole delivers, in the same transactions, concerning the spirall, instead of the hitherto supposed annular, structure of the fibres of the intestines; and you may take notice of a booke writt by Monsr. de Blegny, chirurgeon to the Queen of France, of newe and curious observations concerning the French disease, translated by Dr. Walter Harris, in 8vo.[6] In

[4] Sic MS. [5] In Phil. Trans. May 22, 1676. [6] London, 1676.

my last I mentioned an observation of goose skinnd persons, that such had not had the *lues venerea;* you may adde, " or had not undergone the cure thereof." Dr. Witherly send mee his respects by an old acquaintance of his and myne, and withall bid him tell mee, that you performed your publick lectures so much like a gentleman, and with so much learning, as had not been done for these seven and seven yeares. This is the hottest season I have felt, in June, for these many yeares. Capt. Woods[7] hath a fine time of it, at or neere the pole, while unto us the temperate zone is so intolerable. God blesse your sisters, in their hot and dustie journey; to morrowe they will come seasonably home, my howse being butt this daye made an end of tiling. I beleeve it was such a kind of season, when you travelled from Venice to Vienna, &c. Temperance is the chief defensative and preservative in such intemperate a season. In your next lectures you are obliged, for information sake, to showe the substance, fabrick, connexion, and use, &c., so that a very great part will serve, except you can adde any thing more exact touching those circumstances, as you shall think of or find out from yourself or authors. He that reades the osteologie lecture cannot showe the *os hyoides,* for it is not in [the] sceleton; so you may gett one of a man, of some quadruped, and some birds. You do well to make use of your Aristotle; Lacunus, epitome of Galen[8] you had of myne, and tis usefull to read it; his bookes *De Administrationibus Anatomicis et de usu partium,* &c. to bee . . . . . upon all occasion. In these three authors are the chief of the Greeke. Waygh the head of a man, braynes, scull, and other parts, and the scull and brayn distinctly; that you may know what proportion it hath to the body, at least with some latitude, allthough you do not waygh the trunk. God blesse you, your sister Fayrfax, wife, and litle ones.

Your loving father,

THO. BROWNE.

[7] Capt. John Woods, having presented a memorial to Charles II, on the possibility of a north or north-east passage to the Indian seas and China, was sent out by the Admiralty, in command of the *Speedwell,* accompanied by the *Prosperous,* Capt. Hawes. They set sail on the 28th of May, 1676.

[8] Epitome omnium Operum Galeni, per And. Lacunam.—Lugd. 1553—12mo.

I have enclosed the *ureters* and *vesica*, or bladder, such as it is, of carp which wee had this day; but I had a fayre one long ago, and lost it.

For Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

July x, [1676.]

DEAR SONNE,

I writt unto you lately, to take notice of the *cuticula* and *cutis* of negros, and to examin it well; and to make a vesication upon one, and observe how the *cutis* lookes, when the *cuticula* is of; and observe the scarres if they have any, how the scarre becometh whiter or lesse black than other parts; the colour of the nayles, &c., for you may [find] some use thereof, the next time *de cuticula et cute*. And you may introduce it much after this manner:—"A greater division of mankind is made by the skinne then by any other part of the body; that is into white skinned men, and negros, which are [a] very considerable part of mankind, and differ also from others, not only in the colour, butt the coolenesse, softnesse, and smoothnesse, of the skinne, as though it had been oyled. Yet this tincture seemes not to bee deepe, for if their skinnes bee cutt, the scarre becomes paler," and so you may adde what you can find, and as I hinted formerly. I cannot yet find a convenient or trustie bearer, by whom to send your remaining lect. butt wish they were safe in your hand agayne.

One Mr. Newton, who maryed my Lady Marie Heveringham's daughter, was at Norwich last weeke; and asked courteously for you. Hee went to Cologne with you, and seemes a good sober and studious gentleman, and they thinck themselves happy in so well bestowing their daughter. Hee will passe this summer at Mr. Heveringham's, at Kettering-ham, four miles of. I doubt Sr. Leolyn Jenkins[9] is like to

[9] One of the English Ministers at the Congress of Nimeguen.

have a tedious time at Nimegen, what he sheweth of the Prince of Orange will bee at Maestrecht is uncertaine. The Osnabrugge forces beseidg Vic the suburb of Maestrecht, and the prince is on this side. Philipsburg by Spire is also a dangerous attempt, and the French have greater forces then the beseedged. Stade is in danger, and, I beleeve, Hamburgh had rather have it in the Suedes hands still, then either the Danes, or their neibour the Duke of Lunenburg. Our assises beginne on Tuesday next, and butt one judge. God blesse you all. Your loving father.

THO. BROWNE.

July xii. In a litle time I shall, God willing, send the prefatory.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.][1]

July 14, [1676.]

DEAR SONNE,

You have done very well to obtayne the manuscript or booke wch you mention you had from my Lord of Aylesburie's howse. How you came to knowe of it, or obtayne the use of it, I knowe not; butt I beleeve you might, if you would putt forward, obtayne such a favor of my lord himself, who when he was at Norwich asked for you. Hee was at Montpellier about the time when you were there. Now you have the booke by you, it will bee fitt to make the best use you canne of it; for perhaps it must bee returned to the French embassador; or, if hee gave it unto my lord, tis like hee will expect it agayne from you in a short time; and therefore bestowe most of your vacant time about it. Transcribe all you can out of it, and drawe out the most material

[1] This letter was published (very incorrectly) in the Retrospective Review, vol. i, p. 163.

cutts yourself, by a penne or otherwise, which you can do well enough, for I would not have it out of your hands, and I do not desire that Moreland should have any thing to do with it, for hee will drawe out of it for himself and his owne use, and so all the towne will take notice of it. Nor would I have you showe it to any or very fewe, and such as are not like to make use thereof. Blasius (as I sent you word) hath lately published anatomical observations from many animals,[2] and probably of many in this booke. Transcribe what you can out of it, and sett downe the names of the animals, and the singular and peculiar observations upon any. The cutts being so fayre, tis probable they are not many. I hope you receaved the paper I sent concerning the fistula of a dolphin. The proper place thereof, it may bee brought in when you speake *de pulm.* or *de respiratione*, and I would not have you omit it; and if you did not keepe the skull of the dolphin you cutt up, I will, God willing, send you one. Tis likely the cutts are not of common animals, at least not altogether, but of such strange animals as have been brought to Paris, or some of the king's howses. When you see the elephant, observe whether hee bendeth his knees before and behind foreward differently from other quadrupeds, as Aristotle observeth; and whether his belly be the softest and smoothest part; the testes are not exterior and outward, butt inwardly in the body, as Aristotle. Perhaps the booke hath the dissection of a camell, it were good to observe of what that bunch in the back consisteth, whether the backbone or spine ariseth up into it, or it bee a lump of flesh upon it, and the spine notwithstanding bee as in others. I thought good to give these hints, because probably they would not come into your mind. My hedgehogge, being putt into my garden, gott away with two yong ones, and I never looke to find them agayne; observe the teeth, because you speake of them, *de dentibus*. God bless you all.

Your loving father,

THO. BROWNE.

For Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

2 Blasii Observationes Anatomico-practicæ, 12mo. Lugd. Bat. 1674.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

October 17, 1676.

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

I am very much rejoyced to hear of your recovery. Tommy is so well as to goe to schoole to-day, and my sister Fairfax's daughter is well again. The anatomy lecture is like to begin on Saterday next, the 21, and it may come to my turne about a quarter of a year hence, the masters of anatomy resolving to have a preparing body for me at the ende of this terme, so that it would be a great furtherance to me to helpe me in a short concluding . . . . . in the last afternoon. I shall this time show the new section of the braine, the eare, and the nose, the morning before; the outward parts of the braine and the eye, the other four lectures much as they were, but altered, and observations added to them. I give you many thankes for the bill; my sicknesse was a great hindrance to my practise in that sick time of the year, but I hope in God it will now encrease. My duty to my dear mother and love to my sisters. The last cut of my booke is now finished, so that the next weeke I suppose it will be publick, there are divers false prints, but most of them made by the corrector of the presse, in ignorantly altering of the copy; as printing *burg* in many places for *berg*, the first signifiing a towne, the latter a hill; Province for Provence; Berch for Betch; the name of Vienna, and the like. I saw Dr. Burton the last weeke, who presents his service to you, sir. With mine and my wives duty, I remain,

Your most obedient sonne,

EDWARD BROWNE.

These for my honoured father, Sir Thomas Browne, at his house in Norwich.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

March 7, [1676-7.]

DEAR SONNE,

Ever since Friday night last, untill Tuesday, wee have had such boysterous cutting and freezing winds, that the weather hath been allmost intollerable, and much hurt done, both at sea and land; chimneys blowne downe, and tiles, and one man killed by a wall blowne downe in Norwich; the wind east and somewhat northerly. Such a cutting season there was, in March, many yeares ago, at the time of assises in March; when so many gentlemen dyed after, and among them your old friend Mr. Earle. So that if they had the like weather in Flanders, the French must have a very hard time at the seiges of Valenciennes and St. Omar,[3] which most men write St. Omer, forgetting that St. Omar hath its name from St. Andomarus. So, many townes' names derived from saints are observed; St. Mallowes is St. Mallovius; St. Didier, St. Desiderius. I have heard that St. Omar was a place famous for good onyons, and furnished many parts therewith; some were usually brought into England, and some transplanted, which were cryed about London, and by a mistake called St. Thomas onyons. I mett with my old friend Dr. Peregrine Short, and his sonne, Dr. Thomas Short. Dr. Thomas told mee of severall dissections, given them notice of by Dr. Short of London, and specially of a boare, whereof you writt unto mee. And I told him you would shewe a newe way of dissecting the brayne at these lectures; hee sayd none could performe that dissection butt Mr. Hobbes, and that it was thought the best way for the dissection of the brayne of man, butt for sheep, &c. Dr. Willis his way was best. In *Bartholini, centuria 4ta, historia trigesima, titulo Anatome Gulonis,*[4] I find something peculiar in the gutts of a gulo.

[3] Taken by the French in the spring of 1677.

[4] The Wolverene, or Glutton; *Mustela Gulo,* Lin. The story here mentioned was first related by Olaus Magnus, and has been repeated by Gesner, Topsell, &c. Gmelin and Buffon, and later naturalists, regard it as a mere fable.

This is a devouring ravenous quadruped, frequent about the bignesse of a dogge, which filleth itself with any caryon, and then, when it can eat no more, compresseth itself between two trees standing neere together, and so squeezeth out, through the gutts, what it hath devoured, and then filleth itselfe agayne. This was thought very strange, considering the division of the gutts, their complications, foulds, and cæcum; till Petrus Pavius or Pau, a famous professor of Leyden, dissected a gulo; for thereby hee found that this voracious animal had no such divisions in the gutts as are to be found in other quadrupeds; butt one gutt, *undique sibi simile*, nor any way changing figure, which is the cause that this animal, by compression of the abdomen, can squeese out what is receaved, as having no cæcum, and all the gutts being as it were one *intestinum rectum*. . . . . God blesse you all, and endowe you with prudence, sobrietie, and frugallity and providence. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

For Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

DEAR SONNE, [April, 1677.]

I intend to send this letter by Mr. Dale, the chirurgeon, who, intending for London, came to mee to offer his seruice. Surely a physitian practising in London may make very good vse of the minerall waters about it; and you may haue good experience thereof hauing made frequent and successefull vse of them, especially those which are purging. What inconueniences sometimes happen with them you must also take notice, and endeauor to preuent the same. It seemes the company were well pleased, there was such crowding or fullnesse vnto the last daye, and the rather because [they] could heare you so well. How did they like the new way of dissecting the brayne?[5] Did you showe the iuory eye of the

[5] Mentioned in the preceding letter.

gladius piscis, or the dolphin's head, or circumcision, or infibulation, &c. or reserued any for the next. Tis good to take notice what course or medicines haue proued successefull in practice, and so to haue a foundation for observations, and also a help vnto yourself in the like or analogous cases. I send by Mr. Dale a *tophus coccinus,* or ball taken out of the stomach of an ox, of which it may be worth your paynes to read cap. 21, *centuria secunda,* of Bartholinus his centuries of rarer obseruations, whereof he hath left six centuries. Mine are in three volumes in 12mo, or a small octavo. I cannot bee without his centuries, nor can you be well without them. In the ball I send there is one place opened where the hayre may bee perceiued. I shall, God willing, write a few lines more enlargen of it. God blesse you all. Loue to my good daughter. I neuer heard my sister Terne was maryed till your sister came to Norwich: I wish her much joye, and Mr. Whiting. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Mr. Whiting was a surgeon of good note, I thinck, long agoe. Litle Tom is liuely, God be thancked. He lyeth with Betty: shee takes great care of him, and getts him to bed in due time, for hee riseth early. Shee or Frank is fayne sometimes to play him asleep with a fiddle. When wee send away our letters hee scribbles a paper and will have it sent to his sister, and sayth shee doth not knowe how many fine things there are in Norwich.

April 8. I was surprized yesterday with a payne in my loynes, which makes mee vnable to go or stand. I haue often had it for two or three dayes.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 4039.]

Nov. 23, [1677.]

DEAR SONNE,

I received your's yesterday; and therein how the societie had received a letter from that great astronomer, He-

velius, of Dantzick; with an account of an eclipse, and a new starre in Cygnus;[6] but what new starre, or when appearing, I knowe not; for there was a new starre in that constellation long agoe, and writ of by many. If it bee now to bee seen it is worth the looking after. I have not had the Transactions for divers moneths; but some that have had them tell mee there is account of some kind of spectacles without glasses, and made by a kind of little trunk or case to admitt the species with advantage. I have read of the same in the Transactions about a yeare ago;[7] but now I hear such instruments are made and sold in London; and some tell mee they have had them heere. Enquire after them, and where they are made, and send a payre, as I remember there is no great art in the making thereof. I am glad to heare that Isaac Vossius is living, and in England. You send some of his notes and observations upon the geographie of Mela; in that particular of Mount Hæmus and possibility of seeing the Euxine and Adriatick sea from the top thereof. In that piece he promiseth a mappe of Old Greece. I wish I knew whether he had yett founde any such mappe or tract publick. I presume hee came over with the Prince of Aurange;[8] and it were no hard matter to bee in his company at his owne or the prince's lodgings. You may tell him you have been in some parts of Greece, as Macedonia and Thessalie; and ask his opinion of the mappe of Laurenbergius, of Greece, which placeth the Pharsalian Fields on the north of the river Peneus; whereas at Larissa all accounted it to the south, and about three dayes journey from thence; and may signifie how unsatisfactory you find the mappe either of [Ortelius] or others, in placing the towns through which you passed in Macedonia, as also in [Servia], omitting divers, and transplacing others. He will bee glad to discours of such, and of Olympus, which is not so well sett downe. I doubt not but that hee speaketh French and Italian, if not English, besides Latin. Tis a credit to knowe such persons; and therefore devise some way to salute

[6] Hevelius's letter on Lunar Eclipses was published in the Trans. for Jan. 1676; vol xi, 590: and his letter on the New Stars, Jan. 2, 1677; vol. xii, 853.

[7] Phil. Trans. vol. xi, 691.

[8] This was not the case. The Prince of Orange came over Oct. 10, 1677. Vossius resided in England from 1670 till 1682, when he died.

him. I perceave you are not so well satisfied with London as you thought to have been; and am therefore sorry that you have obliged yourself to that place by taking a chamber for so long, or else to bee at a fruitless charge of the lodgings; but I would not have you discontented. If either your health or second thoughts incline you to live heere, wee shall bee willing; where you may see and observe practice, and practise also, as opportunity will by degrees permitt; and a great deale of money may bee saved which might serve you hereafter, and your sisters. However, in the meane time, make the best use you can of London.

I rest your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

[DEAR SON,]

I sent this day and payed the four pounds to Mr. Minges, I ansered for you; but I had not your receit. I besich God of his marcy bless and direckt you, and sende you helth. Your louing mothar,

D. BROWNE.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Jan. 5, [1677-8.]

DEAR SONNE,

There is one Vansleb, who hath writt a description of Ægypt; hee writt it 1672 or 3, and it is newly translated into English in 8vo. Hee seemes to have been employed to collect antiquities, butt especially manuscripts, for the King of France; for hee sayth hee sent divers to his library, to which purpose hee learnt the Arabick tongue, and writes much of his historie out of the Arabick writers, who writt long since the Greeks; and gives many particulars not mentioned by them, though many are fabulous and superstitious. Hee travelled not only into Lower Ægypt, butt into the Upper, above or southward of Grand Cayro, and setts downe

many monasteries, and the noble ruins of many, hardly to be mett with in other writers. Hee went into divers caves of the mummies, and in one hee sayth hee found many sorts of birds, embalmed, and included in potts, one whereof hee sent into France. Hee also sayth, that he found empty eggs, whole and unbroaken, butt light and without any thing in them. Hee speakes of the hieroglyphicall cave in Upper Ægypt, the walls whereof full of hieroglyphicall and other old writing, butt much defaced, with divers others, and also a noble columne of Antoninus, &c. Of the great pyramids hee sayth, that the north side is larger then that of east or west. I hope you heard of Dorothy Irney, at Mrs. Carleils, at the Black Boy, in St. James' markett place. Tom, God be thanked, is well, so I hope you are all. God blesse you all. Your loving father,

THO. BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1833.]

May viii, [1678.]

DEAR SONNE,

I receeved the print of Stonehenge, of the singing at the Hospitall, and chorus, by Mr. Richardson, an honest taylor in the Close. That of Stonehenge is good, according to the south and west prospect; [the] chorus I have not yet perused. 'T is rare to find a heart without a pericardium. Columbus observed it in one body, and Bartholinus also in an hydropicall person; vide. lib. 9, *Centuriar. Historia* xx. In the same chapter he writes, *de septo cordis pervio* in the same person, communicated to him by Dr. Brodleck, professor of Tubinge, in the Duke of Wertemberg's dominions.

I perceave my Lady F. bled, and hath had newe prescriptions; I hope they may be beneficial unto her.

Considering the bitter quality of the *cerumen*, or earewax lining the eare, a man might thinck that horse-leaches would

have litle delight to insinuate themselves into the eare; butt thereof there have been some examples, and Severinus found out a good remedie for it, in a person of Naples, who had one gott into his eare; for to that purpose hee moystend the outward part of the eare; whereupon the leach came out to suck the blood. You may mention it in the discourse about the eare. See *Bartholini, centuria 4ta.*

Men are much in doubt yet concerning the warre; and the proceedings of the Duch seem butt odde. God direct our English counsells for the best.

Tom is much delighted to thinck of the Guild; the maior, Mr. Davey,[9] of Alderhollands,[1] intending to live in Surrey howse, in St. Stephen's, at that time; and there to make his entertaines; so that hee contrives what pictures to lend, and what other things to pleasure some of that parish, and his schoolmaster, who lives in that parish. God blesse my daughter Browne, and you all. Your loving father,

THO. BROWNE.

Mr. Deane Astley, who is your very good freind, and a very civill person, goes for London this next Friday.

For Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, these, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

June 13, [1678.]

DEARE SONNE,

I thought Mr. Tovy and Mr. Peterson had been masters of anat. the last yeare, and that you should have newe ones the next time; butt if otherwise, they may bee considred in the conclusion, for there will bee scarce roome now in the preface; and I beleeve you do not yet knowe who will be master of the company. In the old and new globes

9 Jehosaphat Davey, mayor in 1678.

1 Alldery-holland, Alldery-hallows, All-hallows, or All-saints.

there is some varietie, butt it will be best to followe the newe; so that it may be sayd, *avem scilicet paradisæam, apem Indicam et pavonem.* It was very ingeniously done of Mr. Hally to take such a voyage[2] for the obser . . . . . of the starres about the south pole[3] . . . . . take a particular viewe of them . . . . . and descriptions butt for the sized star . . . . . that the Hollanders have taken a . . . . . thereof. When I was in Oxford, I enquired . . . . . sometimes of my old friend Mr. Halley . . . . . *de usu globi* or *de globis*, who . . . . . Candish's voyage, about the state of . . . . . Polarie starres; and hee sayd they were . . . . . and dimmer comparatively to the north . . . . . was of Christchurch, and after his travels and . . . . . with my Lord of Northumberland in the hous . . . . . lived and dyed in Oxford, living in a friend's howse neere Christ church, and attaining unto great yeares. He writt his booke "*De Globis*" for the sake and information of one of my Lord of Northumberland's sonnes, whom hee had instructed in that waye. Hee came to church constantly, the parish church, which was St. Aldates, commonly St. Fowls, and whether the scollars of Pembroke colledge also went, and had one isle for themselves. Hee was a very good and playne dealing man, and had read Euclide and Ptolemie very accurately, and also Aristotle, whereof wee should often discourse, and I cannot butt remember him with some content. . . . . Mr. Hally will find no newe constellation, ... es not yet obserued, butt may something . . . . . them. I wish him all successe. I remember the repayring of St. Paul's in K. C. the first's . . . . . there was a great summe gathered, butt it happened that a part thereof was employed . . . . . warre against the king; that is what . . . . . found in the hands of treasurers, and . . . . . there is some cause to feare there . . . . . so much gathered this brief, as by the last. . . . . o sectarie is like to give any thing, ... or inconsiderably, for fashion sake; so . . .

[2] He embarked November, 1676, and returned to England in November, 1678. "At his returne (from St. Helena), he presented his Planisphere, with a short description, to his Majesty, who was very well pleased with it; but received nothing but prayse." *Aubrey's Life of Edmund Halley—Letters from the Bodleian*, iii, 366.

[3] A part of this letter is torn away.

. . . . . whole benevolence is like to arise from the . . . . . conformist, and divers of them will be cold towards building of churches,[4] till they thinck their owne bee well secured. Wee heare nothing of late concerning my Lady Felton, perhaps shee hath given over taking any thing this hot season. Mr. Reppes his wife, who was this countrywoeman, is a very good woeman; when you see her present my service unto her, as also unto Mr. Chancellour, Dr. Pepper. Things seeme to go forward and backward, and the parliament is like to sett some time yet.[5] God direct and assist us in all difficulties. Bee carefull of your owne health, as well as of others, especially this hot season. If you can live frugally, and keepe from being engaged for others, you may passe this vncertaine world with some comfort. God blesse you all.

Your loving father,

THO. BROWNE.

DEARE DAUGHTER,

I bles . . . . . is much batter of his coffe . . . . . I writ last: but has bin so loth . . . . . as it was much the wars in the . . . . . sleps very well, and his sta . . . . . I hope the worst is past h . . . . . all loue from . . . . . .

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Aug. 29, [1678.]

DEARE SONNE,

I enquired after Mr. Browne, butt could not heare of him; butt should have been glad to have seen him, and to have been civill unto him. One Mrs. Towe, Madame Repps daughter, of Maltshall, who liveth in London, will come unto

[4] Instead of those destroyed by the fire of London. A bill was brought in, June 1, 1678, to rebuild St. Martin's in the Fields.

[5] The long parliament was not dissolved till January 24, 1678-9.

you. Shee is a very good woeman, and complains of her eyes, and some breaking out of her face. Lett her knowe that I writ unto you when shee commeth. I think shee liveth in Guildhall street. If one Mr. Jones, of the Middle Temple, a yong man splenicall and hypochondr. cometh unto you, lett him knowe that I mentioned him unto you. Mr. Newton's lady, my lady Marie Heveringham's daughter, cometh out of Lyncolnesheere to lyve in London. My lady Bruce, I beleeve, is come before this time. God send her a good time. My cosens Cradock are well; pray my service to my cosen Hobbs. Tom hath been recreated with the assizes. God blesse you all.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

DEARE SONNE,

I had this last weeke som venison,[6] and I putt a platt in to a pott for you, for fare I should not gett any more; but if I had thought of my daughter's time, I would have seasoned it more. I intend to send it the next Friday, in a basket direct sealed to you. I pray latt mee know as neer the time as you can for your cacke,[7] and if I have any more venison I will make you an othar pott. I bless God your Tomy is very well; goose to scolle, and is a very good boy, and delights his grandfather when hee comes home.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

Sept. 8, 1678.

Concerning the mineral waters, it was the Tunbridge which I imitated in this manner: I tooke of Lamb's Conduit

6 The receipt acknowledged in the following letter, which has an *original* date of the year.

7 *Lege*, cake; the accustomed donation on such occasions, and called of yore the *groaning cake;* the custom has, however, long become obsolete, from the progress, be it supposed, of civilization and the march of intellect.

or of any very clear spring water, to every quart of which I put onely one grain, or somewhat lesse, of *vitriolum martis*, whereby there is no way to distinguish it from Tunbridge water, either upon tryalls before, or upon its operations in the body. As for Epson, Dulledge, Northall, Sutor's hill, and Barnet waters, the salt which is in them is cubicall, and most like alume, which I have taken notice of, as they have shot naturally near their springs upon the earth, and alumen counterfits them well; but it must be in a very small quantity, as the former. None of our purging waters strike with galls, or containe any thing which is metalline in them, as of copper, iron, &c.

The *tartarum chalybeatum* may also serve to imitate iron waters; but tarter coming from a vegetable, it cannot be so naturall. Dr. Willis made his chalybeat waters thus:—He mixed salt of tartar and prepared steele, about equall quantities, and set them in a seller; and, when the salt of tartar dissolved, he mixed up the whole into balls, and dryed them, and then powdered them again; which powder he put into water; but many times it would not all dissolve, and was no neat way of performing it; but the powder is a good powder, and the salt of tartar hath taken into itself of the body of the steel.

We received the pot of venison yesterday by the waggons, as also the matts for my sister Fairfax, with letters, and one pound seventeen shillings, and rubands, and other things. I have not yet heard of the gentleman or gentlewoman you wrote me word of. Mine and my wives duty to yourself and my dear mother, and love to my sisters.

Your most obedient sonne,

EDWARD BROWNE.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Jan. xiii, [1678-9.]

DEARE SONNE,

There have been and are still many quartane agues. It is sayd, and not untruely, that quartane agues come

seldome twice in a mans life, if hee hath had one for a considerable time, and that it hath left him for some yeares; or if then a man should have one agayne, it would not last long, nor very many fitts; and I have observed the same verified in many. And I remember old Sir Edmund Bacon fell into a quartane, in the 76 yeare of his age; and I, understanding that hee had a long quartane thirtie yeares before, did encourage him that it would not be lasting; and so it fell out, for hee had butt nine or ten fitts. Butt this last weeke, Mr. Francis Thursby, an acquaintance of myne, of about 45 yeares of age, came to see mee, and that he was [in] a quartane ague, and so had been ever since before Michaelmas, which hee fell into after a spurious tertian fever. Hee sayd hee had thought himself secure from a quartan, hee having had one about seventeen yeares before; in so much that I thought of a distinction, that quartans were some legitimate or genuine,—wch are quartans from the first fitt, and without a preceding disease,—some nothous or spurious, into wch some former distemper hath degenerated. So that the observation is best verified in legetimate quartans; that is, a man very rarely hath two legetimate ones in his life, or if hee had the first long, seldome hath the second for any considerable time. Butt, allthough a man hath had a long legetimate one, hee may, notwithstanding, fall into a spurious quartan, and wch may be lasting; which was his case. Mr. John Earles wife, Sir Ralph Hare's sister, fell into a genuine quartan, when she was yong with child, which held her long, and when shee came to her time shee was delivered of a daughter in the fitt, and the child was so ill that none thought shee would live; butt it grewe better; butt, on the third day, about the hower of its birth, fell into a fitt of an ague, and so agayne the third day after, and that quartane settled and lasted for divers moneths, till she was emaciated to skinne and bone, and was so lowe that shee was fayne to use bathing for a good while; butt she is now of the age of 18 yeares, and a very full yong woeman, I calld to mind this account, because shee dined with mee lately; her father was your loving friend. The elector of Brandenburg's countries seeme to bee in great danger, especially if the emperour makes a

peece without him.[8] For the French haue raysed souldiers for the Swede about Hamburg and Dantzick, the Swedes have also an armie about Koningsberg; the French forces have Aguisgrane[9] and counties about, and tis sayd they intend to send good forces by sea for their relief. God blesse and prosper you all.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

Wee expect a regiment of souldiers out of Flanders, to bee quartered and disbanded in Norwich, butt the wind hath been crosse.

I bless God Tomay is very well, and sends dutty to you and his mother, to Succy, and you and yours. [D. B.]

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Jan. 26, [1678-9.]

DEARE SONNE,

Since I last writt unto you I thanck God I have had good ease as to the payne, butt my feet are very weake, and somewhat swelld. I could make a shift to stand with croches, and I am fayne to write in my bed, so that perhaps I had not writt to you this cold day, butt that I could not well avoyd it. One Mr. Flatman, a cosen of Mr. Thomas Flatman, recommended one William Bland, his neibours or acquaintance sonne, unto him in a letter last weeke. This day wee understood that the parliament[1] was dissolved, wch was very

8 Which happened very soon after. The Emperor Leopold, submitting to necessity, abandoned Brandenburgh and Denmark, and on the 5th of February signed a peace with France and Sweden. But the Elector displayed so much spirit and policy, as to obtain, subsequently, comparatively advantageous terms for himself.

9 Aix la Chapelle.

1 The Long Parliament, dissolved Jan 24, 1678-9.

supprising, and affords men various thoughts upon it. God blesse my daughter Browne, and you all.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Febr. 14, [1678-9.]

DEARE SONNE,

You make often mention of a censors[2] daye, which I suppose is some day sett out for the censor to convene upon the colledge affayres; and when, perhaps, you may have a dinner. If there bee a lecture at the colledge after this sessions it will bee expected that the physitians of the colledge should be there, especially at the opening of the theatre. And, therefore, when you intend at the same time to have a private preparing body at Chirurgeon's Hall, you may have a diversion, and not bee able to bee at the colledge, except you can contrive the buisenesse better then I apprehend as yet. Being arrived so high as censor, it will concerne you to putt on some gravity, and render yourself as considerable as you can, in conversation in all respects. Tis probable there will bee a great number at the lecture the first time, the place being capacious; butt, being read in Latin, very many will not bee earnest to come hereafter, and the place being so large, there are like to bee more spectators than auditors. Your lecture at Chirurgeon's Hall will, I perceive, bee somewhat late this yeare; so that you may bee forced to dissecte the brayne the first day in the afternoon, or the next morning. I writt unto you by my last to read Mr. Duncans way of dissecting the brayne, mentioned in the Transactions of the R. S. last August.[3] Wee heare Sir Jos. Williamson is out

2 Dr. E. Browne was elected Censor of the College of Physicians Sept. 30, 1678.

3 See Phil. Trans. xii, 1013.—Explication novelle et Mechanique des Actions Animales, où il est traité des fonctions de l'ame, &c.—Par M. Duncan, D. en Med. in 12mo, à Paris, 1678.

of his secretarie's place, and my Lord Sunderland putt in, whose acquaintance you might well have continued. Sir Joseph is like to be chosen burgesse for Thetford, as hee was before, and Sir William Coventrie, the other secretarie of the counsell, will be for Yarmouth. Sir Joseph, I beleeve, found his secretarie's place to bee of some danger, for hee could not well refuse to signe what the higher powers would command; and if it were agaynst any lawe, the parliament would question him as they did the last session. I am sorry to find that my Lord Sterling and L. Dunblayne would have been chosen at Abingdon if the designe had succeeded; for thereby tis knowne that my lord treasorer strikes in. On Monday next is the election for burgesses of Norwich; on the same day for knights of the shyre for Suffolk. My Lord Huntingdon, a worthy honest yong gentleman, Sir Lyonell Talmach his sonne, of Suffolk, standeth. Duke Lauderdale maryed his mother. Hee lost it the last time, because, though the gentry were much for him, yet the people feared hee would prove a meere courtier. Sir Samuel Bernardiston also stands, who was knight of the shyre last time and some others. The election is commonly at Ipswich, where the seamen and watermen are very rude and boysterous, and take in with the country party, as they call it. Tom would have his grandmother, his avnt Betty, and Franck, valentines; butt hee conditioned with them that they should give him nothing of any kind that hee had ever had or seen before. God send my daughter Fayrfax a good time. God blesse you all. Your loving father, THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1833.]

Feb. 24, [1678-9.]

DEAR SONNE,

Since you take in the *ungues* in this lecture, I presume you have read and considered what Dr. Glesson sayd

thereof, in his last work; and also anatomically describe them. Riolanus hath a small peculiar tract, "*De Unguibus*," in in his Encheiridion. Hippocrates was therefore so curious as to prescribe the rule in cutting the nayles, that is not longer or shorter then the topps of the fingers. Vide Hippocrates *De officina med.* That barbers of old used to cutt men's nayles is to be gathered from Martial, lib. 3, epigram. 74. You may do well to cast an eye on Martial sometimes *cum notis variorum.* There is much writt, and good expressions therein, and the notes containe much good learning; the conceit and expression will make them the better remembered. *De unguium resectione,* read Bartholin. centuria tertia, cap. 78. Since the differences are so composed among the chirurgions, that the former masters of Anat. will do their office, you have no considerable cause, that I knowe, but that you may speake of them as intended in conclus. if you find no cause to alter. I perceave you have omitted *cerumen* in what you have sett downe of the eare, which [you] must mention and discourse of. God blesse you all.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

DEAR DAUGHTER,

I bless God your deare Tomey is very well. I must trouble you againe for your sister Betty, to bey a paire of sheus, eythar pinke or blew. Your owne shous fitt her very well, and I would desire you to by mee a painted fan, it is for a present; a bought twenty shilens, give raythar under. Wee ar not in hast, so you may tacke your own time, and send them when you have an opertunity, and I shall send you the mony, with that you have alredy lagh out for us. I shall thinke long to here of your sister Fairfax delivery, and hope you will gooe downe to her. I besich God bless you all.

Your affectinat mother,
D. BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

[About the end of Feb. 1678-9.]

DEAR SONNE,

This gentleman, captaine le Gros, come lately out of Bruges and landed in Flanders with his company, which is now quartered in Norwich. Hee had a long and bad passage; hee seemes to bee an honest civill good person, and sayth hee hath seen you and knowes your sister Fayrfax, and Madame Burwell. Hee dined with us to-day, and goeth for London to-morrowe, hee is a Cornish man, and gives the same armes with my old friends the Le Gros his in Norfolk. Hee was merry with little Tomay, and gave him a pretty Flanders toye, of which hee furnished himself with some, to present, I believe, unto children or yong people. Sir Robert Howard and Mr. Oast are chosen for Rising. There is a Duch merchand's sonne . . . . . bought Mr. Cobb's estate of Sanderi . . . . .[4] by Lynne; and is well beloved. I heare very credibly this day, that Sir Thomas Allen's sonne and Sir Philip Skippon bee chosen for Dunwich, in Suffolk. James Johnson will not stand for Yarmouth, but Sir William Coventry will bee chosen . . . . . the competition will bee between . . . . . .

DEAR SONNE,

I have not much to say this night, yet could not omett latting you know wee ar all well, I bless God; and Tomey is very fine, and warm, in his gown, and this day has behaved himselfe so well to on captain Le Gros, which is now com out of Flanders, as hee has presented him with a prity picktur in a silver box. Hee knew your sister Fairfax in Franc, and has seane you att London, and will dooe very sudingly; he goos for London to-morrow. Wee thincke him a very sivell parson. Hee was here abought 17 years since with Madame Burwell. I thought still to latt you know of

[4] Sandringham.

him becaus you might thanke him for Tomey. I besich God bless you and yours. Your affectinat mother,

DOROTHY BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

March 1, [1678-9.]

DEAR SONNE,

Though the *cerumen* bee not sett downe in your catalogue *de partibus internis*, yet I conceive you mention it in your discourse, because it is in *meatu auditorio*, and the place from its melleous consistence and colour called *alveare*. I sett down this following, because it may bee brought in after the description of the eare, or when you speake of deafenesse. "Riolanus observeth, that a man deaf from a bad conformation of the organs of the eare, picking his eare too deepe, unawares peirced the tympane membrane, and moved or broake the litle bones, and afterward came to heare; and, thereupon, proposeth the question, whether such a practise might not bee attempted, which I confesse I should bee very warie to encourage; and I doubt fewe have attempted that course, which hee also proposeth, agaynst the *tinnitus* and noyse in the eares; that is to perforate the *mastoides*, and so to afford a vent and passage unto the tremultuating spirits and winds. Rolfinckius sayth, that from violent causes the litle bones in the eare may bee dislocated, and so deafenesse followe. Bone-setters would be much to seeke on this cure; but the only waye is, by a strong retention and holding of the breath, which may probably reduce them into their proper place; which if it fayleth, incurable surditie ensueth. And, therefore, although wee seeme to knowe and bee well acquinted with the naturall structure and parts of the eare, in sound bodyes, and such as have had no impediment in hearing, yett, because wee do not enquire, at

least butt rarely, into that organ in dead men who have been notoriously deaf, wee may bee sometimes to seeke, in the particular causes of deafnesse; and therefore very reasonable it is, that wee should more often embrace or seeke out such opportunities. For hereby wee might behold the tympane too thick or double in some, the chord or bones not rightly ordered, the *fenestri* or windowes, *cochlea* or *labyrinthus* ill-conformed in others; with other particular causes, which might induce a deafnesse from nativity." You may adde some other, as defects in the auditory nerves.

I presume my cosen Barker is come to London, my humble service unto him. I find Mr. Gay in the catalogue of the elected. Though the common letters, which come from London, come not to Norwich till Tuesday morning, yet the newes letters of coffie howses come to us on Monday, by noone, as being brought on purpose from Beckles, where the Yarmouth post leaveth them. Wee heare by them, that the king approveth not the speaker;[5] and have the king and chancellor's speeches. I presume there was a good appearance at the new theatre, especially of such who understand Latin. God send my daughter Fairfax a good delivery. God blesse my daughter Browne, and you all.

Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

March 5, [1678-9.]

DEAR SONNE,

Though you do not putt *cerumen* into the catalogue, yett it may bee well to speake something of it, in the discourse of the eare, in its proper place. Four regiments are

[5] Seymour, the Speaker to the last Parliament; re-elected by the Commons, instead of Sir Thomas Meres, whom the King desired they would elect.

come out of Flanders, to be quartered about these parts. Sir Christopher Calthorp, Sir Neville Catelyn, and Mr. Briggs, are gone yesterday for London, to the parliament. Sir John Hobart went to London, about ten dayes past. I am sorry my lord Bruce missed the election, yet in a catalogue which I saw, his name was inn. I should bee very sorry so worthy a person as my lord of Aylesbury should bee disobliged. Mr. Briggs his man hath a letter to my daughter Browne, with some muney in it.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

April 2, [1679.]

DEARE SONNE,

You did well to observe Ginseng. All exotick rarities, and especially of the east, the East India trade having encreased, are brought in England, and the best profitt made thereof. Of this plant Kircherus writeth in his *China illustrata,* pag. 178, cap. "*De Exoticis Chinæ plantis.*" I perceive you are litle acquainted with our Norfolk affayres; and knowe not the late differences. Sir John Hobart complayne of some illegall proceedings in the election, and petiond the howse about it; and delivered my Lord Yarmouth my Lord Lieutenant's letter, which hee is sayd to have writt in the behalf of Sir Christopher Calthorp and Sir Neville Catelyn, which was construed as a thrating letter, and sett the howse in such a heat, that they had like to have been presently dismissed the howse. But the farther examination is appoynted about a fortnight hence, and many thinck there will bee a newe election. What will bee the issue wee knowe not, yett wee heare Sir Christ. Calthorp fell sick last weeke, of the small pox. I think hee lodgeth in Westminster. If the election bee made agayne, 'tis sayd parties will stand agayne. Mr. Verdon, keeping no rule and travelling about, hath his ague agayne, and notwithstanding intends to go to

Thetford assises, on Thursday. I dought these election businesses, and the charge that may go along with it, doth something discompose his mind, I perceive you are yet at some uncertaintie of a publick lecture, butt bee provided, for tis very likely they will have one. An old acquaintance, Mr. Shadwell, was with mee at Norwich; hee speaketh well of you, butt wisheth you were not over modest in this world, where that virtue is litle esteemed. I am afraid that unseasonable qualitie makes you decline the friendshippe of my Lord B. of London, which others would thinck themselves happy in. Some say that Mrs. Harmin is much better, butt a weeke ago they sayd shee was in a consumption, and sum decline in it. It was expected every post that the parliament would bee dissolved or prorogued, which cannot now bee so expected, because a proclamation is published for a fast.[6] My service to my cosen Barker, cosen Hobbes, and cosens Cradock. I read a sermon of Dr. Tillotson, preched at the Yorkshire [Feast], December 3, which hee dedicates to the twelve stewards of the company. Wee have not seen Dolfiney yett. Tom remembers his duty and love to his sister. God blesse you.

For Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, these, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

April 25, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

I have litle to write, butt, because I have not writt this week before, I would not omitt a fewe lines. I have had a great cough, which tooke mee about a moneth since, and in a weeke the rheume grewe upe; butt of a sudden grewe thinne agayne, and proved of exceeding molestation, day and night, and the wether all the while was very sharpe, and wind at north-east, butt, God bee thancked, it is now well abated, and butt seldome troublesome. My daughter Betty, —

6 Parliament was prorogued May 27, and afterwards dissolved.

who is very seldome out of health, though she sits often in cold wether five or six hours together in her closett, reading and praying, and in all wethers and seasons, never omitts to go to church, Sundayes and weeke dayes, to sermons and prayers in our parish; — fell into a very extreme cough, whereof, God be thancked, shee is now nerely recovered. I presume your time of reading will be about a fortnight hence; bee therefore provided, and have your speeches *memoriter*, and pronounce them not fast butt distinctly, and like an orator, with their due phrases, and words with their proper emphases. Most of our gentlemen and wittnesses concerning the election, are ether returned or return to morrow. The day of election, for a new choyce of the knights for Norfolk will be on Monday come sevenight. Sir John Hobart, Sir Christopher Calthorpe, and Sir Neville Catelyn stand agayne, and they [say] also Mr. Windham of Felbrigge.[7] There is like to bee very great endeavouring for the places, which will still keep open divisions which were too wide before, and make it a countrey of Guelphs and Ghibellines. I am sorry to find my Lord of Aylesbury left out of the list of the privie counsell, hee beeing so worthy and able a person, and so well qualified for the publick good. Tom presents his duty; my love and blessing unto you all. Your loving father,

THO. BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

April 28, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

A Norwich man in London, sent a letter hither to a friend to this effect, that being at a coffie howse, hee sawe

[7] The house had, after long delays, decided, on the 21st of April, that none of the candidates were duly elected, and fresh writs were accordingly issued on the 22d. But before the new members had time to take their seats, parliament was dissolved; so that, in point of fact, the county of Norfolk was not represented in that Parliament.

Mr. Rob. Bendish, in a high distraction, breaking windowes, and doing outrageous things, so that they were fayne to laye hold of him; what became of him afterwards hee sayth nothing. This came to his father's eare, who is much troubled at it, butt can do very litle for him, having been at great charges for him before. Now if you heare of any such distraction, or what is become of him, you may give a touch therof in any of your letters, butt I would not urge you to bee buisine therein; but I heare my brother Bendish hath allreadie writt to a friend to informe him of the truth thereof, which is like to bee done before you can say any thing in a letter from London. These are the sad ends of many dissolute and governeless persons, who, if they bee of a sheepish temper, runne into melancholy or futaity, and if [they] prove haughtie and obstinate into a maniacal madnesse. I am glad you left Madame Cropley better, you had the opportunity to see the shipps and forts upon the river. I am glad there is so strong a shippe built at Wolleige, and a large shippe a second rate, I wish we had half a dozen of them. The bill against popery is intended to be very severe,[8] butt the howse of lords will moderate it: and whether the king will allowe of it, it is yet uncertaine, or what execution there will bee of it, may yet bee as doubtfull. The deferring of the trial of our election may much incommode the gentlemen who went up for wittnesses, and also encrease the charge, and how matters will bee determined wee are butt uncertaine. Monday is the day appoynted, but whether it will not be putt off to a farther day wee are in doubt.[9] Litle Tom comes loaded from the fayre this day, and wishes his sister had some of them. God blesse you all.

I rest your loving father,

THO. BROWNE.

Take notice of the sea horse skinne.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

[8] A bill for the more speedy conviction of Popish recusants was brought in and read a first time March 27.

[9] On the 21st April, the house had summoned Mr. Verdun, under-sheriff of Norfolk, "to answer his miscarriages and ill practices in electing of knights of the

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

May 7, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

It is not well contriued by the chirurgeons that you are at such vncertainties about your lectures, and it will bee very inconuenient to beginne the lectures on Saturday, by reason of Sunday interuening, and the hard keeping of the body in this warme and moyst wether. Butt I remember you read so once before, butt with some inconueniency. Our election was the last Monday. The competitors were the former elected Sir Christopher Calthorp and Sir Neuille Catelyn, and Sir John Hobart and Mr. Windham. I neuer obserued so great a number of people who came to giue their voyces; but all was ciuilly caryed at the hill, and I do not heare of any rude or vnhandsome caryadge, the competitors hauing the weeke before sett downe rules and agreed upon articles for their regular and quiet proceeding. They came not downe from the hill vntill eleven o'clocke at night. Sir John Hobart and Sir Neuille Catelyn caryed it, and were caryed on chayres about the market place after eleuen o'clock, with trumpets and torches, candles being lighted at windowes, and the markett place full of people. Dr. Brady was with mee that day, who presents his seruice and speakes well of you, and sayth hee was your constant auditor, and sayth yours are very good lectures, and proper to the intention, as being very good and profitable, which they haue rarely been formerly. Hee came with Sir Thomas Hare, of Stowe, Sir Ralph Hare's sonne, and not long of age. Sir Thomas was of Caius Colledge, and brought, they say, four hundred for Sir Neuille and Sir Christopher,[1] and Dr. Brady brought

shire for Norfolk." The said examination was repeatedly postponed, 'till the new election had taken place, and John Jay, the high sheriff, having refused to make a return, was ordered, on the 12th of May, to be taken into custody. On the 24th, Sir T. Hare's petition against Sir J. Hobart's return was presented, and on the 27th, parliament was adjourned, so that neither of the elections was ever settled.

[1] Sir Thomas Hare and others petitioned the House, but unsuccessfully, against the return of Sir John Hobart.

eighteen or nineteen from Cambridge, schollars, who were freeholders in Norfolk. These were the number of the voyces,

Sir John Hobart - - -	3417
Sir Neuille Catelyn - -	3310
Sir Christopher Calthorp	3174
Mr. Windham - - -	2898

I do not remember such a great poll. I could not butt obserue the great number of horses which were in the towne, and conceiue there might haue been five or six thousand which in time of need might serue for dragoone horses; beside a great number of coach horses, and very good sadle horses of the better sort. Wine wee had none butt sack and Rhenish, except some made prouision thereof before hand, butt there was a strange consumption of beere and bread and cakes, abundance of people slept in the markett place, and laye like flocks of sheep in and about the crosse. My wife sent the receit for orenge cakes, and they are comfortable to the stomack, especially in winter, but they must be eaten moderately, for otherwise they may heartburne, as I haue sometimes found, especially riding upon them. Tom presents his duty. God blesse you all. Your louing father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

May 10th, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

If you were upon your lectures on Thursday, or to beginne on Saturday you will haue a more temperate time then might bee hoped, for the wind is this day at north east and the wether coole. If you read, write mee word who were there present, as well as you can obserue or remember, with any other things considerable. I perceaue Mr. F. B. is still writing to render himself considerable, knowne and taken notice of, and so aduance into practise. Butt I pre-

sume the censors found him imperfect in what hee pretends vnto; self conceit and confidence deludes a great number of men, who notwithstanding by boldnesse and forwardnesse and great words among those who vnderstand nothing, make a shift to bustle through and gett money, and thinck highly of themselves, though the knowing world find them empty, and haue butt a mean opinion of them. I perceaue my daughter and sonne Fairfax are like to bee at London the next weeke, God preserue them in health. Hazard not your owne health by any intemperance with H. F. for men who must haue drinck and company are content with any, and are litle obliged by compliance or ioynt intemperance, at least tis soone forgott, and tis the greatest friendship that can bee testified to dehort them from excesse, which destroyes themselues at last, and their children before. They say this is the richest parliament that hath been a long time, and are the more concerned in the welfare of their countrey. They seeme prettie stiffe and resolute. God endowe them with prudence and moderation where it is required. Tom presents his duty: a gentleman at our election asked Tom who hee was for? and hee answered *for all four*. The gentleman replyed, that hee answered like a physitian's sonne. I am glad Mr. Stoakes is like to recouer: perhaps hee was wounded in a duell, tis hard to knowe the way and what parts the sword passed and what parts were wounded. Loue and blessing to my daughter Browne and you all.

Your louing father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

If the Norfolk feast bee kept this yeare, it will be allmost time to looke after venison. Sir John Hobart will bee in London, and is acquainted about London, and my wife shall write to my lady to gett warrant thereabout, where by the way I hope my daughter and yourself returned the visit to my lady.

There are diuers parks about Shiplake, perhaps my cosen Buck, or my sonne Fairfax, or daughter, may do something. Twere good to have a timely resolution of the company, whether there will bee any feast kept or no. There will bee

the more charge because there is no French wine, and so the feast may bee the better omitted.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Wednesday, May 22nd, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

God send my L. Bruce[2] happy successe in his journey. I am glad you have the opportunity to revive your forrayne acquaintance; for which an ingenuous man would embrace every opportunity, and take it as a great contentment to communicate with persons of merit. Aken, I think, is not in the French hands this warre; butt I beleeve my L. must ask the French leave to come unto it. Tis doubtfull, I perceave, whether there will bee a Norfolk feast this yeare; however, if there should bee any, I am glad you are in so good a way for venison. The chirurgeons, in equity should, meethincks, in some measure gratifie you, though you did not read;[3] having made you prepare for the same, and you having been taken up with preparing bodyes in order thereto. I am glad you are so well acquainted with Dr. Millington; hee seemes to bee a person of worth and good parts; and Dr. Lower dedicated his booke "De Corde" unto him. Tis good to take notice, wherein men excell, and to rayse examples of imitation from the same, as farre as every man's genius and proper *Minerva* will enable. Hee that buildeth himself up, by the modell of the best parts of men, is like to become no ordinary man. Wee have litle or no clarett or white wine commonly vendible, butt wee have syder and Rhenish wine and Spanish wines, so that we can make a shift to subsist without French wine. I most feare the want of vineger, which wee cannot bee without; whether wee may supply the want thereof by sack vineger, I knowe not, butt I

2 Thomas, Lord Bruce, afterwards Earl of Aylesbury. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Henry, Lord Beauchamp.

3 The college had determined not to have a lecture this Spring, as appears from a letter, which has been omitted, as containing nothing besides but a medical case.

have tasted some thereof very bresk; and I once steeped elder flowers in sack, and in time it became strong vineger. I should think that Rhenish wine should make good vineger, and probably you eat thereof in Germany, especially where the wines are common; and perhaps in Hungary, they have the vineger of their owne wines; and though the Turks drinck not wine, yet they make use of vineger, for pickles and sawces. Verjuice well made may supply the defect of vineger, and one yeare I tooke the grapes of a vine which afforded butt a sower grape, and such as ripend not, and putt the juice thereof into a runlett, and it fermented, and became a brisk strong verjuice, farre exceeding that which is made of crabbs. I hope you are all in health. God preserve you all.

Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Hydrosaccharum and hydromel, which may be made to what temper wee please, may bee usefull.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

May 28th, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

Your account was good of Toothanage, Tincall, and the fine Japan copper; of Sebets you will scarce gett any account, for Mr. Pierce told mee it was seldome sent into England, and I thinck hee sayd that it came from Arabia, or about Balsara, and it was sent back agayne. I have sent you by Mrs. Alice Peirce, a skinne of the palme of a woemans hand, cast of at the end of a fever, or in the declination thereof; I called it *exuvium palmæ muliebris*, the Latin word being *exuvia* in the plurall, butt I named it *exuvium*, or *exuvia* in the singular number. It is neat and worthy to bee showne when you speake of the skinne. Snakes and lizards and divers insects cast their skinnes, and they are very neat ones;

men also in some diseases, by peeces, butt I have not mett with any so neat as this; a palmister might read a lecture of it; the whole soules of the feet came of, and I have one. I mett with Mrs. Arrowesmith, who tells mee her sonne went with my lord Bruce. Shee desired me to write unto you, that whenever you heard of or from him, you would send me word, that I might informe her of his health, and when you thought hee would returne, and any occurrences you receave. It had been well if my lord had carryed your last booke with him, for it might have been very beneficiall in their travells; your booke speaking so particularly of many remarkables of those parts. Mr. Arrowesmith's mother lives ten miles of; butt his sister liveth in Norwich, at a howse in the hospitall yard. Remember mee to Dr. Short. I hope hee will find some way to staye in London this second time. Wee expect Mr. Deane this night at Norwich. I perceave my daughter Fairfax will staye butt a small time in London. God blesse them all, my service to Madame Barker, my cosens Cradock and cosens Hobbes. Madame Crofts, your constant patient, who now liveth in Hereford, sent unto mee yesturday by Mrs. Pierce, about couching a cataract in her eye. I thinck shee is 76 or 7 yeares of age, and, though shee hath no other way to afford her a litle help, yett I doubt shee will have butt a very dimme sight after it, if the operation should succeed, which she hopes for, by a person of that countrie practicall in that way. I sawe a woeman of 80 yeares, while the cataract was couched in both eyes, and shee had a dimme sight for a yeare after, till shee dyed; it was done by Vanderlas. The ignorance of chirurgeons, as to chirurgecall operations, creates so many mountebanck and stage quacksalvers. Heere hath been a mountebanck these 2 moneths, who cutts for wrye necks, coucheth cataracts, cures hare lipps, &c. wherin no chirurgeon of this place being versed, hee hath had a great deal of employment, to the shame of our chirurgeons. Tom presents his duty. God blesse you all.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court,
next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

May 29, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

Mr. Alderman Wisse went this day to London, with his wife, whose brother, Mr. Utting, keeps the Green Dragon, at Bishopsgate. By him I sent a letter, and a small box, and therein an East India drugge called *sebets* or *zebets* or *cussum sebets*.[5] It was brought from the East Indies by order from Mr. Tho. Peirce, who liveth near Norwich, 1663, who gave mee some divers yeares agoe. Hee sayth that there was considerable quantitie brought into England; butt not being a good commodity, it was sent back agayne; butt he reserved a box full, whereof these I send were a part, hee sayth they in those countries thicken broath with it, and it serveth to make gellies. I never tried it nor knowe whether it bee wholsome, for they looke a little like Ahouai Theveti, or Indian Morris Bells, in Gerard or Johnson's herball, which are sayd to bee poysonous. I send them unto you because you being acquainted with many of the East India company, you may enquire about it and satisfie yourself as well as you can, for perhaps few knowe it, and 'tis good to knowe all kinds of druggs and simples. In the list of commodities brought over from the East Indies, 1678, I find among the druggs Tincal and Toothanage,[6] set downe thus; 105920 Toothanage, 49610 Tincal. Enquire also what these are, and may gett a sample of them. Tom's cuppe was all this while at Mr. Beecroft the caryar's warehouse, who sent it to us on Saturday last, and 'tis indeed a very prettie one, and Tom sends his duty and thancks.

Mr. John Jaye, our high sheriffe, was sent for by the Howse of Commons, for not sending the writts or writings, certifying those who were elected in good time; butt hee fell sick, before the pursuivant came in Norwich, of a fever, and

[5] Probably salep, the roots of orchis, which renders water very thick and gelatinous, and is imported threaded on strings, not unlike one of the figures here referred to. It has never been much used in England.—*Note by Mr. Gray.*

[6] Tutenague, called in this country zinc.—*Gray.*

so the pursivant was fayne to returne this daye or yesterday, with a certificate of his inability to take such a journey, and a promise that when hee shall bee able, hee will bee ready to come up, if they thinck fitt, butt Sir John Hobart and Sir Neville Catelyn are now admitted into the howse, and probably hee will hear no more of it. I do not yet heare that Mr. Verdon and Dr. Hylliard are discharged.[7] Mrs. Verdon went to London, to have her sonne touched; if you see her, remember my service. She was very earnest to have her litle sonne touched, being very hard to admit of medicines. I hope my cosen Barker, my daughters, and you all are well. God blesse you all. Wee are under a great drought heere and want rayne very much; God help us.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

My service to Mr. Deane and his lady, and to Mr. Dobbins, when you see him; my cosens Cradock, cosens Hobbs, and all our friends. Write your letters at the best advantage, and not when the post is ready to go. Wee heare a noyse of the poysoners in France,[8] butt do not well apprehend it, wee, who imitate the French in their worse qualities, may not unlikely follow them in that.

DEAR SISTER FAIRFAX,

I must desire you to put a frame and glas to the pictur, for Mr. Flatman—a very good one; I forgot it in my last: I think both are of a size. If you could help me to a good bunch of gittarre strings, I should be glad. I hear the Italian coock is dead. I am not so good as my word; I thought I had nothing to bey, but I hope you pardon it.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court,
next the Golden Balls, London.

7 They were summoned to the house on the subject of the Norfolk election.

8 This seems to refer to the marchioness of Brinoilliers who was beheaded, and her body burned to ashes, 17 July, 1676, for poisoning her father, two brothers, and divers other persons, in conjunction with one Sainte-Croix. This affair making a great noise, and the public mind being apprehensive of the practice of poisoning being common, a court was established at Paris, in 1679, under the name of La Chambre ardente, for the trial of these offenders; but it is said that this was only a political manœuvre to throw an odium on the enemies of the court.—*Gray.*

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

June 9, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

I beleeve about this time my cosens Barker and Nancy are returning into the country; I pray God go with them and preserve them. There is a pill used in London, and I have seene it used heere, commonly called Mathewes pill, and by some Mathias his pill; the dosis is ordinarily, gr. 8; about 15 years agoe one brought mee a recipe thereof, R. Opii ʒiii. Sal. Tartari ʒß. Sal. Absynthii Mithridatii ʒiii. Hellebori Nigri ʒii. Hellebori Albi ℥v. Spica Ind. ʒiii. Sp. de Germanis ʒii. Sp. Terebinth. ℈ii. some use Sp. Junip. This is very like, but not altogether the same which is now used; therefore I desire you to take care to send the true and used receipt, though probably I shall make litle or no use thereof: 'tis an odde composition. I have heard that Dr. Willis tooke it in his last sicknesse, hee speakes of it in Pharmaceut. Rationalis, page 321. I have heard that some leave out the Hellebores, you may gett the most practised recept. The masse hath a prettie good smell, which may proceed from the Ol. Terebinth. Spica Indic. et Sp. de Germanis, some say that if the Hellebores bee left out it doth not do so well. There was a preparation call'd Sulphur Martis, and formerly I have often used it, butt for some yeares have not had it, nor knowe who prepares it; it was in one of the chymicall bookes you brought from Paris, in octavo, I meane not *Glacier* butt another, who lived then in Paris. God blesse you all. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

DEAR DAUGHTER,

I sent a latter to your sister Farefax, the last weeke, abought my cossen Tenoson's things, with a bill for 20 pounds, 15 for her and 5 for us. I hope it came safe to your hands, I should have sent you this day a bill for 6 pounds for Mrs.

Mary Mires, but I could not gett in, but by the next post I shall; the meane time I must tell you what it is wee desire you to bey for her. A manto gown and 5 yards of sage-coulard satten, not the best, you may know bey the price, but if this be not innufe, what you ade more she will be willing to alow. Sum othar thing, I thinke, will dooe batter then that which Frankes is of; I wish that had some colors in it, for the goold att a litle distance, goos but for buf-colard silke. I pray latt us have this as soone as you can conveanantly. If it be to be had at my cossen Cradock's, bey it thar; if not, whar you please. I hope you thinke of Tomey briches, against the assise; for wee shall bee out of all manar of lyning by that time, that is to be worne with cotts. He growes a beawx tall boy, and will be much a man. Wee have hat . . . . . my lord Maidston have had in very . . . . . from London . . . . . .

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

June xi, [1679.]

You say your booke is like to bee re-printed, probably the first part, not the second, which was printed since some additions would bee made. I writt one to you concerning Hippocrates, that hee practised in Thessalie, and mentions diuers particulars of Larissa; and therefore tooke out that paper, and if you haue lost it, giue mee notice, for that is a materiall obseruation especially unto physitians and schollars.

Tis an odde passage concerning the French kings getting Sauoy and Piedmont into his hand for money, and will concerne many states and make them looke about them. Though hee had a good army, yet tis thought hee hath preuayled much by his money in all the warre and current of his affayres.

This rising in Scotland falls out unhappily att this time. Many may wish that the parliament were setting, butt some jealous people will thinck that this may rather hinder their sitting.

I am glad the buisinesse succeeded so well at Halstead, in Kent. Miles about London are short, and 4 horses go farre in a summers daye. Sir Joseph Ash whose daughter my lord Townshend maryed, is a parliament man, butt of the west country and about Bristowe. I knewe well one Mr. Abraham Ashe, who was a Russia marchant, who dyed neere xxx yeares since. Perhaps hee might bee related unto this familie. It was a good rencounter to meet with Mr. Ash, who had trauelled in those parts which you haue discribed, and if hee had read them might haue been some light and information unto them. Mr. Soames may bee re-called from Turine, since the prince is dealing with the French about it. Haue a care of your health this hott season. Tom presents his duty. Loue and blessing to my daughter Browne and you all.

Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

June 28, [1679?]

DEAR SONNE,

I heard that some shipps passed by Yarmouth, with souldiers in them for Scotland, six or seven dayes past, and the coffie and common news letters tell us something of the rebellion in Scotland, butt I think very imperfectly. A litle more time will better informe us of that buisinesse; and they are like to bee more effectually dealt with and brought to reason, by the English forces, when there shall bee a sufficient number of them in Scotland; for the rebells hope, and others doubt, whether those of their nation will fight heartily agaynst them; for tis sayd there are more discontented in

Scotland than those in armes. So that this may bee a coal not so soon quenched; though it was begun by the lowest sects, yet the Scots are very tenacious of the Protestant religion, and have entertained feares and jealousies of dessignes to introduce the Roman, from their observation of the affayres in England; and are not like to bee quieted long, without a parliament. And if that should bee broake of to their discontent, they would bee contriving agayne, and the English parliments would bee butt cold in suppressing them. When the duke of Monmouth giveth a further account, wee may see farther into the buisinesse. When the wether proves cold and fitt for dissections if you have opportunity, take notice of a beare; tis commonly sayd that a beare hath no breast bone, and that hee cannot well runne downe a hill, his heart will so come up toward his throat. Examine therefore the pectorall parts, and endeavour to find out the ground of such an opinion at opportunity. I once dissected a beare which dyed in Norwich, and I have the lower jaw and teeth; tis a strong animal, hath notable sinewes and teeth.

This day one came to showe mee a booke and to sell it; it was a *hortus hyemalis*, in a booke, made at Padua, butt I had seen it above thirtie years ago, and it containes not many plants. You had a very good one or two if you have not parted with them. Love and blessing to my daughter Browne and you all.

Your loving father,
THO. BROWNE.

DEARE DAUGHTER,

I have received all the things, to the great content of the owners, who returne you many thankes. Thay ar indeed very well chose things of all sorts: and I give you many thanks for the troble you have had with them: I sent you Tomey's scurt and long slevs of his ould cott; I hope you have them. On Mr. Felden it semes took it last Wadinsday, and sayd hee would deliver it him selfe. Wee dayly wish for the new cloths; all our linen being worne out but shefts, and Tomey would give all his stock to see his briches.

I bless God wee ar all well as I hope you ar. Tomey presents his dutty, your sisters all love and services.

Your affectinate mother,

DOROTHY BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

July 4, [1679.]

DEARE SONNE,

Tis somewhat unreasonable to have an anatomie lecture at this time of the yeare, and I scarce beleeve the assistants will persist in their resolution; however it is good to be readie and prepared, if they must needs have one: it were better in Michaelmas terme. I have not heard a long time any thing concerning, or from the R. S. That which you mention of Monsier Papin[9] would bee farther enquired into and the way of it, may-bee, how it is performed, for it may bee usefull. There was one Papin, a Frenchman, who wrote *De pulvere sympathetico* about 20 years ago.[1] You say the bones are softened without any liquor, that is, as I understand, without beeing infused or boyled in any liquor, and therefore I suspect it must bee effected by humid exhalation or vapour, by being suspended or placed in the vapour, so that it may act upon the body to bee mollified. According to such a kind of way as in that which is called, the philosophicall calcination of hartshorne, made by the steeme of water, which makes the hartshorne white and soft, and easily pulverisable; and it is to bee had at some apothecaries and chymists; and whether a fish boyled in the steeme of water

9 Papin exhibited to the Royal Society, on the 22d May, 1679, bones softened by a new method. He afterwards published a work on the subject. "The New Digester; or the Engine for the softening of bones, by Denys Papin, F.R.S." 4to. Lond. 1681. Evelyn (in his Diary, by Bray, vol i, 542) has given an amusing account of a most philosophical supper of flesh and fish, cooked in M. Papin's digestors.

1 Nicholas Papin, father of the preceding, who wrote "La Poudre de Sympathie defendue contre les objections de M. Cattier." 8vo. Paris, 1651.

will not have the bones soft, I have not tried. Whether hee useth playne water or any other, mixed or compounded, any spirituous steeme, wee are yet to learne. The steeme of common water is very piercing and active, the steemes in baths likewise, and also the fume of sulphur. You have seen a sweating tubbe of myne whereof the figure is in Loselius "*De Podagra*," a booke in duodecimo; wherein the steeme of the water doth all, as in some the steeme of *aqua vitæ*. Write agayne of Papin's farther experiments. My service to Dr. Grewe. The large egge with another lesser within it was a swann's egge which I sent divers yeares past unto the Royal Societie. I had before met with an egge within an egge, as in hennes egges and turkey's egges. I kept any I found in that kind, in a box inscribed *ovula in ovis*. At last I met with a swan's egge of that kind, which I presented unto the R. Societie, having never before nor since mett with another from a swanne. Tom presents his duty. Love and blessing to my daughter Browne. Wee can hardly avoyd troubling her, from the importunity of friends, to buy things in London. Little Susan, I beleeve is returned out of the country. Wee cannot have a bill from Mr. Briggs before Monday, when, God willing, it will be sent. Yesterday was a fayre butt windy day, a fire beginning at a dyer's howse in Dearham, a markett towne, the greatest part of the towne was burnt downe.

GOOD DAUGHTER,

I must troble you once more abought my cossen Tenoson. She would macke a manto gown of the grene and whight silke you sent down for a peticot, but she wants two yards, and as much slit grene sarsinat as will line it in sight. I pray send nurs to gett it and lett mee know what it com to, and I will send you the mony. I sayes my cossen Cradock might send it to me by the choch for she would have it as sonne as possible. I bless God wee ar all in helth, and Tomey much longing for his briches.

Your affectinat mother,

DOROTHY BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

July 5, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

I received yours, for which I thanck you. Mr. Payne tells mee that Madame Doughtie his daughter is gone or going unto Tunbridge, and sayth shee is much obliged to you for your kind and faithfull respects unto them. Shee is a good woeman butt fearfull and dubious, and hee a good ingenous gentleman and hath a good estate. I had yesterday the dissection of a porpesse discribed by Dr. Tyson; you knowe you were at the dissection of a dolphin when Dr. Clark was here, your brother drewe a dolphin and a porpesse that wee might see the difference between them, which is not great. Scaliger putt a difference in the *rostrum.* Aristotle sayth that a phocena or porpesse *est rostro latiore colore cæruleo.* Old Mr. Whitefoot intends to bee in London the later end of next weeke, and if the Norfolk feast had held, would have offered you a sermon; butt I beleeve these times will scarce give encouragement. It raynes here every day, and all the meadowes have been under water these twelve dayes, so that haye will be a deere commodity, most of the medowe haye fayling. Madame Burwell gave mee a handsome medall of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey's murder. God blesse you all.

Your loving father,

THO. BROWNE.

Tomey have receved his cloues, and is much delighted, and sends you and his mother and grandmother dutty and thanckes, and meanes to war them carfully.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

[July 7, 1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

Perhaps by this time you have inquired farther into the art of softening of bones. Consider that *hydrargyr.* softeneth *nodes* and takes of *exostoses:* and as I remember Riolan saw the bones of a dead body cereous or somewhat soft like wax, which hee thinkes was a body infected with the lues, butt I know not whether mercureall meanes had been used. Quicksylver brings gold into a soft and pappy substance, by an *homalgama.* Bones were soft at first, and solids have been fluid; butt probably the artist only showeth the experiment or *quod sit,* affording litle light how to effect the same. Tis not improbable that the king will knowe it, and so that it may in time become a common culinary practise. I am not so well contented that you should bee putt to read lectures at this time of the yeare, butt if they will insist upon it, it cannot well bee hindred. The bill is enclosed.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

This bill taketh too long time; I will endeavor to take no more payable so long after.

I heare that there are 2 elephants in London, when you have opportunity and leasure to see one, observe this well and safely what Julius Scaliger sayeth, Comment in Hist. Animal. lib. 2.

Love and blessing to my daughter Browne and you all. If Mr. Goodall cometh our circuit, and next terme, wee shall not, God willing, forgett to bee kind unto them, and wee shall all bee glad to see Mr. Henry. Mr. Whitefoot, I beleeve, is in London, my cosen Townshend comes out of London this day. You did well to have him at your howse.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

July xviii, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

I am very glad and blesse God to heare that you are prettie well agayne. Many heere have had the like trouble, especially such as to satisfie their thirst drincke inordinately in hot wether, or exceed in eating of fruits, or odde or mixed dishes, butt such as ouercome it haue vsually a more confirmed measure of health after it. I am sorry Dr. M. was so suspensory, irresolute, and dilatory, which is hardly auoidable in his temper, for which I cannot butt pity him; and being otherwise a good natured person, men must haue patience and beare with him therein, and afford the best content and satisfaction to his doubts that may bee. Probably an apothecary, with your directions might haue suffised, butt tis like some recommended Mr. Zwoule vnto him, whose employments will not giue him self to attend sufficiently, or satisfie his feares and doubts. You must do your best; take the more paynes to relieue a doubtful mind, and hee must also haue the patience to attend the longer in so considerable a concerne, especially since hee hath lost time as to the beginninge, and the fuller prosecution may proue his great advantage and safety; and so, with my seruice, you may tell him from mee. I thinck I haue heard of Mr. Browne, whom you mention in your letter, and in a former letter from your selfe. It seemes hee is one that hath ingenuity to his riches, and such men are to bee valued and obserued. Omitt not [to] enquire further after Mr. Papin's experiment. I told it to some who wondred much at it, and wishd mee to enquire further of it, beside I take litle pleasure to drinck of the waters of knowledge, *instar canis ad Nilum*, as the prouerb, "a lick and away," if I can help it. Some doubt whether the bones or hornes softened will not returne unto their hardnesse agayne. The dissolution of parliament[2] . . . . . vnexpected heere.

[2] Prorogued May 27th; dissolved July 12th, 1679.

Some thinck the . . . . . of York is coming ouer. Colonel . . . . . will be one of our burgesses, the sec . . . . . not yet fully resolued on. Mr. Briggs . . . . . neth it as yet. In the county tis . . . . . there will bee greater contention . . . . . For Thetford, Sir Joseph Williamson, ... Mr. Harbord are like to bee chosen . . . . . and the same men agayne for Lynne . . . . . Turner and Mr. Taylor. I cannot say wh . . . . . they will elect the same agayne . . . . . a litle time will afford coniecture, po . . . . . they will not much alter in London. I . . . . . you did not reade lectures this hot season. . . . . blessing vnto my daughter Bro . . . . . and you all.

Your louing father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

Tom is to hot, and looks as though something would breake out. Hee useth many times to haue litle specks breake out in his face, which remayne for a few dayes.

Sir Christ. Calthorpe and Sir N. Catelyn, Sir John Hobart and Mr. Windham stand agayne.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Aug. *22*, [1679.]

DEARE SONNE,

The epitaphe of Carolus Clusius, the famous physitian and hearbalist, would not bee left out. Joseph Scaliger, the sonne of Julius, was also a very learned and famous man, butt his epitaphe may probably bee too large, and also it may be omitted. God blesse you all; from

Your louing father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

Thetford, Lynne, Rysing, haue chosen the same persons agayne; wee are like to do the same in Norwich. Yarmouth chose yesterday England and Huntington. William

Coventry, who was one before, not being willing to bee chosen. Our day is next Monday. They say Sir Philip Skippon will bee chosen for Dunwich, butt the temper and inclination of the nation will bee best judged by the generall choyce of knights of the shyres and counties.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Sept. *22*, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

Mr. B. the scrivener being so civill vnto you, it will be good prudence to preserve his friendshippe, and to encrease it into a closer unitie, whereby you may have a true friend to make bold with upon occasion, hee having such relations or friends, which may do you a pleasure. And if hee bee an honest and courteous man, hee may bee worth your conversation. When Sir Leoline Jenckins comes over,[3] I doubt not butt you will wayt upon him, and not let your acquaintance decay or slippe away for want of maintaining it. I hope you have by this time received the partridges, for Mr. Saygett tells us that they were left behind, and that hee sent them by his coache which would bee at London on first Saturday, so that you may enquire after them. However wee have provided another pott, which wee intend to send by the next carte, on Friday. God blesse you, my daughter, and you all. Tom, God be thancked, is well.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

I hope you have receaved the hare bones, which I returned by Mr. Marshall, of the Lamb.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

[3] He returned from the Congress of Nimeguen in August, 1679.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Octob. 2, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

My daughter Fairfax still complaineth that our letters to her miscarry, and that shee hath not receaved our letters for some weekes. I wish wee could tell where they miscarry; the post used to bee a sure way, and wee direct them to bee left at one West, a buchers house, in Reading; if shee knoweth any more certaine way, I wish wee were acquainted with it. There goes also a caryar from London to Reading, butt how sure a way that is wee knowe not; her letters come safe to Norwich. I heard this daye that there was a warrant from the counsell, directed to the baylives of Yarmouth, to stoppe and apprehend a man for some treasonous designes, butt what I knowe not; probably tis better knowne in London. In the newes letters last weeke there was a report of a printer, that was in prison for printing some seditious booke. Mr. Man, a friend of Mrs. Browne, of Colney, was lately in Norwich, and did mee the favor to dyne with mee. I presented my service to madame Hunt. His majestie commeth this day to Newmarkett; and I shall have occasion to write unto sirjeant Knight, and send certificates for the evill for divers. I am sorry to heare that my old friend Sir Alex. Fraisier droopes so much. I heare that Dr. Briggs is going or gone to live in London; perhaps it might bee better for your affayres if hee went not these two or three yeares yet. I think Dr. Croone hath printed some booke of the muscles; whether a serious or particular tract thereof, or bare enumeration, as I find in some litle bookes, I knowe not. Riolanus is esteemed to have done very well on that subject. . . . . .

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court,
next the Golden Balls, London,

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Octob. 6, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

Wee heare that his majestie was to leave Newmarket on last Saturday,[4] being desired to come to London by the privie counsell. Upon what occasion wee knowe not, butt most men are well contented that hee should not staye at Newmarket, so long as it was given out that he intended; for the country is still sickly, the wether uncertaine, and it rayneth allmost daylie; so that the cheif diversions are within doores, by cockfiting and playes. The players being so numerous that they have sent out a colonie to Bury, of whom a lady, who was there at a play, gave mee a very tragicall and lamentable description. That honest heartie gentleman, Mr. Cotterell, was on Saturday at my howse, who told mee you were with his children, who were very ill; when you see his lady present my service unto her, hee came with my lady Adams. There was also Mr. Colt who belongeth to prince Rupert, who sayd hee sawe you lately, I thinck with Dr. Needham, also madame Prujeane, who maryed Sir Francis Prujeane's grandson, and liveth at Hornechurch, in Essex, ten miles from London; and others. Wee newly heare that Sir Robert Clayton[5] is chosen L. maior. I heare that hee and Mr. Morrice have been noted scriveners, and gott great estates; and so Mr. Browne may have the neerer acquaintance with them. Some scriveners in London gett great estates, butt when they dye many have lost great summes by them, they having purchased estates with other mens money, and so ordering the matter that others cannot recover their money. This was observable in the rich scrivener, Mr. Child, butt it may bee good to have friends who have ac-

4 Evelyn (Memoirs, vol. i, 512) mentions the king as then newly returned from Newmarket, Oct. 23rd, 1679.

5 This prince of citizens, as Evelyn calls him, had served the office of sheriff in 1672, was chosen mayor, Oct. 1679, and represented the city in the parliaments of 1678, 79, 89, 95, 1700, 1701, and 1705, in which year he died.

quaintance with my L. maior. This day beginneth St. Fayths fayre, the greatest in these parts; and Tom should have had a sight thereof, butt that it hath proved so very raynie wether. In your travells you say St. Veit or St. Fayth, perhaps Veit may signifie fayth in High Duch, butt St. Fayths day in the almanach, when our fayre is kept, was *sancta fides*, a holy virgin of Agen, in France, unto whom many churches were dedicated; as St. Fayth under St. Pauls, and others. I do not at present remember any churches wch beare the name of Sanctus Vitus or St. Veit in these parts. I wish wee were now at peace with the Algerines; they are now too well provided to be forced by us, and there will bee great number of captives to be redeemed, and what care can bee taken for it is doubtfull, considering all things. God give you health and grace to serve him all your dayes. Loue and blessing to my daughter Browne, and litle Susan, and you all. I beleeve your troublesome office of censor is growing now towards an end.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

My lord of Arundell, eldest sonne to my L. duke of Norfolk, when he was at Norwich, did, a fortnight past, give mee a visit. Hee went to church at Christchurch, and was at prayers, and sermon, and dined with Mr. Bish. . . . . was wayted upon at his lodging by . . . . . my L. duke hath taken away all things at the dukes palace, so hee was fayne to take a seperate lodging; no good correspondence between them upon the account of giving all the . . . . . to the . . . . . [6]

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

[6] Probably the library and marbles, which the duke had presented to the Royal Society and the University of Oxford; a donation not unlikely to give umbrage to the duke's family.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Wednesday, Octob. 29, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

I am glad to understand that you returned from Cobham[7] on Friday, and I hope my lady O'Brian, and Sir Jos. Williamson[8] are in a way of recovery, though I cannott butt conjecture that one or both were very ill; and perhaps of the common distemper, which in many hath a very long declination and subject to relapses. This letter commeth by my good neibours Mr. Briggs[9] and Mrs. Briggs his wife; shee hath an intention to bee touched by his majestie, pray vewe the tumor on the outside of her throat, which shee sayth still groweth bigger, and though it bee not the common evell, yet the king toucheth many in the like case, and therefore direct her to some of the king's chirurgeons. I doubt Dr. Knights is not well, for I writt to him when the king was at Newmarkett, butt never heard any thing from him, and I am afrayd my honest friend Mr. Pearce may go with the duke to Scotland; and if so, pray find out some others, for probably you may bee acquainted with some who may bee assistant in this particular. Remember my service to my cosens Hobbs, cosens Cradock, and all our friends. Your sisters and Tom had ill luck to come when you were so long out of the towne, and I heare your sister Fairfax will soone come also. I doubt not butt you will bee kind unto them all. Playne dyet and a kinde wellcome will serve their turnes. Love and blessing

[7] The Duke of Richmond's seat.

[8] Sir Joseph Williamson was keeper of the Paper Office at Whitehall; in 1665 he became under secretary of state, and was knighted in June, 1677. In 1674 he became secretary of state, which office he held four years. He represented Thetford and Rochester in several parliaments. He was first chosen president of the Royal Society, Nov. 30, 1677, and was re-elected in the two following years. In Dec. 1678, he married Catherine Obrien, baroness Clifton, widow of Henry, Lord Obrien, sister and sole heiress to Charles, Duke of Richmond. Sir J. W. died in 1701.

[9] The brother of Dr. Briggs. See following letter.

to my daughter Browne. With my thancks for her care and kindnesse, I rest

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Novemb. 3, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

I would not longer deferre to write unto you, as hoping by this time your buisinesse at Cobham and long visits are over; and that you may have some time to bee in London, while your sisters staye in London, which now is not like to bee long, if it shall please God to send them health. My cosen Rotherham, and Mr. Stubbs of Trinitie colledge, were in Norwich, and dined with mee on Saturday. They spoake with a great deale of kindnesse and respect of you, and desired to have their services presented with their true and heartie loves. I sent you a pretty opteck booke, by Mr. Briggs;[1] it may bee usefull and is butt compendious butt with figures for illustration. I am well content that the yeare of your censorshippe is over, and I hope you will not have any trowblesome place in the R. S. this yeare. I doubt not butt you will bee kinde and loving unto your guests, as my daughter Brown hath been; a kinde and heartie reception will bee more acceptable unto them then the best table entertaine. Tom eats butt of playne and fewe sorts of meats, and is [in] some action perpetually, or doing of something. I have been fayne to hire him to sitt still half an hower. I am glad to heare litle Susan is a good girle. God blesse them both, and you all.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

[1] Ophthalmographia, by W. Briggs, M.D. 8vo. Camb. 1676.

My wife made lately a pretty sage wine, with water and sugar boyled together, well skimmed, then infused bruised sage two dayes in it, and wrought it up with yest, beat up with juice of lemon, and so keep it in a vessel three weekes, then drawe it out into bottles, putting into every bottle [a] peece of loaf sugar; and it will keep about a yeare, butt may beginne to drinck it in a fortnight. It may bee good liquor for the head, and you may have the recipe; it may bee also made of drye sage.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court,
next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Novemb. vii, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

I am glad at last to understand that you returned about twelve dayes agoe from Cobham hall, and that my L. O. Bryan is come to London; her brother the duke of Richmond was a good natured brisk man, and was at my howse twice, when hee came to Norwich. It is sayd also that shee is a fine courteous lady. Sir Joseph hath also the repute of [a] worthy and highly civill gentleman, and is not probably without a good study of bookes; being now president of the R. S. and having been a student of Queens Colledg, in Oxford, and as a benefactor, hath rebuilt a part of that old colledge. I find by your description, that Cobham hall is a very notable place, and few to compare with it; so that, in your long staye, you might have somewhat within or without to divert you. The many excellent pictures must needs bee recreative; the howse also in St. James's square is a noble one and not many exceed it. Butt I am exceedingly sorry for the death of that worthy honest gentleman, Dr. Jaspar Needhame,[2] and the colledge will have a great losse of him. Have a speciall care of your owne health; under the

[2] He died Oct. 3, 1679, aged 57.—*Evelyn's Memoirs*, I, 512.

providence and blessing of God, there is nothing more like to conserve you, and enable you to go about, and wach, and to mind your patients, then temperance and a sober life. And 'tis not unlikely that some of the Drs. patients may fall to your share. Bee kind to Mr. Austin Briggs and his wife, daughter to old Mr. Cock the miller, a good woeman, and a lover of Tom, and our kind neibours both of them, although Mr. Briggs owne brother in London, Dr. Briggs, may do much for them. All the noyse heere is of the new plot, sett up to make nothing or litle of the former, which I perceave no contrivance can effect. I am sorry Mr. Gadbury is in trouble,[3] upon erecting of schemes and calculating nativities, and, as I remember, it is high treason to calculate the nativitie of the king, especially when procured by ill designers. Service to Madame Burwell, my lady Pettus, Sir Will. Adams, and his worthy lady, who went towards London yesterday, and shee intends to call at your howse very soone. Remember mee to my cosens Cradock, cosens Hobbes, Mr. Nathan Skoltowe, when you see him, and all our friends. To my sonne Fairfax, my daughter Fairfax, Betty, Frank, Tom, and Sukey. My daughter Fairfax and litle one, I believe, is not in London. God blesse you all, and be loving and kind together. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Love and blessing to my daughter Browne. Service to my sister Whiting, Mr. Whiting, Mr. Boone, &c.

DEARE DAUGHTER,

I thanck God for your latter, and shall be so glad to see my Tomey returne in helth though ever so durty; hee knows fullars earth will cleane all. I besich God of his mercy blesse you all. Your affectinat mothar,

DOROTHY BROWNE.

Thes for Docter Browne, att his hous, in Salisbery Court, at the Black Balls, in the Square, London.

3 The celebrated astrologer, who was apprehended on a charge of treasonable practices.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Nov. 17, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

I hope my good daughter Brownes trouble is over, and you enjoye your privacy agayne. Betty having sent us word that they intended to come away on Monday, and to bee in Norwich, on Wednesday. God send they may bee able to undertake the journey, being under such coughs. And I beseech God to send you your owne health, and that you take a reasonable care for it, as also my daughter Browne, who may bee not a litle discomposed by the trouble and care shee hath been under, and may now have leasure to looke after litle Susan. I hope my lady O. Bryan is by this time in a good way of recovery; if shee falls not into a quartan ague, as very many do at last, who have had the common distemper; but it now growes late in the yeare, and very fewe quartans take so late, and rarely after the solstice. I have knowne winter quartans and after the solstice, but they have ended at the spring and early; vernal quartans I have knowne, butt they have been short, and some scarce three weekes, and therefore, Hippocrates truly sayth, *quartanæ autumnales long*. Many quartans this yeare beginne double, and some surely treble, for I observe that divers complayne of a quotidian, or every day ague, which at last proves a quartan or third ague, as they call it heere, and so ether was a treble quartan at first, or degenerated into one after. When Hippocrates sayth that a quartan is the securest of agues, hee meanes a legitimate and genuine quartan, for of nothous and spurious quartans which degenerate out of others, divers dye, and some before Christmas. Divers have allready fallen into excessive hæmorrhagies, which hath notoriously abated the fitts, and in a manner taken them away, and have not yet fallen into dropsies, which if it happens to old men, they seldome escape a pernicious dropsie. I remember a yong man in this towne tooke, by a friends advice, *mercurius dulcis* in a quartan of 6 weekes standing, without intention of sali-

vation, but hee fell into it, for about 3 weekes, and during that time hee had no fitts, but when that ceased, the ague returned agayne. I remember also a woeman who, being thirstie in a quartan ague, called for a bottle of beere in the windowe; butt the servant in hast brought her a bottle of physick which stood in the windowe; and shee dranck a good draught, and vomited much, and black, and the ague left her; this was about the spring. Shee was my brother Bendish's mother, who discovered not the error at first, but vomiting such black matter, all dispayred of her. I suppose sir Jos. Williamson will bee chosen president agayne. God blesse you all. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

My wifes cold is better, and shee remembers to you both, &c.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Nov. 24, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

The feverish and aguish distempers, which beganne to be common in August, are now very much abated, and few fall sick thereof; only there are very great numbers of quartans; tis also a coughing time. Extraordinarie sickly seasons woorrie physitians, and robb them of their health as well as their quiet; have therefore a great care of your health, and order your affayres to the best preservation thereof which may bee by temperance, and sobrietie, and a good competence of sleepe. Take heed that tobacco gayne not to much upon you, for the great incomodities that may ensue, and the bewiching qualitie of it, which drawes a man to take more and more the longer hee hath taken it; as also the *ructus nidorosus,* or like burnt hard eggs, and the hart burning after much taking at a time, and also the impayring of the

memorie, &c. I am glad you like a playne dyet; affect butt ordinarie sawces. I thanck you both for the *psoe*,[4] which I desire to see, butt I beleeve it may render the blood more apt to ferment, and bee distemperd, and unquiet, and our owne sawces are best agreeable unto our bodyes. There is a book in a middle folio, lately published by Paul Ricaut, esqr. of the lives of Morat or Amurat the fourth, of Ibrahim, and of Mahomet the fourth, present emperour. In this are delivered the taking of Newhewsell, the battail at St. Goddard, the fights between count Souches and the visier of Buda, actions of Nicholas Serini, his burning the bridge of Esseck, the Grand Signors being at Larissa, the seidge of Candia, &c. and things acted in late times, which might not bee unpleasant unto yourself when you have time to cast your eye upon that booke. I am glad you did not read at Chirurgeon's hall, last yeare, because thereby you are provided for this. I am sorry for the death of your neibour, honest Dr. Needham. I doubt hee thought himself still a yong man, and so took the paynes of a yong man, and so acted beyond the shere of abillity of body: *sed quosdam "nimia congesta pecunia cura strangulat:*" Juvenal. God blesse you, my daughter Browne and you all. Present our service and thancks to Mr. Boone and Mrs. Boone, my cosens Hobbes, my cosen Cradock, Madame Burwell, Mrs. Dey, and all friends.

DEAR SONNE,

I give you and my good daughter many thankes for your great kindnes to your sisters. They are very sensable of it, and Tomey very much ashamed that he behaved himselfe no better, but hops hee shall the next time, Hee is now as sivell as I can wish him, and spends much of his time with grandfather. I know but on fault hee has, which is for his bouk, and that I quston not but wee shull give you sonne a better account of. I besich God of his mercy bless you all.

Your affectinat mother,

DOROTHY BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

4 Probably "soy."—*Gray.*

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Nov. 28, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

I receaved yours. I am glad to heare wee have so many shipps launched and hope there may bee more before the spring. God send faythfull, valiant, and sober commanders, well experienced and carefull; above all, if places bee sould or given by favor only, such virtues will concerne butt contingently. The French are a sober, diligent, and active nation, and the Duch, though a drincking nation, yet managed their warre [more] carefully and advantageously then the English, who thought it sufficient to fight upon any termes, and carry too many gentlemen and great persons to be killed upon the deck, and so encreaseth the number of the slayne and blott their uictories. Pray represent my service to sir John Hinton when you see him, tis a long time agoe since I had the honour to knowe him beyond sea. Mr. Norborne maryed sir Edm. Bacons daughter, who was [a] very good lady, and dyed last summer, and I thinck hee was a member of the last parliament. Performe your businesse with the best ease you can, yet giving every one sufficient content. I beleeve my lady O. Bryan is by this time in better health and safetie; though hypochond and splenitick persons are not long from complayning, yet they may bee good patients and may bee borne with-all, especially if they bee good natured. A bill is inclosed; *espargnez nous autant que vous pourres, car je suis age, et aye beaucop d'anxieté et peene de sustenir ma famille.* God send my L. Bruce well in France and well to returne, surely travelling with so many attendants it must bee a great charge unto him. Dr. Briggs wrote a letter to mee concerning the *bronchocele* of his sister who was touched. Your mother and sisters remember to you, and Tom presents his duty. God blesse you all. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Dec. 9, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

Wee are all glad to understand that the bill of mortallety decreased so much the last weeke; for people were fearefull that there might bee somewhat pestilential in the disease. The sentences of Cateline's conspiracy were, I beleeve, much taken notice of, and were very apposite to our present affaires. Wee understand the king hath issued out a proclamation for all papists or so reputed to depart from London ten miles; which makes men conceive that the parliament will sitt at the prefixed time. I sawe the last transactions, or philosophicall collections of the R. S.[5] Here are some things remarkable, as Lewenhoecks finding such a vast number of litle animals in the melt of a cod, or the liquor which runnes from it; as also in a pike or . . . . . ; and computeth that they much exceed the number of men upon the whole earth at one time; though hee computes that there may bee thirteen thousand millions of men upon the whole earth, which is very many. It may bee worth your reading, as also that of the vast inundation which was last yeare in Gascoigne, by the irruption of the waters out of the Pyrenean mountaines; as also of a flying man, and a shippe to sayle in the ayre, wherin here are some ingeneous discourses; likewise the damps in coale mines, and Lorenzini, a Florentine, concerning the torpedo; beside some other astronomicall observations. God blesse you all. Your mother and sisters send their respects, and Tom his duty.

Your loving father,

THO. BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

5 See "Hooke's Philosophical Collections," published in 1679, &c. in which will be found all the subjects of which notice is here taken.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

Dec. 15, [1679.]

DEARE SONNE,

Some thinck that great age superannuates persons from the vse of physicall meanes, or that at a hundred yeares of age 'tis either a folly or a shame to vse meanes to liue longer, and yet I haue knowne many send to mee for their seuerall troubles at a hundred yeares of age, and this day a poore woeman being a hundred and three yeares and a weeke old sent to mee to giue her some ease of the colick. The *macrobii* and long liuers which I haue knowne heere haue been of the meaner and poorer sort of people. Tho. Parrot was butt a meane or rather poore man. Your brother Thomas gaue two pence a weeke to John More, a scauenger, who dyed in the hundred and second yeare of his life: and 'twas taken the more notice of that the father of Sir John Shawe, who marryed my Lady Killmorey, and liueth in London, I say that his father, who had been a vintner, liued a hundred and two yeares, or neere it, and dyed about a yeare agoe. God send us to number our dayes and fitt ourselues for a better world. Times looke troublesomely; butt you haue an honest and peaceable profession which may employ you, and discretion to guide your words and actions. Madame Peirce went to London last weeke and I beleeve is now there. God send Mr. Peirce still better in health, and to bee wary in preseruation of himselfe, the cold weather may be disaduantageous vnto him. My seruice at your opportunity to them both. I am very glad that you are prouided for chirurgeon's hall, if there should be any lecture this yeare which you say is yet vncertaine, so that your buisinesse should continue or encrease, you need not yet giue any suspicion of your leauing that place. God blesse my daughter Browne and yourself.

Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

For Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, these, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Dec. 22, [1679.]

DEAR SONNE,

You sett downe a plentifull list of good medicines. Lambs-wooll[6] in water is also very good where men's stomacks will beare it. I remember Captain Bacon, Sir Edm. Bacon's father, of Redgrave, a tall bigge man, had once such an excruceating *dysuria, acrimonia et ardor urinæ* that hee was beyond all patience; it being at that time of yeare when peaches were in season, I wished him to eat six or seven peaches, butt before the morning hee eat twenty-five, and found extraordinary relief, and his payne ceased. Have a care of your self this cold weather, wee are all in snowe, and tis now a proper time to freez eggs or the galls of animals with salt and snowe; as also how blood of animals freez, and how marrow in a small bone, and whether it will freez through the bone, the bone being covered with snowe and salt, with the like. I am fayne to keep my self warme by a fire side this cold weather. Tom presents his duty, and all their love unto my daughter, yourself, and all friends.

I rest your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

Your sister Betty hath read unto mee Mr. Ricaut's historie of the three last Turkish emperours, Morat or Amurah the Fourth, Ibrahim, and Mahomet the Fourth, and is a very good historie, and a good addition unto Knolls his Turkish historie, which will then make one of the best histories that wee have in English.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

[6] Ale mixed with sugar, nutmeg, and the pulp of roasted apples.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Jan. 5, [1679-80.]

DEAR SONNE,

Present my service to Sir John Churchman and his lady. Sir John is a discreet and sober person and courteous, and his lady, though shee bee somewhat hypochond. fearefull, and complayning, is a kind gentlewoman; they have been used to apply unto some one physitian in London, and not more, I thinck, except upon very great occasion. Sir John hath an estate within four miles of Thetford; unto which hee cometh every yeare about July, and returnes in October. Autumne was twelvemoneth his lady fell sick of the autumnall spurious ague, and I being then within three miles, shee sent to mee, I found her weake and dispirited, despondent, and even despayring ever to go to London agayne; butt I comforted her to some good satisfaction, though I conceave shee did butt half beleeve my predictions of her recovery in time. I knowe not where in London shee liveth; remember mee also to her daughter, who is a sober and modest young gentlewoeman; they had also a sonne or two, butt young; the answering their doubts doth give them good content. Dr. Jasper Needham hath showne himself a kind and right honest gentleman, and you may wish well unto his relations.[7] There was a woeman or mayd in Suffolk who had a julking and fluctuation in her chest and somewhat upwardly: so that when shee stood and stroked her chest it might be heard by the standers by, and I once heard it; shee dyed, as I remember, about a yeare and half after, and in her chest was found a cystis containing above a quart, as I take it, of a matter like thick whaye, of this, Dr. Fairfax, now of Woodbridg gave an account to the R. S. about seven yeare past, and it is printed.[8] There is a man in

[7] He died in the preceding November.

[8] Dr. Nathaniel Fairfax sent a paper to the Royal Society, which was published in the Phil. Trans. Nov. 11th, 1667, under the title, "Anatomical Observations on a Humane Body, dead of odd diseases, as they were communicated by Dr. N. F." The case alluded to is that of a young woman of Rumborough, in Suffolk, who died

Suffolk at this time who hath the like julking or fluctuating on the right side as hee findeth, hee is about thirtie yeares or more, and also troubled with a cough. About four or five weekes past Dr. Carver, an honest physitian at Halsworth, sent to mee; I writt unto him that hee was in extreme danger, and how to releeve him I did not see any way so probable as the paracentesis and letting out the matter, butt that was also *anceps remedium*, especially if it were included in a thick cystis as the woeman's was, butt if hee were in a case to admitt thereof it must bee done by an experienced artist, and able to regulate the same. Now on Friday last I receaved a letter from the Dr. agayne that the patient was resolved to adventure upon that operation, and desired mee to recommend a chirurgion unto him, and whether hee should not send to Mr. Crop, or if hee were not versed therein to send to London, and would lett him heare from mee the next Saturday, and that, in the interim, I would write unto you to informe mee what chirurgion you thinck were to bee consulted therein, or who were like to performe it, if hee bee in case to admitt thereof, with any hopes of successe, and therefore pray speake unto my cosen Hobbes about it, and any other who you knowe hath performed the like. I mentioned my cosen Hobbes and Mr. Malleins, now only returne mee a few lines thereof for to absolve my promise, though I doubt whether hee bee able to go to London, or whether hee will bee found in such a state as to admitt thereof, butt if hee bee I shall direct him unto you, and that my cosen may see him and enquire further. I have heard that my Lord of Shaftsbury[9] had his side opend upon an empyema or the like. You may send mee word only at present what chirurgion I may mention unto them, to give some answer to Dr. Carver's letter which I may receave next from him. I have not seen him for these ten months at Norwich. Love and blessing to my daughter Browne and you all.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

of the complaint described. She had been attended by Dr. Browne, "whose opinion was to salivate her." Dr. Fairfax mentions that he had met with the like in an Italian author.

[9] When he was Lord Ashley.

Just now I receaved a letter from Dr. Carver which makes mee beleeve hee will bee in no case for the operation, butt however write something though not much.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court,
next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Jan. xiiii, [1679-80.]

DEARE SONNE,

What Mr. Ricaut hath writt of the Turkish emperor is not a full Turkish history such as Knolls hath writt; Knolls writt butt unto the life of Achmet, whose life makes the conclusion of his work, butt in the last edition there is an addition of the life of Osman, who was killed; and of Mustapha, and of Morat or Amurah the fourth, whose life Mr. Ricaut sayth is imperfectly writt, and, therefore, hee hath writt the same, and as also the life of Ibrahim, and of Mahomet the fourth, and, I thinck, as farre as 1677. I intend to send the booke by the next carts on Friday, and to give it you; it is writt by annals from yeare to yeare. Mr. Ricaut hath also writt a booke of the Armenian and Greek Churches.[1] I perceave you are yet uncertain whether you shall read or not, butt, however, bee provided; because the master is an honest man, and your friend; hee deserveth to have some litle elogium or a few lines to bee sayd of him, and you may find where it may best come in. I acquainted Dr. Carver, of Halsworth, with what you sayd of the aperture of the thorax last Saturdaie, butt could not heare any thing since; however, I presume it may give satisfaction that divers have practised the like. God blesse the affayres of the nation: men speake generally heere that there will be a parliament in March.[2] Tertian agues beginne to bee common, butt not lasting. I remember you sayd that at Aldthorpe, by Worringbury, elder

1 The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, anno Christi, 1678. Lond. 1679, 8vo.

2 Parliament had been prorogued from its first meeting, in Oct. 1679, and was suspended by successive prorogations till Oct. 1680.

with white berries was accounted a raritie, so it was heere till of late, now it is planted in many gardens, and the juice thereof makes an elder wine, and makęs white wine richer and stronger, and, I beleeve, being a noveltie, it may be much used: one told mee this day that about six miles of, by Burlingham, there were many common elders, among wch there was one with white berries, and some sinnce sett in gardens and thrive. Love and blessing to my daughter Browne and you all. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Tom presents his duty.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Jan. 19, [1679-80.]

DEARE SONNE,

Since I last writt unto you I have found out a way how you shall receave Ricaut's historie without sending it by the carts. I have desired Mr. George Rose, a bookseller in this towne, to write last Friday unto his correspondent, Mr. Clavell, stationer in London, at the Peacock, in St. Paul's churchyard, that you may have one of those bookes of him upon demand upon Mr. Rose's account, for I pay him heere in Norwich, at the rate which hee selleth the booke heere, and as soone as hee understands from Mr. Clavell that you have receaved it I paye him heere. I would not have you borrowe it, because you may have it allwayes by you; the life of Mahomet the fourth is larger than all the rest, and you having seen the Grand Signor now raygning, you may do well to knowe as much of his historie as you can. I wonder whether Galeazzi Gualdi doth write still or not, if hee bee living;[3] there hath of late yeares been a copious subject for him. Mr. Ricaut hath also writt of the present state of the

[3] Count Galeasso Gualdo, an Italian historian, who died 1678. His historical works, which related principally to the period in which he lived, were numerous and extensive, and several of them were translated into English.

Greek and Armenian Churches, by his majesties command. I have read Sir George Ent's booke[5] lately printed, in answer to Dr. Thruston;[4] 'tis pleasant to read, and very rationall done by two very good pens, which may give a great deale of creditt unto the English, there being very few bookes, or none, so elegantly writt; Dr. Thruston is very full of paradoxes in physick, and a witty man also. Heere was so much sider made this last autumne, that there will not bee half so much French wine spent heere as in other yeares, nor probably hereafter, for there is so much planting of apple trees and fruits, that they will become so cheap that there will bee litle profit thereby; the last was a strange plentiful yeare of fruit, and my wife tells me shee bought above twentie quinces for a penny; the long southerly wind makes trees budde to soone, and the corne to growe to forward, and wee are afrayd of back winters, wch causeth diseases. Love and blessing to my daughter Browne and you all.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

My service to my cosens Cradock, Hobbes, Madame Burwell, and all friends.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court,
next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

July 7, [1680.]

DEARE SONNE,

Wee vnderstood this weeke, by some of our common news letters,[6] that Sir Arthur Ingram was cutt of the

4 Antidiatribe; seu Animadversiones in Malachiæ Thrustoni, M. D. Diatribam de Respirationis usu primario. Auctore Georgia Entio, Eq. Aur. M.D. et Col. Lond. Soc. 1679.

5 Malachi Thruston, M. D., De Respirationis usu, 12mo. Lug. Bat. 1671.

6 In the Monthly Review of "*The Ellis Correspondence*, 2 vols. 8vo." occurs the following passage:—"The greater part of this Correspondence is supposed to be formed of the letters which were written by a description of persons not now in existence, and who are termed in one of the extracts, the gentlemen who write the

stone, and that the operation was performed in three minutes.[7] Pray God hee may do well after it. Hee and his lady, about four yeares agoe, were at Norwich, and at my howse, and they were at Mr. Longs howse about a fortnight. I conceiue that in some part of the next weeke you must bee thinking agayne of your visit at Woodstock.[8] And because you must bee then in a park, I will sett downe some particulars "De Cervis" out of Aristotle and Scaliger, whereof you may enquire and informe yourself.[9] That their gutts are so tender, that they will breake upon a blowe, though their side be not broaken. There is a dayntie bitt accounted by many, called the inspinne, which may be the *intestinum rectum*, wch is very fatt, and, being broyled or fryed, is much desired by some. I haue seen it at some gentlemens tables, butt my stomack went against it; you may enquire of it if you know it not: I think the gutt is turned side outward to make it. It is a particular bitt, and I know no other animal wherein the rectum is cooked up. Wee heare that the Grand Signor, Mahomet the fourth, is dead, wch may alter the affayrs of those parts, and restore the seat of the empyre to Constantinople from Adrianople. Wee heare of the great penitence and retractation of my Lord Rochester,[1] and hereupon hee hath many good wishes and prayers from good men, both for his recouery here and happy state hereafter: you may write a few lines and certifie the truth thereof; for my cosen Witherley, who liveth with J. Witherley, writt something of it to her mother in Norwich. Captain Scoltown acknowledgeth your great kindness to his wife. Sure they must haue some physitian at Tunbridge to aduise them upon all occasions. I was acquainted with Dr. Amerst while hee liued. God blesse you all.

Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

news letters. The necessity of public journals, which were not then invented, being thus provided for by persons appointed to give information to those who required it on public matters."—*Monthly Review*, *March* 1829, *p.* 359.

7 The operator, Francis Collot, drew up an account of the operation, which is preserved in the British Museum, MS. Sloan. 1865.

8 Woodstock Park, the seat of Lord Rochester, whom Dr. Edward Browne was now attending in his last illness.

9 The quotation is omitted.

1 Lord Rochester's letter to Bishop Burnet, June 25, 1680.

Wee haue litle or none of *viscus quercinus*, or miselto of the oake, in this country; butt I beleeve they may have in the woods and parks of Oxfordshyre. And about this time the crevises[2] haue the stones or litle concretions on their head vnder the shell or crusta, and there are plenty of crevises in those riuers. God blesse my daughter Browne, litle Sukey, and Ned, and be mercifull vnto us all, and keepe our hearts firme vnto him. Tom holds well, God be thancked. Mr. Whitefoot is at the commencement. I wish my Lord Bruce may haue got good by his journey. Mr. Deane Astley, who is now with mee, presents his seruice.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Aug. 18, [1680.]

DEAR SONNE,

Mrs. Skoltown professeth great obligations vnto you, notwithstanding shee vndertooke a hazardous journey, and contrarie to your aduice, yett shee gott indifferently to Yarmouth, and intends for Norwich to morrow. She is still sometimes griped, butt makes vse of the cordiall you prescribed, which I presume hath some *l. liquid.* in it. In your next letter pray send the receipe of it, that shee may haue it heere. Madame Cock, Colonel Cock's lady, tells [me] shee sawe your self and wife; shee left her daughter at schooll, I think at Hackney. Mrs. Skoltown had been long indisposed, and applyed not herself to meanes of relief, so that shee may, without wonder, remaine still weake; but it seemes shee found great benefitt by the waters. Mr. Collot, I beleeve, is, about this time, returning. You haue gayned great repute about the businesse of Sir A. Ingram. I receaued the booke of Dr. Loue by Mrs. Feltham, though I haue not yet seen her. If hee sent it to mee, my service and thancks vnto him. That subiect hath been often writt on. Though people will call it

[2] Crevise, or Cray-fish, or Craw-fish: from the French *écrévisse*.

the new disease, yet I remember the like in all the time of my practise; butt as the course of dyet and life of men is much altered, so the distemper may haue more irregular or worse symptomes. After a droughty hot summer it generally showeth itself. Dr. Loue may bee an ingenious ciuill person, and industrious, and so he deserues the countenance and good wishes of men. I do not remember that I haue heard of his name, Louemorly.[3] Dr. Loue, of Cambridge, whose daughter Dr. Tennison maryed, had a sonne, butt whether a physitian or not I know not. Old Mr. Whitefoote is with mee, and presents his seruices. Wee heare that there is like to bee a peace with the Moores, which I think will be the best way. Tom presents his duty. Loue and blessing vnto my daughter Browne, and also the litle ones. I haue not lately heard of my daughter Fairfax. God blesse her.

Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

My service to my cosen Cradock, cosen Hobbes, Mr. Dobbins, &c.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Aug. 22, [1680.]

DEAR SONNE,

I was very glad to receaue your last letter. God hath heard our prayers, and I hope will blesse you still. If the profitts of the next yeare come not up to this, I would not haue you discouraged; for the profitts of no practise are equall or regular: and you haue had some extraordinary patients this yeare, which, perhaps, some yeares will not afford. Now is your time to be frugall and lay up. I thought myself rich enough till my children grew up. Be carefull of your self, and temperate, that you may bee able to go through your practise; for to attayne to the getting of a thousand

[3] Dr. Christopher Love-Morley was a Fellow of the College of Physicians, 1683.

pounds a yeare requires no small labour of body and mind, and is a life not much lesse paynfull and laborious then that wch the meaner sort of people go through. When you putt out your money, bee well assured of the assurance; and bee wise therein from what your father hath suffered. It is laudable to dwell handsomely; butt be not too forward to build, or sett forth another mans howse, or so to fill it that it may increase the fuell, if God should please to send fire. The mercifull God direct you in all. Excesse in apparell and chargeable dresses are got into the country, especially among woemen; men go decently and playn enough. The last assizes there was a concourse of woemen at that they call my lords garden in Cunsford, and so richly dressed that some strangers sayd there was scarce the like to bee seen at Hide Park, which makes charity cold. Wee now heare that this parliament shall sitt the 21 of October, which will make London very full in Michaelmas terme. Wee heare of two oestriges wch are brought from Tangier. I sawe one in the latter end of king James his dayes, at Greenwich, when I was a schoolboy. King Charles the first had a cassaware, or emeu, whose fine green channelled egge I haue, and you haue seen it. I doubt these will not bee showne at Bartholomew fayre, where every one may see them for his money. I haue read all or most of Dr. Loves booke,[4] which is a pretty booke, and giues a good account of the lowe countrey practise in that disease, and hath some other obseruables. I knewe one Mr. Christopher Loue, sonne vnto the Dr. Loue, warden of Winchester colledge, who was an actiue man agaynst the king in the late warres, and got a great estate; butt I think hee was fayne to fly upon the kings restauration. The chirurgions haue made choyce of new officers; tis probable they may agree, and so you may read the next lent. The king comes to Newmarkett the next moneth. A Yarmouth man told mee that hee sawe Dr. Knights at the Bath; perhaps hee will not bee at Newmarkett. I beleeve you neuer sawe Madame Baxter. Since Mr. Cottrell and his lady and child are with Sir W. Adams

4 Morley, Charles Love, M. D. De Morbo Epidemico, annorum 1678-9, 8vo. London, 1680.

they speake often of you, and all go to London at Michaelmas. Mrs. Dey is at my howse, butt returnes with Madame Burwell. Mr. Parsons his sermon[5] is like to sell well. God blesse my daughter Browne and you all.

Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

I haue not had Mrs. Feltham at any entertainment at my howse, because shee soone expects her husband. I heare but of a fewe East India shipps arriual this yeare, nor whether they brought as many diamonds, &c. as formerly.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Sept. 6, [1680.]

DEAR SONNE,

My cosen Cradock is now in Norwich, and lyeth at my cosen Townshends, butt I have as yett seen him butt once. I am sorry to heare of so high a bill of mortallity in London this last weeke, especially at this time, when there are so many thousands out of it, as the court and inhabitants retired into the countrey, and in the long and emptie vacation. There are they say butt 140 dyed of fevers, so that there must bee several other diseases to fill up the account. If there dyed 816, 'tis probable there might bee no lesse then fiftie thousand sick. They are still sick at Sprowston, butt many recovering. Madame Burwell hath been extremely ill, and reduced to great weaknesse; butt is in a more comfortable condition, and takes some sustenance and rest. I pray God to continue [her]; shee being in yeares gives us yet cause of feares, how shee may persist to the duration of that distemper wch hangeth long upon many. Her distemper, a continuall double tertian, or at least an irregular continuall tertian. I have given of the *cortex* divers times, wherein shee hath found good relief, and yesterday was the best day shee hath had since shee was sick.

5 Probably on the death of Lord Rochester.

Mrs. Corbet, whom you visited, maryed one Mr. Corbet, who is Mrs. Sarah Corbets brother. I beleeve there may bee no good agreement betwixt Mrs. Corbet and her husband, who is an odde headed man. Shee had a good joynter when shee maryed him. I beleeve she sojourned formerly at Mr. Metholds. Mr. Brewster is an honest gentleman, and is brother to Mrs. Mildmay, formerly a Brewster, a singular good woeman, and maryed esquire Mildmay, who had a quartan ague the last winter in Norwich, and laye at Capt. Skoltowes howse; a melancholy and semidelirious person, yet fayre conditioned. They did live together at Ilford, or thereabout, seven miles from London; if you see them agayne present my service to Mr. Brewster, and Madame Mildmay, and esquier Mildmay. Last Thursday wee had a great deale of thunder for three or four hours in the afternoon, and an extraordinary deale of rayne; butt, God bee thancked, the harvest about Norwich was ended before. I hope in God litle Ned is by this time in a recovery. Tom presents his duty and thancks for his token. Love and blessing to my daughter Browne. Service to Mr. Boone and all friends.

Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

The wind is come this day into the north, and it is suddenly coole, so that many, in their summer habits, may fall into agues, and others, newly recovering, may relapse if they be not warrie.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Sep. 6, [1680.]

DEAR SONNE,

Mr. Feltham hath been so taken up with his kindred, and a journey to Yarmouth, and I have been often at Sprowston, that wee have not had the opportunity to bee so civill unto him and his friends, as wee desired and intended.

I was glad to see him, and wish him all prosperitie, both for his owne sake, and of his parents, my loving friends and acquaintance. His father was a cordiall and very loving friend of myne, and his mother a very good woeman, unto whom wee recommend as many as wee can, and his two sisters in Norwich are very good woemen. I thought to have sent a spider by him, which was brought mee out of the fields, large and round, and finely marked green, and even almost as bigge as the figures inclosed, drawne by your mother, for your sisters dared not doe it. It may bee seen in Moufetus, and I have had of them before, and one drawne out in oyle colours, upon an oyled paper. I do not find it in Dr. Lister's table of spiders, though hee hath writt well *De Araneis*. I am glad Sir William went to London, for hee would [find] an uncomfortable howse at Sprowston, where there are and have been so many sick, as I doubt not butt my L. Adams hath informed Sir William. I hope Mr. Adams is much better. My service to Sir William. Madame Burwell hath been better to daye, butt these diseases are most dangrous unto persons in yeares. God blesse you all.

Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

DEARE DAUGHTER,

I should have writ to you by my cossen Buckbarg Bendish, the last Munday, but that I was prevented by being cald to visett madam Burwell, who is very ill of a feavar, and wee fare in som danger. I sent the twenty-four shilens by her, and a paire of shoes, which I must intreat you to send to Dicksons, as thay are directed; and to call to him for a paire in the stead of them, and to bey two yards of such loop parle, as is at the bottome of poynte; and to by a ownce of siprus powder, for the heare; it is to be sould att the New Exchange, the uper inward row, a perfumers, in the midle next the window, it is twelve-pence the ownce. If my cossen Bendish dooe not com, I desire you would send to Mr. Ballows, a marchant in Exchang Ally, in Lombard-street. I am sory wee could shew no sivilitys to my cosen Felton; that litle time hee has bin in towne, hee has bin so tacken up with his relatives, that I could not have them, my husband being

out of town som time. All so I have sent you a pattorn of the [gowne?] I bless God wee all continow wel, and Tomey present his dutty to you and his fathar, and give you many thanks for your touken. Hee did thinke to wright him selfe. Hee is now a very good boy for his boak, I can assuer you, and delights to read to his grandfather and I, when he coms from schole. God of his mercy bless you all.

Your affectinat mothar,

DOROTHY BROWNE.

For Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Sept. 11, [1680.]

DEAR SONNE,

Mr. Tho. Ward brought the things, and Mr. Carpenter who lives in the same howse came with him, by whome I send this letter. Wee are all sad for the losse of litle Tom, at Islington, and the effect it is like to have upon my daughter Fairfax, who though shee hath had many occasions to learne patience, hath I feare not sufficiently learned that christian virtue, nor sufficiently wayghed and prepared her thoughts agaynst the uncertaintie of things, and yet I like that temper better then to bee sad for nothing, as long they are well themselves, as is the manner of voluptuous and sensual persons. And I am sorry shee shall have an encrease of sorrowe by the sicknesse of my cosen Barker, my daughter Browne writt word that Nancy sayd shee had not spoake for many howers; but whether shee was sick before for divers dayes in the common fever, or were apoplecticall, or under any of the *affectus soporosi* wee knowe not, butt have reason to suspect; if shee were so ill I make some doubt whether shee dyed not before you could come to Shiplack. I receaved also that odde shaped coyne by R. Moulton, with the other things; your conjecture was right that this was a larin, and some thereof might bee coyned by Sha Ismael, in Persia;

butt it is properly an Arabian kind of money, and so sett downe by Tavernier, in the figures of the coynes of Asia, where hee discribeth and setts downe the figures of the larin and half larin. The larin justly answereth that you sent, hee sayeth five larins want eight souls of our crowne. This is that which the emirs and princes of Arabia take for the coynage of their money, and the profitt which they make by the marchands which travell through the desert into Persia or the Indies, for then the emirs come to the caravan to take their tolls and to change their realls, crownes, and ducates of gold into larins. The larins are one of the ancient coynes of Asia, and though at this day they are only currant in Arabia and at Balsara, neverthelesse from Braydal to the island of Ceylon, they traffick altogether with larins, and all along the Persian gulf. *Taverniers Travells, second part, page one and two.* Tis the oddest shaped coyne that Tavernier hath in all his figures, and better to bee taken in a good summe by wayght then tale, his figure hath one foot a litle shorter then the other as yours hath. I presume you will, God willing, returne this Monday. The fayrings were wellcome to Tom, hee finds about the howse divers things that were your brothers, and Betty sometimes tells him stories about him, so that hee was importunate with her to write his life in a quarter of a sheet of paper and read it unto him, and will have still some more added. Love and blessing to my daughter and litle Sukie, I am glad shee is so well.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

For Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Sept. 16, [1680.]

DEAR SONNE,

My cosen Cradock went suddenly awaye, so that I could not enioy him at my howse, as I intended. Present my

seruice vnto him, and my cosen his wife. I am glad to heare that Sir Arthur Ingram is so well, as to go abroad into the country, and also so kind as to remember you with a present of wine, which may do you more seruice in the winter, then in this hott and sickly wether; for tis likely to bee of the most spirituous and heady sort. I beleeve Collot is now gone. Mr. Feltham told mee hee had butt ill successe in one operation, when your self and Mr. Feltham were present. I am glad you haue so good hopes of Mrs. Tye. Madame Burwell hath yet some distemper'd nights. I am glad you can please my L. M. of Dorchester [6] when you go to him, with some dissection, or what hee desires; you haue surely much obliged him by his last recouery. God blesse my daughter Browne and you all. Tom was ill last weeke, butt upon taking a litle powder of rhubarb, grewe better, and now goeth abroad. Wee all send our love and good wishes, I rest

Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Sept. *22*, [1680.]

DEAR SONNE,

I send Swammerdams Miraculum Naturæ, dedicated to the Royall Societie, 7 or 8 years past, wherein are divers things observable, butt in that litle booke he promised to write more particularly of many things hinted in this worke. Hee finds fault with De Graef in severall passages, and for assuming some discoveries which were first knowne to Van Horne. The king is at Newmarket, and hath good wether for his races and falconrie; divers go from hence to bee

6 Lord Marquis of Dorchester, a great friend and benefactor to the physicians and the college; seems to have been an amateur of medicine,—a physician out of his proper situation in life.—*Gray.*

touched, butt what chirurgeons are there, I yett understand not, nor what physitians attend his majestie. Tis much to be feared, that many, who resort to that towne, will fall sick, the country being still very sickly, and divers quartan agues allreadie appeare, and many of the old ones not quite worne out. Many of these continuall remitting tertian, after a while, prove of small and uncertaine remissions, though they take the cortex. Have a care of your health, and God preserve, direct, guid, and blesse you. Love and blessing to my daughter Browne. God blesse you all.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Oct. 15, 80.[7]

DEARE SONNE,

I am glad to heare you are all in health this sickly time, wherein, as you find, there are so many *febres tertianæ simplices, duplices, continuæ,* . . . . . and I found one lately, under a *febris quartana continua.* I am also glad that Mr. John Myngays daughter is recovered, who is a good young gentlewoman and very deare unto her parents. When you see them remember mee unto them. I thinck you are in the right, when you say that physitians coaches in London are more for state then for businesse; there being so many wayes whereby they may bee assisted, and at lesser charge and care in London. The Thames and hackney coaches, being no small help, beside the great number of coaches kept by private gentlemen, in and about London. When I read Gages travells in America, many yeares ago, I was much surprised to find that there were twentie thousand coaches in Mexico, perhaps there may be now, in London, half that number.

[7] The date, thus abridged, is original. The present letter was published, but not correctly, in *Retrospective Review*, vol. i, 162.

When Queen Elizabeth came to Norwich, 1578, she came on horseback from Ipswich, by the high road to Norwich, in the summer time; but shee had a coach or two, in her trayne. She rid through Norwich, unto the bishop's palace, where she stayed a weeke, and went sometimes a hunting on horseback, and up to Mushold hill often, to see wrestling and shooting, &c. When I was a youth, many great persons travelled with 3 horses, but now there is a new face of things. I doubt there will bee scarce cortex enough to bee to suffise the nation. God bless you all. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Octo. 22, [1680.]

DEAR SONNE,

I writt unto you by the last post concerning sir Robert Baldock, butt I understand since that hee intends not to go for London till the next Monday, and so will not be there till Wednesday night, men generally now making 3 dayes in that journey. And so you may deliver my letter accordingly to him according as you can. On Thursday last, that is yesterday, Madame Burwell, Madame Cottrell, Mr. Cottrell, his child, and 2 of my lady daughters and servants, and I hope they will be in London upon Saturday. You shall do well to see Madame Burwell, for shee went away butt weake and tender, pray God shee fell not ill before she got to London. Wee were somewhat surprized at the chancellours and lord presidents speeches. They delivered themselves very playnly, and when such sense is so boldly delivered, men are apt to thinck that it was high time to speake. God blesse my daughter Browne and you all.

Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

Nouemb. j, [1680.]

DEAR SONNE,

Wee were somewhat vncertaine whether you were returned from Ampthill, till Madame Burwell writt a letter to my cosen Townshend that you had giuen her a visit, which was very well done. I heare that sir Robert Baldock doth not sett out for London before to-morrowe, being Tuesday. Mr. alderman Briggs, my neibour, who is our burges, went to London last Thursday, and in another coach Mr. Alderman Man and others; between Barton Mills and Thetford, both the coaches were robbed by 3 highwaymen: but not much money was lost, passengers vsually trauelling with litle money about them, but the coachman lost fifteen pounds which he caryed to buye a horse. Captaine Briggs, my neibour, would haue made some resistance, but they presently tooke awaye his sword which hee used to weare in the parliament: his man also was gone out of sight, and none of the trauellers would joyne with him to make resistance. Mr. Dade, the chirurgeon, was with mee, hee tells me his brother's wife is dangerously ill and that you desired to joyne with another physitian, wherein you did well, and may oblige Mr. Dade and giue the better satisfaction. It cannot butt bee a very dangerous hæmoptysis, shee hauing been often troubled with a cough or catarrh.

Just now while I am writing, a poore woeman of a hundred and fiue yeares old next Christmasse, sent her water unto mee, and seemes to be vnder the common distemper. Shee dwells in one of the towers of the wall, and we vse to be charitable vnto her, and your sisters giue her often some relief. Joh. More, who was one hundred and 2 yeares old, to whome your brother Thomas gaue something weekely all the while hee was abroad, dyed of these autumnall distempers, as did also the old man beyond Scoale Inne, who wayted on the Earle of Leicester, when Queen Eliz. came to Nor-

wich, and who told mee many things thereof. God blesse you all. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1333.]

Nov. xi, [1680.]

DEAR SONNE,

I have perused Dr. C's. oration,[8] which is good, butt long; where it was delivered either in the hall of the colledge, or anatomie theatre, I knowe not; butt herein[9] Cutler, being one of the benefactors and founder of the theatre, something may bee sayd, not only in his commendation, butt of the theatre itself; not only of the largenesse, statelynesse, and noble contrivance, butt also comparatively to other outlandish theatres, which you have seen, as of Vienna, Altorff, Leyden, Padua, Montpellier, and Paris: for I knowe not whether you tooke notice of Pisa, Rome, and any other, whereof you may advertise mee; if you observed any thing about them which may enlarge this, which I now butt imperfectly sett downe[1] . . . . This being so particularly delivered, may be acceptable, and more then any other is like to say.

I writt to you lately, of the poore woeman, of a hundred and five yeares old, laking one moneth; shee hath had this continuall autumnal tertian fever, and there is good hopes of her recovery, for she can now rise and sett up out of her bed, and desires a litle wine, which shee could [not] endure in her distemper. Your sisters sawe her yesterday, who use to give her money; shee sees so well, that shee knewe them at a distance, and her hearing is good. Formerly they gave not the cortex to quartanarians, before they had been ill a considerable time, butt I think it should be good to give it at the beginning, before their bloods are corrupted by the

[8] Dr. Charlton's oration.

[9] Herein, i. e. in the approaching lecture, which he was assisting his son to prepare.

[1] The proposed opening of the speech, in Latin, is omitted. The entire speech, including this passage, is preserved in MS. Sloan, 1839, in the hand writing of Sir Thomas, who must be considered the author of it.

length of the disease. Write whether they do not give it early in London. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

DEAR SONNE,

I pray tell my daughter that we haue receved the box, and dooe very well liake all that was in it; and I will returne her my thanks with what she have layd out for us, but this night I cannot. I writ something to you in my last, I was then in som doughts, which I am now free from; for I dooe hope all things will dooe very well, and I sopos all things will be agread very sudinly. Mr. Dobines shall have the settelling the bisnes, and I shall giue you a more pertacler acount when I have more time.

Your affectinat mother,

DOROTHY BROWNE.

I take him to be a very good and . . . . . man, and very suttable. I bless God Tomey is very well, hee had a lossness for a weake, which did pull him, but not to kepe from scoole but 2 days.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Nov. 29, [1680.]

DEAR SONNE,

I am sorry to understand that your good friend my L. marquis is fallen so ill agayne, and is in a coma, or some soporous disease, and threating apoplexis and palsie: and should bee glad to heare that hee were in some way of recovery; perhaps his last mistaken draught of the opiat, left some ill impression upon his brayne. Tis well that hee hath declared that hee will give his librarie to the colledge, whether hee live or dye. However, such a noble gift must bee commemorated in the anniversarie orations, and his per-

son duly commended, who, being a person of honor and learning, will afford some subject and roome in such an encomium as I shall, God willing, hereafter shewe you. I presume the president and some others were with you; otherwise the president may bee apt to take exceptions, inasmuch as hee was consulted the last time; if hee getts cleare of this fitt, meethinks hee should make use of some preventitive course. Intermitting palsies are not esteemed so dangerous in old men, as in those in the vigour and strength of their dayes; many in the common distemper have been comatose, and it is a bad signe, especially *in senibus*. I hope you will bee well considered for your paynes and sitting up. I have seen the new English Atlas, printed at the Theatre, and published by Moses Pit.[2] I receaved the first part which describeth the northern countries in Europe, tis a fayre impression, and there are good discourses concerning the severall countries, butt the book is so long and broad, that it becomes untractable and uneasie to make use of. Two volumes more, that is, 2 and 3d volumes, are promised to come out the next moneth. There are to bee eleven in all. Sir Jacob Astley had the first volume, and the binding came unto twentie 2 shillings. The players are at the Red Lyon, hard by; and Tom goes sometimes to see a playe. *Ut filia tua educetur in religione Anglicana etiam atq. etiam cura.* Wee heare the successe at Tangier is confirmed, butt the losse of the governour is very considerable, and the Moores are like not to give over; and therefore the king doth wisely to send presents, as introductive to a peace upon good termes. I heare that Mr. Welsh, who lived in Clarkenwell, and was an acquaintance of Mr. Barker's, is admitted in the parliament howse, as burges of Hye, by Skole Inne. And that Sir Robert Reve will not pursue his title unto it.[3] God blesse my daughter Browne, litle Susan, and my daughter Fayrfax. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

2 In five volumes fol. Oxon. 1680-2.

3 George Welch and Charles Fox, Esqrs. were declared by the house duly elected burgesses for the borough of Eye, in the place of Sir Charles Gaudy and Sir Robert Reeve.—*Journals of the House of Commons*, ix, 672; Dec. 8, 1680.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Dec. 3, [1680.]

DEARE SONNE,

I am glad you receaved the pot of teale. I hope they will prove good, for they were the fattest, this late open season, that I have seen for some yeares. I must also tell you that this Friday, Mrs. Skoltowe sends you a pot of teale, by the waggons; shee desired my wife to give you notice thereof, shee being somwhat ashamed to write concerning such a meane present, being so highly obliged unto you. Comming so late unto you, you may well keepe them till Christmasse, or the middle thereof. I am glad to find that there is so good a stock of the cortex in London, so that though deare yet it will not bee out, and it may prove cheape agayne in another yeare. A marchand of Yarmouth told mee about midsummer last, that there was a shippe which had store of the cortex, which, by some accident, came not home with the fleet, butt remained at Honduras, in America; which probably came home with this yeares fleet, so that which came in that shippe may be older then what came in the rest, and surely there is some difference in goodnesse of the cortex. I hope my L. marquis is recovered, you saying nothing of him in your last. I presume it is a noble librarie, and consisteth of usefull bookes, which may bee of good advantage unto those who have leasure to passe their time in a publick librarie, and because there are most good authors, it may bee usefull to others, as not being in every private mans librarie. It may serve for others to looke after any thing in them upon occasion. Though the bookes will much adde unto the honor of the colledge, yet they occasion some charge, if the colledge must build [a theca] case, or repositorie for them. It was kindly done of old Dr. Denton to call you in. Hee must bee a man of great yeares, for hee is much my senior, and I remember him in Oxford; my service unto him. Dr. Tubervile hath been a noted oculist a long time, and I have recom-

mended some persons unto him. The Queen of Hungries water, which is distilled from the flowers of rosemary, is a very good water, and some will snuffe up a litle, and others snuffe up the strong waters of *lil. convallium*. I knewe one Browne, an empericall practiser in London, who made a powder benzoin, musk, and amber, and gave it to be snuffed up into the nostrills in the toothach. God blesse you all.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court,
next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

Dec. 13, [1680.]

DEAR SONNE,

I am sorry to understand that my L. marquesse of Dorchester is dead. You haue lost a good creditable patient, and what issue hee hath left I knowe not; some daughters I thinck hee hath, but what sonnes or sonne, or vnto whom the honour descendeth I cannot tell. I hope his librarie is assured vnto the colledge, which I heare is a good and fayre and profitable one. Vnto the physitian who liueth in the colledge it may bee of good vse, because hee is neere it, and may make vse of it daye and night; vnto others it may bee seruiceable to read any booke, or looke into it upon occasions, the bookes being of the best or most scarce editions. With his bookes perhaps there may go along his mathematicall instruments, fayre globes, rarities, and the like. I find in Dr. Charlton's orat. that Dr. Hametus gaue some bookes, butt probably to the old colledge; so did Dr. Harvey, butt I thinck they were burnt. It were well if you could so order the matter among you, that you might not make the librarie too chargeable vnto the societie, by a standing office of a librarie keeper, &c. When you see my L. Adams, pray present my humble seruice and my wifes vnto her, as also to

Madame Burwell, Mr. and Madam Cottrell, &c. With us heere is a great deale of snowe upon the ground, which, if suddenly melted, will cause a great flood. Tom, God be thancked, is well: blessing, loue, and good wishes vnto you all. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Dec. 17, [1680.][4]

DEAR SONNE,

I receaved yours, and cannot butt commend you for takeing notice of the comet, and for giving so playne a description how you found it, and setting downe a figure thereof; it was the first account of it that came to Norwich, though some report there was, that it had been seen. And therefore your description, in what manner you sawe it, was the more wellcome, and Mr. [Oliver,] the bookseller, would needs write it out, that he might gratifie his friends and customers with your account thereof. The newes letters mentioned it, butt to litle or no purpose, or any information. Wee have had somewhat cloudy or foggy evenings, so that we heare no more of it, and this day was cleare and frostie, and the sunne sett very bright and red, butt wee could not see a starre, it was so mistie this night, while I am writing, which is between seven and eight o'clock. I never sawe a large and very long tayle of a comet, since 1618, when I was at schoole. I beleeve it will bee much observed and discoursed, and accounts given of it by the R. S. and observers beyond sea. You did well to sett downe, in your booke, a kind of diarie of your practise; tis good providence so to doe, it may bee usefull hereafter unto you upon the first good opportunity. I dayly pray God to prosper you and continue his goodnesse and mercyes unto you. Your sister is yet as she was. God blesse you all. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

[4] See Retrospective Review, 1, 164.

DEAR SONNE,

Wee did receve all the things very safe, and all extreame well, no far . . . . . but too good. The writings all so came safe, and wee have finished all thing but what is to be donne at church, which wee thinke shall be on Sunday morning,[5] before church, that being a seacrament day, and wee ar all to receve. I hope God will give a blissing. Hee is of a very good humor, and temprat as can be, and sartainly as agreeable as ever cuple war. Your sister would faine know whethar wee should pay Mr. Dobins, or hee, and what you thinck should be geven. I sopos three pounds, or there a bought; but she thinck more.

I will writ to my daughter on Munday; now I had not time . . . . . I thanke God Tom is very harty and livly, and larne his bowk very well.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Dec. 27, [1680?]

DEAR SONNE,

Wee are all very sorry for the losse of the litle one;[6] God give us still grace to resigne our wills unto his, and patience in all what hee hath layd out for us. God send you wisedome and providence, to make a prudent use of the moneys you have from mee, beside what you gett and otherwise. Least repentence come to late upon you, consider that accidental charges may bee alwayes coming upon you, and the folly of depending or hoping to much upon time turnes yet to come; since yeares will creepe on, and impotent age accuse you for not thincking early upon it. The christening and buryalls of my children have cost mee above 2 hundred

5 Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Browne, was married to Mr. Lyttleton, on Sunday, 19th Dec. 1680.

6 Probably "little Ned;" *see* page 283.

pounds, and their education more; beside your owne, which hath been more chargeable, then all the rest putt together; and therefore consider well that you are not likely to playe in this world, or in old age, and bee wise while you are able to gett, and save somewhat agaynst a bad winter, and uncertaintie of times. God blesse you all.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Jan. 5, [1680-1.]

DEAR SONNE,

My daughter Browne writt mee word, that you went last Thursday, to Ampthill, to my L. Bruce his sonne, which hath made us very sollicitous concerning you, because you tooke such a journey, when you had wached with the Duke of Richmond the night before, as also because it was exceeding bad travelling, and worse then it hath been all this winter, and exceeding cold. I hope you are returned and in health, and that the yong lord is better. I beleeve it may bee expected that, upon your returne, you should visit the duke, you being so suddenly called from him. Mr. Thomas Wood, of Braken, enquered of you, and gives you thancks for your kindnesse to his daughter Mrs. Betty, who was with you the last summer, and gott much good by Tunbridg waters. His old father died the last weeke, and left him a fayre estate in lands, beside good summes of money, which may paye the debts which the oversparing hand of his father made him contract, by borroweng and takeng up of money. I beleeve hee is fiftie-four yeares old, at least. Sir William Cooke, of Broome, is 85 or 6 yeares old, and likely to live; so that that honest and worthy gentleman, his sonne, captain Cooke, is like to stay yet awhile before hee cometh to the estate. Mr. Thomas Holland, who liveth at Bury,

cannot bee so litle as fiftie, and sir John Holland, who is his father, like to live some yeares. These are the old heyres which the country lookes upon, and wonder at their fathers, who are not like at last to encrease their goods by sparing, since a considerable part must bee dispersed into the hands of creditors. Heere is a printed speech, supposed to be my L. Shaftsburies, it is cacht up and read by many; there are many passages in it litle to the honour and reputation of the king.[7] Though the commons howse bee free, and the howse of lords also, for what they say within their walls, yet [it] is much that their speeches should be printed and sent about. Tom, God be thanked, is well. God blesse my daughter Browne and little Susan. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Jan. vii, [1680-1.]

DEAR SONNE,

Though I have litle to write at present, yet I take content to bee saying something unto you. The streame or tayle of the comet was very long, when I sawe it, in a cleare night, and I beleeve it was the same night when you sawe it, at St. Albans; butt the wether was so pierceing cold, that I could not endure to stand in it, otherwise I might have taken the altitude of the starre or head of the comet, and then reckoned the length of the tayle to our verticall poynt, and then, allowing for the altitude, I might have seen how much of ninetie degrees the tayle tooke up; as, if the altitude were 30 degrees, the tayle, coming to the vertex, must be sixtie degrees extended. If the starre hath been observed at the

7 A speech lately made by a noble peer of the realm. London, printed for F. S. at the Elephant and Castle, in the Royal Exchange, in Cornhill, 1681.—2 pp. sm. folio *in Bib. Mus. Brit.*

same time in places farre distant, by 2 or 3 observers, and it seems to both to have been in the same place, in reference unto the fixed starres, then cannot the earth's semidiameter have any proportion unto the distance of the comet; butt if the comet do appeare diversely to them among the fixed starres, then hath the comet parallaxis, more or lesse according to his distance from the earth. By this parallaxis astronomers find out the comet's distance from the earth; and, in that of 1618, they found it to be as farre above the moone as the moone is above the earth, and so find out its place, or sphere it is in, which I beleeve will bee performed, or is alreadie, by some astronomers. I am sorry to heare that my old neibour, Mr. Alderman Briggs, is fallen ill at London, and sent unto you when you were in the country. I should bee content that he might knowe I knowe of his sicknesse, and that I am sorry for it, though I have heard no more of it then that it is a cold. Though I presume hee hath made use of others, yet it might bee well taken, and continue frindshippe, if you go and present my service, which you may do either alone, or with his sonne, Dr. Briggs, to whom also my service. Wee heare, by the coaches last weeke, that a man was found dead upon Newmarket heath, with a periwigge by him and wounded on the side, which the travellers in the coach sawe; and likewise another dead about Chesterford, his body much cutt and hacked which was thought to bee some caryar. The first person was found to have 20 shillings in his purse. Just as I am writing, Tom comes and tells mee the blazing starre is in the yard, and calls mee to see it. It was butt dimme, and the skye not cleare; it seemed to bee in Pegasus, and is come nearer to Aries. God of his mercy blesse you all. I am very sensible of this sharpe wether.

Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

My wife thought to have writt to my daughter Browne, butt was prevented.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Jan. xii, [1680-1.]

DEAR SONNE,

I beleeve by this time you may have receaved your paper booke from Mrs. Mary Briggs, which you lately sent mee. I wish you may live to make many such, and the blessing of God bee ever with you, and prosper your endeavours. In my last letter I used the words parallaxis, or *differentia loci veri et visi stellæ alicujus,* their true place being computed by a line from the center of the earth, and their appearing or place of vision, where wee see them in the heavens, by a line from the surface of the earth whence wee see them, so that there is the semidiameter of the earth between and the center; which, if it hath any proportion to the distance of place where the starre or comet appeareth, then the comet or planet will have a *differentia loci veri et visi,* and bee seen with some difference in the heavens from what it would bee seen in a line drawne from the center of the earth; and that is the parallaxis. You might do well to have a figure of parallaxis, and to understand it, for it may bee very useful, and is in many bookes. Now, if this comet bee very high, and at a great distance above the moone, or in the sphere of Mercurie or Venus, it will have butt litle parallaxis, and so wee may conclude that it is above the moone; for the moone hath a considerable parallaxis, I think of 66 minutes. It were good to read some of the Latin poets sometimes, because they are knowne to so many, and have handsome expressions and sense, and so you may cast your eye upon Martial, *cum notis variorum,* in 8vo.; and upon Horace, who is also published *cum notis variorum,* in 8vo.; and Juvenal and Persius, in 8vo. Your brother Thomas, when hee was at sea, learned much of Horace, and all Juvenal in a manner without booke. Sir John Knyvett and Sir Philip Gawdie, of Herling, were so well versed in them, that they never came butt they would have two or three howers discourse with mee

about them, and especially Sir John Knyvett, who translated divers satyrs of Juvenal, which is now done by Sir Philip Stapleton; butt there is a great difference between the Latin and the English. If you also read sometimes Seneca it may bee very delightfull; there are divers parts of Seneca translated, and they may help toward the closer understanding of the Latin, butt the Latin exceedeth the translation. It is also translated into French. D. C.,[8] in his oration, hath butt eight pages, wch are close to the buisinesse, and those are at the end; the large part being in generalls, so that I conceave two sheets or litle more may suffice. I am sorry to heare my daughter Browne is so troubled wth the headach; I knowe not whether shee hath an issue, or keepeth her hayre very short. Love unto her and to litle Susan; all heere present their love and services. Tom, God bee praysed, is well. God blesse you all.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Jan. 24, [1680-1.]

DEARE SONNE,

My daughter Betty had a letter from Nancy, wherein shee writt concerning her daughter, litle more than two moneths old, which shee sayth is a fayr full faced child, great headed, and butt short winded, which showeth that shee is like to bee rachiticall, and, as they speake heere, is sett for the ricketts. And these are early signes of what may bee expected or feared. Being a full child, you did well to appoynt her syrupe of rhubarb sometimes, and an issue, and that being butt lately made, shee cannot expect much from it, though shee bee yet over forward. To make it runne much

[8] Probably Dr. Charlton.

shee useth a litle orange for a pea, and probably that, or orrice, or elder, may quicken, when the running slacketh, butt if it might suffise it were well if it would runne with a pea; for that lyeth quietly, nor so much hazard inflamations. The midwife or nurse persuaded her to give her *vingar scylls* a spoonfull, and that made her sick, butt is a good medicine. Shee is somewhat to yong and unable yet to take drincks or decoctions of china, sarsa, eryngo, rad. osmundæ, agrimoniæ, horestong, betonica, and antirachiticall jngredeents; except a syrupe or distilled water, or both, bee made, of which shee may bee able to take some spoonfulls, and the mild chalybeats do excellently well. The bleeding at the eare no hurt, sometimes good: care would bee taken that the nurse keepe a good dyet; many do well who are bred up by the spoone. As soone as you have time, write a kind word unto her, for she perplexeth herself night and day about the child. Mr. Alderman Briggs is not yet returned to Norwich, and whether he will bee chosen agayne burgesse is yet uncertaine; or whether hee will totally decline it. My Lord Paston will bee one, and, if Mr. Briggs bee layd aside, then Mr. Norris, the lawyer, our recorder. Sir Jacob Astley and Sir Tho. Hare are nominated and agreed on by one partie, Sir John Hobart and Sir Peter Gleane agayne by the other; so that it is like to bee a hard canvase: the people, for ought I yett perceave, being still of the same mind as before the dissolution of the parliameut. The calling of the parliament at Oxford will make citizens and tradesmen the lesse earnest to bee burgesses in corporations. Our day of election, if the writts come, will be on Monday come sevenight. Dr. Burnett's booke, in 8vo., is come to Norwich, of the life and death of my Lord of Rochester. Love and blessing to my daughter Browne and litle Susan. Tom, God bee thancked, is well, though I wonder hee falls into no cough, wearing his hat and gloves so seldome.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court,
next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Feb. 1, [1680-1.]

DEARE SONNE,

Wee have been exceeding sollicitous for Mrs. Jane Allington, and the great sorrowe my good Lady Adams was like to haue if shee should dye. And therefore you did very well to giue us that wellcome notice that shee was well agayne. I took notice this weeke of the notable voyce of a hound aboue all other doggs; and therefore at your opportunity you may examine the vocall organs of a hound; there may be something considerable, perhaps, beside the rest, from the frame of his mouth and slabbing lipps. I haue not seen Sir W. Adams since hee came into Norfolk. I beleeve hee hath been buisie about the election for knights of the shyre. Butt iust as I am writing Sir William Adams comes to me, and deliuered your letter and token to Tom, who was very glad, and presents his duty and thanks to his father and mother, and loue to his sister. Four stood, Sir J. Hobart, Sir Peter Gleane, Sir Jacob Astley, and Sir Thomas Hare. It was a hard canuas; Sir John caryed it by a hundred voyces, wanting two or three. Sir Peter by sixteen or seventeen, which hee had more then Sir Jacob. Sir Thomas Hare had the fewest, yet not many lesse then Sir Jacob. Sir Peter had like to haue lost it, by the great and tempestuous wind wch was on last Sunday night, and held the greatest part of Monday, which was the election day. The Yarmouth men came to Norwich, either by boat or horse, the day before, to the number of three hundred, for Sir John and Sir Peter; butt there were three boates which were to come on Sunday night, with fishermen, for Sir John and Sir Peter, butt the wind was so high and contrarie that they were fayne to returne. Only sixteen or seventeen of them were so resolute that they went on shoare and came on foot, which made Sir Peter to haue the second voyce. Sir Henry Hobart was chosen one of the burgesses for Lynne, and Alderman Taylor

the other, who was burgesse the last parliament. Sir Joseph Williamson and Mr. William Harbord were chosen agayne. Mr. Hoast and Sir Robert Steward for [Rysing] as before. Ours are like to be chosen agayne, as also the knights of the shyre for Suffolk. God blesse you all. I shall, God willing, soone write agayne. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

My serue to my lady Adams.

DEARE DAUGHTER,

I receued your letter, and giue you many thanks for your care for [us]. I will send you the mony when I haue an opertunity. I am glad to heer my sonne is so much batter; I hope in a short time hee will purfetly recouer. I blesse God Tomey is so well as I beleue hee could induer a jerrney to see his grandmother; and hee sends his humble dutty to her, and to your selfe and his ffathar, and says in sumor hee shall see you and his sister, which hee doos much long. I besich God of his marcy bless you all.

Your affectinat mother,

DOROTHY BROWNE.

Franke M. sent her loue and serves.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Feb. 14, [1680-1.]

DEAR SONNE,

Sir William Adams, with his sonne Mr. W. Adams, intends for London, butt they go somewhat out of the road. I am glad to see Mr. Adams much better, and I hope he will still improve. Hee sayeth hee finds good of the waters, and may find more in a better season. I writt to you about our election for the countie; this day was the choyce of the burgesses for Norwich. Wee were in a full security that my

Lord Paston, eldest sonne to the Earle of Yarmouth, and Mr. Alderman Briggs, would have stood only, and so all have passed quietly, without opposition, to our content: butt this morning there appeared a considerable body of men, crying out for Hobart and Payne; that is, for old Mr. Hobart, whose daughter Deane Astley maryed, and now liueth at the deanery. Mr. Payne is of St. Gyles, whose daughter Mr. Doughtie maryed. Hee is butt on a bad state of body, and so hath been all this winter, and I heard him lately say, that hee had rather give a hundred pound than stand, yett by vehement importunities they gott him out. Mr. Hobart, a man now in his 77th yeare, withdrew himself out of the towne; yett they sett up one to ride for him. My Lord Paston had voyces 1509, Mr. Briggs 1451, Mr. Hobart 829, Mr. Payne 919. Tis probable there will be allwayes some opposition, though without successe; the people delight in it, and saye it will bee the better for the towne, as causing more concourse of persons, and more mony to bee spent in the towne. My Lord Paston was not heere in person, nor need hee bee present hereafter upon the like occasion, hee being sure to bee one. Tom hath been much delighted this day. God blesse my daughter Browne and you all.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Feb. 28, [1680-1.]

DEAR SONNE,

I trust in God that you are in health, which I dayly pray for. A great part of our newes hath been, of late, made out [of] severall elections, and the circumstances of them. Sir James Johnson and Mr. England are burgesses for Yarmouth. Sir James is a sober and understanding person, very civill, and your kind acquaintance. Sir Robert Kemp

and Sir Philip Skippon are chosen for Dunwich as before, the towne having sent unto them desiring them to accept of the place. So wee have butt two newe parliament men for Norfolk. Sir James Johnson for Yarmouth, and Sir Henry Hobart for Lynne. And for ought I perceave there is no considerable number of new men chosen in other parts. I find in the newes letters that Mr. Whittle, the kings chirurgeon, is dead, and that your neibour Mr. Moullins, is sworne in his place; butt which of the Moullins I knowe not, perhaps Mr. Peirce may bee in Scotland with the duke. I am sorry to find that the King of England is fayne to reduce his howsehold expences to twelve thousand pounds p. annum, especially hee having a farre greater revenue then any of his predecessors. God keepe all honest men from penury and want; men can bee honest no longer then they can give every one his due: *in fundo parsimonia* seldome recovers or restores a man. This rule is to bee earned by all, *vtere divitiis tanquam moriturus, et idem tanquam victurus parcito divitiis.* So may bee avoyded sordid avarice and improvident prodigallity; so shall not a man deprive himself of God's blessings, nor throwe away God's mercies; so may hee bee able to do good and not suffer the worst of evils. Two earthern bottles floatting upon the sea, with this motto, "*si collidimur frangimur*," is applycable unto any two concernes whose interest is united, and is to conserve one another; which makes mee sorry for this dissention between the king and the people, that is, the major part of them, as the elections declare. God send a happy conclusion, and bee reconciled unto us, and give us grace to forsake our sinnes, the *boutefeux* and incendiaries of all. God blesse you all.

Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Dr. Donnes sermon is a very good one, and so is Dr. Burnets and the Bishop of Oxford's.

DEARE SONNE,

I thanke both you and my daughter for your care in my daughters concernes, and when I haue an oportunity I

shall send the thirteen shilins. I must desire my daughter att her best .... to gett my cussen Cradocks bills of all that wee owe him, for I would, if I could, pay him before your sister cuming, which will be as they now thinke the weeke after Easter: and they intend to log in the Pall Mall, becaus of his bisnes that they to be often with you, whiles they stay, thay think will be five or six weeks. Thay present all love and services, so dooes your sister Franke. Tom his dutty, he is beging books and reading of them.

Your .....

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

March 4, [1680-1.]

DEAR SONNE,

I thinck the colledge is much obliged to you for what you haue done toward the procuring of my lords librarie. And I hope such care will bee taken as that you may soone haue the possession of it. It may proue both ornamentall and beneficiall. It were well if you could so contriue the buisinesse as to bee at litle charge for a library keeper, for there is not like to bee any constant studying at it, men being diuerted by the auocations of their profession. This librarie and bookes may bee a great honour vnto my lord in an anniuersarie encomium. I find that Mr. Papin hath published a litle booke of his new digester as vsefull in cookery, chymistrie, &c. butt how hee dissolueth bones you may say something when you write again to mee, if you bee acquainted with the manner. The newes letters tell us that the comet hath been seen agayne some few nights past. My Lady Pettus hath not been dangerously ill lately: shee hath hath had a great roughnesse with iching in her armes. I find in the new catalogue of bookes sett out by Clauell, The-

ophyli Benoti's *Sepulchrilum or Anatomia Practica,* and I haue heard something of it before, it may probably bee a considerable work, and concerne you to looke into it. What opinion haue men of it, or what is the price? I am glad my lady Gearie hath consulted you; and I doubt not butt you will bee very obseruant of her. Shee must surely bee left very well. All present respects to your self and my daughter Browne. Tom, God be thanked, is well. God blesse you all. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1833.]

March x, [1680-1.]

DEAR SONNE,

I perceave it is not improbable that you may read the next weeke, though there may be uncertaintie in it, whether the high sheriffe of Surrey will grant a body, or whether there will bee any to grant, and there will bee also some difficultie to convaye a body from Kingston in a reasonable time; whatever you read God, make it successefull unto you; I could bee very content it were over, because I cannot butt thinck that it doth take up allmost all your thoughts. I beleeve Mr. Deane was not with you, for wee heare that a daye or two after hee came to London hee fell ill of a vomitinge and loosenesse, whereof when his lady heard shee went presently to London, butt wee heard this weeke that hee was prettie well. I read an odde passage in the *Academia naturæ curiosa,* of Germanie, I thinck at Leipsick, in there first sheets published, of a person borne deaf, who could heare if they shaved his head upon the coronall suture, and washed it cleene, and then one put his mouth to it and spoke, which they say hee could heare; this is somewhat odde, and I doubt it will not hold, yett if the scull bee not closed a voyce may make some sound about the brayne. I think it is taken notice of [by] fewe, you may consider thereof with yourself and upon opportunity examine it. The

account of that body of philosophers is sometimes in the transactions, and this, among others, in a part of their transactions. Serve God and have a care of yourself; wee shall, God willing, provide for you the next weeke, your desires seem the quicker because we are in some . . . . . .

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

DEAR SONNE, April 26, [1681.]

I sent vnto you the scull of a poulcat's head, by yong Mr. Whitefoot, which I would haue you see and take notice of, and probably you haue none by you. I gave a badger's skull vnto Dr. Clarke, and if you meet with an opportunity keep one. The lower jawe of that which I had, needed no tying to the vpper, butt would moue and hold to the upper jawe without any tye. I had not obserued the like in any skull. For the disposing of your money into the East India Company, it were fitt to take friendly and good aduice before you resolue thereon. Two complaints I haue heard of the East India Company, ever since I was a youth, that it was a very hard matter to gett their money out who putt any in; and that the considerable profitt went vnto the officers. I remember my vnkle Browne had eight hundred pounds in that stock, and hee always complayned that proued the least profitable summe hee implyed in his estate, and could not gett it out, butt was fayne at last to sell it to his great disaduantage. The East India trade hath been great of late, butt how long it will bee so is uncertaine, for the commoditie of China silks and gownes, and the like, is not like to hold allwayes, with a mutable and changing people; and how the trade will bee interrupted I knowe not, when the French growe powerfull and buisie in the Indies. And therefore consider, aduise well, before you part with your money, or whether you may not as well or better otherwise dispose of it. Mr. Buxton doth well like of Mr. Mole, of whom Sir John Hobart writt. Hee intends to bee in London next Saturday. Hee will bee

glad of a carefull good natured man: for though his mind bee earnestly bent to the journey, yet hee is butt yet faynt, and had, as I heare, an angry push broake on his shoulder. God send my daughter a good deliuery, and blesse you all. Your loving father, THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

April 30, [1681.]

DEAR SONNE,

My worthy friend Mr. Deane Astley going to London, hee ciuilly asking mee whether I would send vnto you and hee would be ready in his seruice, I would not omitt to send this letter. I had nothing of litle bulk fitt to trouble him to carry; butt I knowe you will bee ciuill unto him and also to his lady. Hee hath had a lingering ague and aguish distemper which hath made him weake, yet hee knewe not howe to auoyd going to the conuocation, and hee preached last Sunday at the cathedrall: hee tooke the cortex, butt his ague returned, and [he] careth not to make further vse thereof, and hopes by degrees to repayre as hee hath formerly done in lingering distempers, and so I hope. There was some acceptions last time by his lady, that when shee had visited your self and wife the visit was not returned. God blesse you all. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Yesterday I had a cock bustard sent mee from beyond Thetford. I neuer did see such a vast thick neck: the crop was pulled out, butt as [a] turkey hath an odde large substance without, so had this within the inside of the skinne, and the strongest and largest neck bone of any bird in England. This I tell you, that if you meet with one you may further obserue it.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

May 14, [1681.]

DEAR SONNE,

Mr. Deane and his lady and sonne came safe to Norwich, and this morning hee deliuered vnto mee the medall of Cosmus, Duke of Florence: it is a good one, butt the inscription on the reuerse being altered in the word *vitem* for *vitis* makes it somewhat obscure. I will consider further of it. I haue not yet spoake with his lady concerning the *merc. dulcis.* I perceaue they feare it may saliuate if giuen without purges; butt it is dayly vsed for wormes, and sould by apothecaries, and giuen to lesser children without saliuating. I wish your case may succeed with the gentleman, as it may well do if hee hath not been saliuated before, and you are well acquainted in that way. You will deserue well, and I hope you will be considered accordingly. You knowe how beneficiall it proues vnto chirurgeons, and I would not haue you vndervalue your paynes. I haue not yet seen Sir William Adams, butt his lady was here on Tuesday, and complains very litle or nothinge, butt I perceaue shee hath some cough, though not much to what shee hath had. Madame Burwell hath more flesh then euer, butt is the same woeman, and her good parts the same, and her loue and respects vnto us and ours. Sir J. Pettus sayth hee is well, I haue not yet seen his lady. Sir John is fallen away in his flesh, as it is no wonder. I am glad my daughter Browne recouereth so well, God hath heard our prayers for her safetie. They tell mee that the child is bigge and fatt, the more care there need to bee of it, that hee bee not ouer nourished, which giues mee a hint to sett downe what Aristotle, *Histor. Animalium,* lib. iii. sayth of milk. In the same place, or neere it, hee speakes of the vast cowes of Epirus. These, perhaps, were buffalos, which are now knowne to bee so large in Epirus. Tom remembers his loue to litle Sukey. I am glad shee holds well. My daughter Fayrfax, I heare, will bee in London next weeke.

God blesse her. Respects and seruice to all our friends: to Mr. Whiting, sister Whiting, Mr. Boone, cosen Hobbs, Cradock, Mr. Dobbs, &c. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Mr. Payne, lately an alderman of Norwich, who liues in St. Gyles, his daughter, Mrs. Doughtie, will go to London the next weeke and consult you about the waters and some other infirmities. Shee is a good woeman and hath a sober honest gentleman of this countrie to her husband, of whom I will write further in my next, God willing.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

June 6, [1681.]

DEAR SONNE,

Mr. Deane Astley went to London on this day was se'nnight, and sayd he would call upon you: hee went butt much indisposed, and so had been in the country before, and with thoughts and desires to drinck the waters, especially of Tunbridge. My cosen Astley his lady went about a fortnight past, and caryed her sonne agayne to Windsor to bee touched agayne, and so hee was. They lodge at one Mr. Blagraues, in Westminster, by Henry the Seventh Chappell. This day, God bee thancked, wee had a fine showre of raine; the spouts of our howse haue not runne for eight or nine weekes before. I had a cough for six weekes, very fierce in the night, and it held mee till within these twelve or fourteen dayes, most persons in my howse had it or have it, except my wife. Frank hath it, and it hath been with hooping and vomiting: butt is persuadable to take litle, and will not abstaine from going to morning and euening prayers which wee daylie haue at our owne parish church. Tommy hath had it with some hooping and vomiting, butt now vomits butt seldome, butt sleepes prettie well in the night, and at any time when hee lyeth downe in the day: hee hath been very hot, and so that hee

begged to bleed a litle, and to goe into a balneum dalie, which [he] had vsed in a sicknesse before. These three dayes hee hath been in a better temper and prettie chearly, God bee praysed. A gentlewoeman's footboy with whom hee vsed to play, whose mistress is now at my howse staying for the guild, is in the same case, butt his cough more violent. Tom hath been nice and backward in taking things, butt my wife is and hath been most preualent with him, and hee tooke some purging and clysters readily. I shall not persuade you to buy Dr. Morrison's herball of five pound price. It was ill contriued to print it first in small volumes and then afterwards other peeces in large volumes, and fewer then euer are like to bee so criticall as formerly in botanicks, especially in the nomenclature and distinction of vegetables. The Atlas may proue a vsefull peece and a noble sett of volumes, so that I am glad you haue subscribed for them. My daughter Lytelton hath been at Tichfield, at my Lord Noel's howse, in Hampshyre, with whom you trauelled, where they are wellcome, and stay till the yackt appoynted comes to waft them to Guernsey. Tommy presents his duty. Loue and blessing to my daughter Browne. God blesse you all.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

Captain Williams was mistaken when hee told Captain Litleton's place, with his company, was worth a thousand pounds per annum.

Sir Thomas Browne to his daughter Mrs. Lyttleton.[9]

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CCCXCI.]

[June 6, 1681.]

DEAREST BETTY,

Thy letters are still our best divertion, to hear you and all that belong to you gat so well to Portsmouth was

[9] The present is the first of four letters preserved in No. 391, of the Rawlinson MSS. at the Bodleian, thus headed, "*Here follows some of them, my dear father*

very wellcom to us, your thoughts for us are equald with ours for you. I am sure there passes not a day that we are not severall times talking of you. Poor Tomeys cough have brought him in to a great heat, but I hope it will not be so bad as that feavor was which you were so helpfull to him; his stomack very bad, we are this after noon gouing to bath by his own desire.

Our Tommy has had a grieveous cof and feavor, your sister Frank has dun more for him then I could have thought; he was bled and bathd, and I bless God he has got down amongst us again, and is much delighted with your letters.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

[June, 1681.]

DEAR SONNE,

I perceave you are often mentioned in Dr. Grewes booke, you have much contributed to the metallicall description, which would have proved to thinne without what you have conferred. There was a prettie booke, writt 1612, by Michael Drayton, a learned poet, in smooth verse, called Polyolbion; and Mr. Selden writt a learned comment upon it, though without his name. It describeth many rivers and hills, of England and Wales, with figures of nymphs or shephards at them. . . . . .

I must give you a troble I did not desire you, but it is upon an eurgent ocation, our naybour Mr. Whightfout is to mary Mis Sucky Payne; the writings ar drawn and all concluded, but stay for some things which she could not please herselfe here with. I writ to my daughter Fairfax, to send sum pattern, becaus her mothar would willingly know the prises

and mother writ to me when I was at Guernsey." It was intended to place them together at the end of the Domestic Correspondence; but they are, perhaps, better in chronological order.

before she bought. I writt twice, the last I directed to you in her absance, but hearing nothing I fare thay both miscared. It is a gown, and petticot, and mantu, which she desires; if ther be no pattarns sent I pray send som as soone as you can, for ould Mr. Whightfott is as much in hast as his sonne, becaus hee desires a jerney to London, as soone as they are mared.

Your sister Frank love and services to you both, and love to Sucky. Her coffe has bin as bad as Tomeys, yet shee has bin a very good nurs for him.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

June 9, [1681.]

DEAR SONNE,

I am sorry to heare my louing worthy friend, Mr. Deane Astley, is in such a lowe and weake state, that I heare that Sir John Hobart sent a letter to Norwich, that hee would hardly bee aliue till his letter was receaued. Hee hath seemed to languish these divers moneths, to have no appetite, and no good disgestion, for hee could take but little nourishment, and had for the most part a loosenesse. Of late time hee hath been more at his parsonage, at Foullsham, 12 miles off, so I have seen him butt seldome. Hee was a man of a good comfortable spirit, and very vnactive in taking of medicall remedies; hath sometimes taken anti-scorbutiks, topicall applications to the stomack, rhubarb also in substance infused. But though hee went about, and was much abroad in the countrey, yet most men looked upon him in a declining condition, and that hee could not last any considerable time; and aboue 2 moneths since, the common voyce was heere that great meanes was made for the deanerie; such a confidence there was abroad that hee could not hold out. And I have now, from the letters of this day, little hope that by this letter you may be able to present my good wishes to so true and worthy a friend. I am glad Dr. Lower was with

you, and I beleeve very good remedies haue been vsed, and such of the best kind hee could admitt. My service, I pray, to my loving cosen Madame Astley. Wee are all much afflicted for so good a person. Few men were so sensible of his worth and goodnesse as myself.

I cannot excuse *Paulus Jovius*, in all what *Thuanus* obiects vnto him, for I beleeue hee is partiall in his elogia. Hee hath chapters upon many, litle better then schoolmasters; butt he deliures himself handsomely, and hath verses annexed vnto euery elogie or chapter, composed not by himself, but seuerall poets of his time; and, chiefly at least, hee writes upon those whose pictures hee could obtaine, to hang in his galleries, at Como, in Italie. All his workes, which I have not myself, are printed in 2 vol. at Basil, 1570; my *Elogia doctorum virorum*, is butt a midling octauo, printed at Basil. Hee hath also writt elogies of famous warriors and divers of the Turkish emperors, butt I haue only *doctorum virorum*, as lesse writt on by others. *Elogia Thuanen* is also good in its kind. There are many verses in *Jovius* his elogia, though but here and there considerable. I am glad you haue the *Laudatorie*, for now you are armed and may avoyd much sollicitude wheneuer it shall come or feare the coming. Forgett not *Phrases Scholæ Wintoniensis.*

Thes for Doctor Browne, att his hows, in Sallisbery Court, att the Black Balls, in the Square, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his daughter Mrs. Lyttleton.

[BIBL. BODL., MS. RAWL. CCCXCI.]

[June, 1681.]

DEAR BETTY,

You discribed your voyage very prettily. The Casquets are very noted rocks and infamous for many misfortunes; your brother Thomas who had very experimentall knowledge of the channell between England and France, would speak often of them and of Sark and other islands.

Almighty God is omnipotent every where in his mercys. Have not a doubtful opinion of us that we shall euer forget you, but write as often as possible, and be industrious in finding out ways of comunication. God bless you both.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

You may draw any thing that is in the island of any kind.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

June 20, [1681.]

DEAR SONNE,

The letter which I received from my daughter Lyttleton, at Garnsey, was, I beleeve, inclosed in your letter and vnsealed, butt was sent sealed by your seal, so that you might read it, and see what was in it. Shee discribeth the voyage well, and places neere which shee passed. Shee makes nothing of the Needles, which are rocks at the west end of the Isle of Wight, butt sayth the Casquetts are terrible rocks, not farre from the Isle of Alderney, and within 7 leagues of Garnsey, and your brother Thomas, I remember, was vsed to speake of them. They passed by the lesser islands, Sark, Arme, and Chetto, which belong to the gouernment of Gernsey. My sonne Littleton told us that G. abounded with varietis of sea fish, mullets, gurnets, rochets, and many more; many shell fishes also, and my daughter sayth shee allready had eat the best lobsters and artichoaks she euer eat, and had a present of 24 carpes, the biggest that euer shee sawe, and the biggest eeles, so that they intend my lord Noel a present of pickled eeles, as he desired of them, there being the most eeles of any place; being so large, they may bee congers.[1] Butt they haue large and fresh water ponds, and other such waters in the island. My lord Hatton, the cheef gouernour, liuing there diuers yeares

[1] Congers are abundant in Guernsey.—*Gray.*

did much good in the island. Phesants there are in very great numbers. I am well content that shee complained not of any great drought in the last weeks, in the island. My daughter Lit. directs mee to send my letters to Dr. Speed of Southampton, to bee sent to him. Whether hee bee a divine or physitian? If a physitian, I beleeve I knewe well his grandfather, or father, Dr. Speed. God blesse you all.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

DEARE SONNE,

I blesse God our deare Tome dooes still mend, but is so leane as there will be need of a good stomach, to recruitt him; which hee now has, if it may hould. Wee have found every change of wethar have puld him back, yet I will assure you I have bin as carfull as I could. He is now strangly delighted in helping to made the gardins, and hopes to looke out att the winding to morow. Hee presents his dutty to you and his mothar. I pray except all our loves. God of his mercy bless. I pray lett mee know if my daughter Fan haue sent any thing for Mr. Deane.

Your affectinat mothar,
DOROTHY BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his daughter Mrs. Lyttleton.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CCCXCI.]

Sept. 15, [1681.]

DEARE BETTY,

Tho it were noe wonder this very tempestious and stormy winter, yet I am sorry you had such an uncomfortable sight as to behold a ship cast away so neer you; this is noe strange tho unwelcom sight at Yarmouth, Cromer, Winterton, and sea towns: tho you could not saue them, I hope they were the better for your prayers, both those that perishd

and those that scapd. Some wear away in calmes, some are caried away in storms: we come into the world one way, there are many gates to goe out of it. God giue us grace to fit and prepare our selues for that necessity, and to be ready to leaue all when and how so ever he shall call. The prayers of health are most like to be acceptable; sickness may choak our devotions, and we are accepted rather by our life then our death: we have a rule how to lead the one, the other is uncertain, and may come in a moment. God, I hope, will spare you to serve him long, who didst begin early to serve him. There died thirty-six last week in Norwich. The small pox very common; and we must refer it to Gods mercy when he pleaseth to abate or cease it; for the last run of the small pox lasted much longer then this has yet dun. Your brother Thomas went once from Yarmouth in the evening, and arrived at the Isle of White the next day at one o'clock in the afternoon, but it was with such a wind, that he was never so sick at sea as at that time. I came once from Dublin to Chester at Michaelmas, and was so tossed that nothing but milk and possets would go down with me two or three days after. Your self is not impatient, you will haue noe cause to be sad: giue no way unto melancholy, which is purely sadnes without a reasonable cause. You shall never want our dayly prayers, and also our frequent letters. God bless you both.

I rest your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Sir Thomas Browne to his daughter Mrs. Lyttleton.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CCCXCI.]

[Autumn of 1681.]

DEAR BETTY,

Thou didst use to pass away much of thy time alone and by thyself in sober ways and good actions, so that noe place, how solitary so euer, can be strange to thee, nor, indeed, solitary, since God, whom thou servest, is euery where with thee, and thy thoughts on him, and noe place should be

teadious wherein we may serue God, and lay up a stock and treasure for our happiness in an other world. I am glad you carried good books and divers sermons. Probably there may be some good preachers there, especially of the French church: they preach in good French, though the speech of the common people be corrupt, you may hear some of their sermons. I hope you find some company with whom you may delight to convers. The French woemen are commonly frugall and good company, and the people may be well conditioned. I am glad you are in a commodious house. God send you your health; all things considered it may be feared you haue too much company rather then too litle. When I travailed beyond sea I resolved to my best power to doe nothing that should trouble my mind when I returnd into my own country. I know you will indeavor to do the like. You giue us satisfaction by your letters, continue the same. I beleeve you will fall to drawing, and, besides faces, it may be pleasent to the inhabitents as well as your self if you draw any thing elce in the island. Tom wishes himself with you for some days. God, I trust, will support and bless you; make your life as comfortable as you can under a sober and prudent management, allways conjoynd with the love, honour, and service of God, where in lyeth the truest content and happiness.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Dec. 26, [1681.]

DEAR SONNE,

I am heartily glad, and blesse Almightie God, to understand you are in a good way of recouerie. The Author of life restore health vnto you, and giue you wisedom to take care for the conseruation thereof, by sobrietie and temperance to auoyd fulnesse. Looke upon the 118th Psalme from the 14th verse to the 20th. The Epitome of Anatomie, in English, is come to Norwich, at seven shillings and sixpence

price, which is deare for an epitomie, and will sell the slower.[2] Boretus of the muscles may be pleasant, butt it is very much that hee should bee mistaken in a muscle. It was obserued long ago that Aristotle, who writ *De motu aut incessu Animalium*, did not vnderstand a muscle. Some imperfections will bee found in the best authors, and most excusable in them who lesse accuse or find fault with others. I hardly remember the small pox so much in Norwich as it hath been of late, and still continueth. Thirteen weekes ago there dyed, of all diseases, fifty-two. God be praysed it hath not been in my howse; and Tom hath held well. Tom is iust now gone to see two beares which are to be showne, butt the maior will not suffer them to be bayted, by reason of the contagion, by drawing yong people together. Some find good in your case by chewing of rhubarb. God blesse my daughter Browne and you all. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Jan. 9, [1681-2.]

DEAR SONNE,

I presume you are carefull of your health, and not only to regayne butt to conserve it. Long health is apt to begett security, and God mercifully interposeth some admonitions and rubbs to make us consider ourselves, and to carry a warie hand in our affayres of all kinds. The merciful providence of God go ever with you, and continue to blesse you. Mr. Carpenter, who brought the letters, is secretary of Jersey, and when or whether hee goes back to Guernzey, I beleeve is uncertaine; for, to obtaine conveniency of passage, the Jersey men come commonly to Guernzey. I thinck you did

2 Thomas Gibson, M. D. Anatomy of Human Bodies Epitomized. 8vo. Lond. 1682.

well not to hazard your self at that time by such a journey as to Lewys, whereof part is very bad waye. I remember, when I was very yong, and I thinck butt in coates, my mother carryed mee to my grandfather Garawayes howse in Lewys. I retaine only in my mind the idea of some roomes of the howse, and of the church. Our maior was sent for by a letter to appeare before the king and counsell the weeke before Xmas; some chief brewers of Norwich and excisemen had accused him for putting downe some alehouses, and denying to licence others, and hindring the kings profitt. Butt when hee had shewen that he did butt what the law required of him, that there were still an unreasonable number of alehouses, and that they were a great occasion of debaucherie and povertie in the towne, so that the rates to the poore have been encreased eight hundred pounds more then formerly, hee was dismissed with commendations. His maiestie soone perceaved the excisemen and brewers made a cloake of his interest for their owne, and would not have his subjects debauched and impoverished upon his account. Wee have had much cyder given us this winter, and now at Christmas it is apt to gripe many, and so hard that they drinck it with a little sugar. That which was sent you from Guernsey may probably bee good, but having been upon the sea tis likely it may be hard. My wife and others, except myself, drinck a little at meales; and Tom calls for the bottomes of the glasses, where tis sweetest, and cares litle for the rest. It helps to make good syllibubs in the summer. A great part of our newes is of the king of Fez and Morocco's embassadour, with his presents of lyons and oestridges.[3] I remember an embassadour who, in King Charles the First's time, came from the king of Morocco to help him to besiedge Sally, then revolted from him; hee besiedged it by land, and the English with eight shipps by sea, and so the town was taken. Hee brought with him many gallant horses, for a present, with strong tayles and very long maines, and pictures thereof were taken; and there is one still in this towne; and, at a gentleman's howse in the country, the picture of the Moorish embassadour on horseback, as hee rid through London at his entry, as bigge

[3] Evelyn i, 537, 8.

as the life, which cost fiftie pounds, and is a noble peece, about as bigge as Titian's[4] Charles the First on horseback, in the hall of the Duke's place. I am glad my cosen Cradock is come of so well. Tis like my L. S. will sett still, and content to have escaped such a danger. Love and blessing to you, my daughter Browne, and you all, as also from my wife; love from Franck, duty from Tom.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

I doubt all my letters sent [to] Guernsey within these two moneths lye still at Southampton; the wind having continued southerly and westerly at this time of yeare beyond observation, to the great detriment of many marchands.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Jan. x, [1681-2.]

DEAR SONNE,

I thanck you for the account of the embassadour of the King of Fez and Morrocco, you did well to give a visit unto a person so unusual, and so much talked of. Hee will, at his returne, tell stories of wonder unto his countrymen, and such as they will hardly understand, butt I thinck the king doth wisely to caresse him, and shewe him the respect he giveth him; for such a tyrannicall ambitious prince as hee seemeth, may probably bee sooner taken with such honours then with ordinarie respects. Now what kind of prince Muley Ismael is, a letter you sent mee, concerning the embassage unto him, did give mee notice about 2 moneths since; and I have showed that letter to divers, who were glad to see it. There being so many oestridges brought over, tis likely some of them

[4] This is an error; Titian died in 1576. It was Vandyke; to whom Charles I. repeatedly sat.

will [be] brought about to showe, hither, as soone as other parts out of London. If any of them dye, I beleeve it will bee dissected; they have odde feet and strong thighes and legges. Tis much the use of the eggeshells is not more common in physick, like other eggeshells and crabbs eyes or clawes; and there would be enough to bee had, if they were looked after, and sought for, by the droggesters. Perhaps the king will putt 3 or 4 of these oestridges into St. James' park, and give away the rest to some noblemen. The time of your lecture is yet a prettie way of, and perhaps the chirurgeons are not so well agreed as to have one; you were prepared a yeare or 2 agoe. The new English anatomie speakes of things briefly, butt according as they are receaved in the new doctrine, and so may bee usefull in its kind, pray bee carefull in your dyet, and the 6 non-naturalls, that you may the better establish your health, and assist nature to renewe your blood now the sunne is approaching. Mr. Wilson, who was my sonne Lytelton's lieutenant, was heere some yeares past. Wee heard that my lord Noel, who sayd hee knewe you in your travells, was to bee governour of Portsmouth, and wee knowe hee is a mightie kind friend to my sonne L. butt how farre it is in his power to do him good, wee knowe not. Col. Legge, the former governour, was also his good friend. God blesse you, my daughter Browne, and you all. Tom presents his duty, Frank her love, my wife the like.

Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

My L. Townshend sent a letter to my cos. Townshend, that hee would have no voyces made upon his interest, for Sir J. Hobart and Sir Peter Gleane, I perceave hee thincks new men would do best, when there shall be an election; but is not fallen out with Sir John or Sir Peter.

For Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, these, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Feb. 3, [1681-2.]

DEAR SONNE,

I beleeve you must bee carefull of your ostridge, this returne [of] cold wether, least it perish by it being bredd in so hot a countrey, and perhaps not seen snowe before or very seldome, so that I beleeve it must be kept under covert, and have strawe to sitt upon, and water sett by it to take of, both day and night. Must have it observed how it sleepeth, and whether not with the head under the wing, especially in cold wether, whether it bee a wachfull and quick hearing bird, like a goose, for it seems to bee like a goose in many circumstances. It seems to eat any thing that a goose will feed on, and like a goose to love the same green hearbs, and to delight in lettuce, endive, sorrell, &c. You will bee much at a losse for hearbes this winter, butt you may have cheape and easie supply by cabbadges, which I forgott to mention in my last, and draines, all kind of graines and brinne, or furfure, alone or mixed with water or other liquor. To geese they give oates, &c. moystned with beere, butt sometimes they are inebriated with it. If you give any iron it may bee wrapped up in doue or past; perhaps it will not take it up alone. You may trie whether it will eat a worme, or a very small eele; whether it will drinck milk, and observe in what manner it drincks water. Aldrov. and Johnstonus write, that a goose will not eat bay leaves, and that they are bad for it. You may laye a bay leafe by the oestridge, and observe whether it will take it up, you may in your next lr. drawe the figure of the head with a pen, for the Icons in Bellonius, Johnstonus, and Aldrov. do not seeme to bee strictly like yours. Johnstonus sayth, "*Rostrum habet exiguum sed acutum.*" When it is anatomized, I suppose the sceleton will bee made, and you may stuffe the skinne with the feathers on. You must observe that peculiarity or difference from other animals, "*Palpebras habet vtrinque solus alitum ut homo, pilos in su-*

periore palpebra." When the dissection of it is intended, it were fitt to take the wayght of it. If it delights not in salt things, you may trie it with an olive. The next weeke, God willing, on Monday or Wednesday, I intend to send to you agayne, and a paper which I mentioned, wherin will bee some hints, which I set downe after the perusall of Aldrovandus, Johnstonus, Bellonius, &c. and some others which came into my mind; you may adde or diminish, or passe by, as you find cause. The king or gentlemen will bee litle taken with the anatomie of it, though that must also bee, butt are like to take more notice of some other things which may bee sayd upon the animal, and which they vnderstand. Have a care of yourself this sharpe wether. God blesse you all. I rest

Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Feb. 5, [1681-2.]

DEARE SONNE,

Mr. Alexander Briggs, the drs. brother, being to go to London to morrowe, came to aske of mee whether I would send any thing to you, and I would therefore send these few lines. It is hee who was so leane and emaciated in London, divers yeares past, and an honest good yong man, who liveth with his father. I have enclosed these two heads of an ostridge, which Franck suddenly drewe out; figure 1 is the head, as I find it in Bellonius "*De la nature des oyseaux,*" in French, which book perhaps you cannot easily meet with; mine was printed at Paris, 1555. I doubt it will not well answer the head of yours. That of figure 2 is the head of one in Mr. Willoughbye's Ornithologia, Mr. Raye's, which many have. The heads are different; whether the head of the male and female bee so different, I knowe not; nor, when

authors sett downe the figures, do they tell us whether they bee of male or female, butt such likely as they had the opportunity to see. The head in Willoughbye's Ornithologia is different from that in Aldrovandus or Johnstonus, by that circular rising on the head; mark the foote well of yours, whether it hath any kind of teeth, and the one division more hornie then the other; the tayle in all is round not sprede. You may read Raye's chapter upon the oestridge; myne is in Latin. Nierembergius speakes of some oestridges to bee found in America, butt not so well fetherd as in Africa. I intend, God willing, to write to you by the post, on Wednesday, with some hints on this subject. I beleeve you have enough to do to keepe it, this cold wether; if it should swallow 3 or 4 nuttgalls, I beleeve they would be voyded whole, and perhaps bind the body. God blesse you all.

Your loving father,

THO. BROWNE.

Looke upon Mr. Raye's cutt, in the Ornithologia. When the elephant was heere in a cold season, they covered a good part of him with strawe.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

Feb. 9, 1681-2.

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

I received a letter from you this day, wherein were two heads of oestridges. The first is nothing like ours, but the second is, that which is taken out of Mr. Willoughbye's booke; and the head stands upright upon the neck as it really does, and the head makes a right angle with the neck when it walkes, and so it turnes its head prettily, and there is a litle round vertebra next to the head, on purpose for the head to turne about more elegantly, but the bill of ours seemes to be more flat than of either of those sent in the letter, and

the round eare is not exprest in the figures. Ours died of a soden, and so hindred the drawing or delineating of the head and other parts, or making further experiments. We gave it a peece of iron which weighed two ounces and a half, which we found in the first stomack again not at all altered. In the skeleton we finde nine ribbes; six true ribbes which goe quite round, and three false ribs which make but part of the circle, and come not to the sternon. One of the false ribbes is before and two behinde the true ribbes. There are seven vertebræ of the back, to which the six true ribbes are joyned, and the one false ribbe before; the two false ribbes behinde are joined to the vertebræ of the loynes, which are solid and united to the *os ilium*, and not movable. There are ten bones in the tayle, the last is the largest, flat, and long. By the skeleton and the cartilages, I perceive that our oestridge was a young one, and might have growne much bigger, and there is a skeleton of an oestridge, in the repository of the Royall Society, whose bones are firmer, bigger, and stronger. There is a designe of translating Plutarch's lives into English again, the English of the former being not so pure as what is now spoken; divers are to be employed in it, and I am desired to translate the life of Themistocles for my share. I shall have the Greeke and the French sent me; if I doe it, it must be in the evenings, and I may take my owne time. My duty to my most dear mother, and love to my sister and Tommy.

Your most obedient sonne,
EDWARD BROWNE.

For my honour'd father Sir Thomas Browne, at his house in Norwich.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Feb. x, [1681-2.]

DEAR SONNE,

I am glad you have done so much, if not in a manner all, in your oestridge buisiness. The 2 papers you sent

are very well done, and with good exactnesse. I have read them often over. Some particular anatomicall dissections and discussions have been printed, by some of the R. S., and I do not see why this may not bee, it having not been done before, and about 3 sheets of paper may containe it, and it will not be necessarie to have figures. I find in the weekely memoriall of this weeke, *Gerardi Blasii Anatome Animalium*, wherein are anatomies of various quadrupeds, fishes, birds, &c. printed at Amsterdam, 4to. 81, in the number whereof I do not find an oestridge. I hope you will receave my letter this day, which I sent on Wednesday last, wherein that paragraph which is on it concerning its voyce or note may go thus; "*Quæ sit illi vox aliis perscrutatur, ego vocem ejus nunquam audivi*," sayth Aldrovandus, butt while it was in my howse his voyce was taken notice of, and they who heard it likened it to the crying or schriking of a hoarse child, butt I thought it more mournfull and dismall.

You may perhaps yet take notice whether it hath litle teeth like a goose, but they are most, if not only, found in fowls that can live in the water. If you boyle the head of a goose the sutures are playne. You need not bee to hastie in what you do, butt nether to slowe, least other oestridges should dye, and others dissect them. Have a care of your health and bee thanckfull unto God. God blesse you, my daughter Browne, and the litle ones. You did well to write to your sister Fayrfax, and prescribe for her. Gilla[5] may bee probably good agaynst the childs fitts.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

Tom, God bee praysed, is well and presents his duty.

In your 2 papers sent there is enough to afford a large discourse, butt things must bee first writt briefly, whatever additions may be made hereafter; this being, I thinck, the first oestridge dissected in England, at least to any purpose.

It is some wonder how such numerous birds, which go in such great numbers often together, can be sustained in the desert and barren parts of Africa. If you gett any con-

[5] Gilla, now called *zinci sulphas*, or in common language, white vitriol.—*Gray*.

ference with any of the retinue of the embassade, you may enquire further whether lyons and tigers do not prey upon them.

For Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, these, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

Feb. xiii, [1681-2.]

DEAR SONNE,

I receiued yours, and I conceaue you may adde vnto your description of the outward parts first sent; the bill of this ostridge seems to bee more flat then in the figure of any I haue seene. The eare is round and large so as to admit the top of ones finger, and is playnly sett downe in the figure of Johnstonus. It beareth the head remarkably vpright upon the neck, and the head makes a right angle with the neck when it walketh, and so turnes its head more prettily, and there is a litle round vertebra next to the head whereby the head turnes about more elegantly. In the paper I sent beginning *quæ sit illi vox, &c.* and concluding movrnfully dysmall, this may bee added which confirmeth the account giuen by Mr. Sandys in his trauells. There are great flocks of ostridges in the deserts, they keepe in flocks and often fright stranger passengers with their fearfull screeches. You are not confined, you may bring this and other in where you find it will best come in.

You say in your last there are 7 ribbes, as also there are seuen vertebræ of the back, to which the six true ribbes are joyned, and the one false or bastard ribbe before. This must bee made more playne for it will not bee readily conceaued how the one bastard ribbe is joyned before.

There are x bones in the tayle. I knowe not whether you should call it the tayle. Aldrouandus sayth,[6] "*Coccyx nouem vertebris humanis similibus coagmentatur.*"

[6] Ornithol. fol. 1599, p. 598.

You write of a designe of translating Plutarch's liues agayne, probably by some stationers, which if it proceeds, will take some time. It was first translated by Amyot, bishop of Auxerre, but whether immediately out of the Greeke and by some help of the Latin, or not, also and especially out of the Italian, I knowe not; for the French formerly translated old writers out of the Italian, and we afterwards out of the French. Sir Thomas North translated his out of the French, which is that which commonly passeth, and dedicated it to Queen Elizabeth, which was that you and your brother Thomas vsed to read at my howse, reprinted 1612, of a fayre and legible print. 1656, it was printed agayne, as also Plutarch's moralls by one Lee, I thinck, a stationer, in Fleet-street, but in a lesse letter and little or no alteration, whereas, if the disused words and some other faults had been altered, North's translation might haue suffised and still passed, especially with gentlemen, who, if the expression bee playne looke not into criticismes. The French language is altered since Amyot's translation, butt perhaps there is another since Amyot's, or Amyot's rectified. If you undertake it, bee sure to take time enough, for you will only haue time in the euenings, which in the summer are long and warme. If you haue the Greek Plutarke haue also the Latin adioyned vnto it, so you may consult either upon occasion, though you apply yourself to translate out of French, and the English translation may be some times helpfull. God blesse you, my daughter Browne, and little ones.

Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

DEARE DAUGHTER,

I am glad to heare you ar all well, I bless God wee ar so att present, and I hope your sister Fairfax little on may haue no more fitts, she is very thankfvl to my sonne for his care of her, and wee hope all so thanke him. I find by her writing she is so much consarned, as I ferre it may dooe that which she is withall much hurt; I haue writ to her what I can to perswad her to patiance. Your Tomey grows a stout fellow, I hope you will com and see him this svmmor, hee is

in great expextion of a tumbler you must send him for his popet show, a punch he has and his wife, and a straw king and quen, and ladies of honor, and all things but a tumbler, which this town cannot aford: it is a wodin fellow that turns his heles ouer his head.

Your sister Frank present her serues to my daughter, and begs that she would send sombody to Mr. Browns, att the Blew Bell and Key, in Little Queens Street, and by her a set of craions which will cost a crown she is told: perhaps cheaper.

For Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, these, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Febr. 21, [1681-2.]

DEAR SONNE,

After I had sent my letter to Mr. Packle, I found my error, for I enclosed the letter I receaued from you this day, instead of this which I enclosed in this letter; which concernes something of the oestridge, which may remind you of something of it. The other was of the eclips which is very rational, and I was glad to see it, and also concerned Themistocles, of which I writt something in my other letter. If this new translation bee knowne to bee made out of the old French translation, men knowing there is a truer, it may much disparadge the opinion and sale of it.

Your loving father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Feb. 15, [1681-2.]

DEAR SONNE,

I receaved yours by the last post, which you writt after eleven o'clock at night, and made a shift to send it the same night. You did well to observe the eclipse, for it was a totall one, and remarkable. By this time probably you have conferred with knowing persons about it, your doubts were rationall, and also your thoughts of the Apogæum, and how the shadowe of which should bee so faynt as not to obscure the moone more, whereas some times it hath been observed, "*Lunam eclipsatam interdum penitus in cœlo evanuisse.*" Butt I doubt not butt something will be sayd hereof at the R. S. or elswhere, from whence they will receave accounts, and also from Mr. Flamsted. The wind hath been these 3 dayes at south west agayne, so that wee may expect letters from Guernsey. Wee heare the Duches of Portsmouth goeth for France, some time in March. I doubt the English will not like the setting up a colledge of physitians in Scotland,[7] nor their endeavouring to sett up an East India and straight company.[8] They hope to do anything, by the favor and encouragement of the duke. If they sett up a colledge and breed many physitians, wee shall bee sure to have a great part of them in England.

Mr. Clarke tells mee hee sawe 2 ostridges in London, in Cromwell's time. Though you sawe an ostridge in the Duke of Florance his garden, yett I do not perceave you sawe any one among the curiosities and rarities of any of the princes of Germany. Perhaps the king will send some of his to the King of France, the Prince of Orange, &c. The

7 29th Nov. 1681, the king, by his letters patent, incorporated certain physicians in Edinburgh and their successors, into a body politick, by the title of the President and Royal College of Physicians, at Edinburgh.

8 29th Oct. 1681, Charles II, granted a charter to "the Company of Merchants of the city of Edinburgh." It was confirmed June 15, 1693, till which time the trade of Edinburgh seems to have been confined to Norway, the Baltick, and England.

losse of the Netherlands hath been very great, butt I hope not so great as is related. God blesse you all.

Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

DEARE DAUGHTER,

I writ to you in hast in my sonnes last, to gett som crayons for your sister Franke, and to mind you of Tomey. Our neighbour Mr. Sander Brigs is now in London, and does not com hom till the next weeke; if you have the things ridy, hee may bring them. I sopos hee will call upon you before hee com down. I besich God bless you and all yours. I pray keep a count what you lay out for us, and I will send it.

Your affectinat mother, D. BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

[March? 1681-2.]

DEAR SONNE,

I sent this day the two sheetes of Themistocles, by the two dayes coaches, by yong Mr. Barnham, who is brother to Mr. Thomas Ward's wife, of Friday Street. My daughter Lyttleton sent mee word that shee had sent the draught of Cornet Castle, and also the draught of the towne, taken on the land side, from a rock. Pray bee carefull that they may bee carefully sent, and by sure hands, for I would by no means have them miscarry. My cosen Cradock sent mee kindly an excuse, that hee could not possibly give mee a visit in that hurry; God send him his health, and to bee able to endure the hurries and ill dyet which hee is exposed unto. A guinne for a night's lodging, every night, I beleeve will make divers wearie of Newmarket. God blesse you all.

Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

March 15, [1681-2.]

DEAR SONNE,

I perceave my Lady Portsmouth was not forgetfull of you, though I thinck it had been best not to have hazarded it, butt if possible to have taken your leave, especially when there might bee some doubt of her returnne. The verses upon the monument of Themistocles are good, butt the sense much enlarged; so that I doubt they will not bee admitted as a translation, the originall being so much shorter, though these might be most for his honour. I am glad my cosen Townshend dined with you; I heare hee comes to Norwich to-morrowe night with my Lady Adams, by a letter which my wife receaved from Madame Burwell this morning, brought by Alderman Freeman's daughter. Beside my daughter Lyttleton's letter I receaved one from Mr. Isaac Carey, one of the jurites or justices of Guernsey, a civill person and great acquaintance of my sonne and daughter. Hee sent mee one before, which I answered, and now another kind complimental one in French also. Hee hath read many English bookes, and I beleeve accommodates my sonne and daughter with some. They have had heart porridge, and tanseyes, some weekes allreadie, and varietie of lobsters and crabbs, for the pearly *auris marina* which they call ermus, the pectines or skollops, turbines or whilks, and divers others, though commonly eaten, shee cannot reconcile her palate to them, butt likes their oysters. It was my misfortune to bee layd up at that time, otherwise I had not fayled to wayt upon his Highness; butt I heare that a Scoch lord enquired for mee, which I beleeve was the Earle of Perth, a notable and learned person. Norwich grewe soone emptie, butt Newmarkett filleth, butt how they will shift for lodgings wee knowe not. Love and blessing to my daughter Browne, and litle ones. Tom's galling is in a manner well.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court,
next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

March 28, [1682.]

DEAR SONNE,

I send this letter by Captain Lulman, and with him twenty-five shillings; for I find I am indebted for some bookes vnto Mr. Martyn, bookseller, at the Bell, in St. Paul's Church Yard, twenty-four or twenty-five shillings. When Mr. Ray was to print his Ornithologie, or description of birds, I lent him many draughts of birds in colours,[9] which I had caused at times to bee drawne, and both hee and Sir Philip Skippon promised mee that they should bee safely returned; butt I haue not since receaved them. Butt they were left in Mr. Martyn's hand; therefore present my service unto Mr. Martyn, and desire him from mee to deliver the same unto you, and I shall rest satisfied. Pay him the twenty-five shillings which are now sent, with my respects and service; for I have alwayes found him a very civill and honest person.

I rest your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

March 31, [1682.]

DEAR SONNE,

I sent by Mrs. Green the sugar baker, my neibour, a roll upon a stick, with the figure of a naked man, wherein may bee seen all the veynes of the body, which were vsed to bee opened by the ancients, and also by the modernes; with directions, in Latin, how, and in what cases. I have had [it]

[9] Which are mentioned in the preface to Willoughby's Ornithology, by Ray, p. 16.

fortie yeares; and probably it is not now easily to bee gott, and there might bee additions and exceptions made, to better the designe; as also if the figure were made two or three times larger, and in a flesh colour or yellowish, for so the veynes might bee more visible, if it were hung up, and a good picture might perhaps bee made thereof. I would not have you part therewith. This I send will keepe best rolled up, for if you hang it agaynst a wall, it will growe fowl and dark in no long time, as I had experience by keeping it open but a litle while; you may consider hereof, and do as you think good. Since it hath pleased God to restore your health, [may] hee also establish it unto you. Hazard not the amission[1] of it; you have a fayre opportunity and also excuse to be temperate, and to avoyd the common excesse of the times, in what may any way injure your body. Now is also your best time of frugallitie and saving, that you may not repent the lost opportunities when you will be unable to repayre them. I beleeve Mr. Peirce is not at Newmarket, butt I understand Mr. John Browne[2] is. I heare that the third part of the Atlas is out, and the fourth in the presse, so that you may soon have a third part of the whole work. One Mr. Adams, a strange active, industrious person, is about the description of England, with mapps, in three volumes, which hee sayth will bee found of a larger size then the Atlas, and that it will come out in three yeares. Perhaps that part of the Atlas which concernes England will not come out, or bee deferred till Adams' be published. Mr. Adams his sett will bee at ten pounds, hee hath many subscriptions, butt, I beleeve, when they are published, they will be as cheap to the buyer as to the subscriber, only the money is not all payd at once. The small pox is much in Norwich still, and I perceave the bills of mortallity encreased considerably last weeke in London. The weeke before, there dyed in all in Norwich but twenty, and this weeke thirty-one. The cold weather spoyles the field sports at Newmarket, where men are content to drinck very bad claret, at eighteen pence a bottle, and Havre dearer. The coming of the Emperor of

[1] Loss.

[2] One of the surgeons in ordinary to Charles II.; the author of a work on the king's evil, and the royal gift of healing the same.

Morocco will still drawe in more company out of the country. East India ships should come in soone. Is *lapis goæ* much used? Mr. Love's eyes are well. God blesse my daughter Browne, and you all. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

[April, 1682.]

DEAR SONNE,

I presume by this time you receaved my letter, by Captain Lulman. I receaved yours last weeke, with Dr. Grewe's paper of proposalls,[3] and I am willing to subscribe for one booke myself, and will shewe the paper unto others, and probably some may subscribe, butt others may bee backward, there having been so many subscriptions to other bookes, and some now on foot. I should bee willing to do him any service. You had a kind of fungus not usual, *fungus ligneus lanterniformis*, like the lanterne of a building; and you had also I thinck the draught thereof. I have also a draught by mee; if you remember not what you did with it, I can send you the draught. It was found within a rotten willowe. Of the *Lapis obsidianus Islandicus* you had a peece, which I receaved from Island; and I have another peece of three times the bignesse. There is a rock of it in Island, butt at a good distance from the sea, and I beleeve it is not usual to meet with such a stone. Among the draughts of birds which Mr. Martyn had, I thinck there is the icon of an unusuall kind of locust, which was given mee long ago, and brought from the West Indies, butt I never sawe another; which I was fayne to call *locusta sonora*, as supposing that odde horny excursion or prominence, running beyond the

3 Probably, "Proposals for printing his Anatomy of Plants," which were read to the Royal Society, March 15, 1681-2, and printed in that year, fol. Lond. 1682.

head, made the sound the lowder. I have the animal, and will have it drawne out, if need bee.

Wee all long to heare of my daughter Browne's safe delivery. Pray present my service to my sister Whiting and Mr. Whiting. God blesse you all.

Your louing father,
THOMAS BROWNE.

You may well insert that verse you mention, as thus: "The water of the Danube seemes white, troubled, and more confused, according to the expression of Virgil. . . . .[4] That of the Savus, &c." I remember you sent me some good observations of an asse's colt or fole, to give a reason of an asse's bearing so great a burden, of the baying, &c. which you might have well mentioned at your dissection, if you did not forgett it.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

May 8, [1682.]

DEAR SONNE,

I hope you have receaved the seven sheets of the translation you sent mee; the three last I cannot yet find an opportunity to returne. Last weeke a bookeseller of this towne sent mee some newe bookes to vewe, among which was a Historie of Athiopia, set out by one Ludolphus, and translated into English, and now published in a thinne folio, with some cutts in it, especially of some animals, as apes, elephants, &c. The author seemes to bee a learned, sober, person. There is also a booke in 8vo. of Dr. Sydenham's,[5] treating most of the small pox, chiefly *de variolis confluentibus,* and hystericall and hypochrondriacall symptomes; upon the solli-

[4] This line was introduced in the folio edition of the Travels, p. 26:—
"Turbidus et volvens flaventeis Ister arenas."

[5] Sydenham Thomas, M.D. *Dissertatio de Febre Putrida, Variolis confluentibus, &c.* 8vo. Lond. 1682.

citation of Dr. Cole, of Worcester. It is well writt, wherein are many good things, and some very paradoxicall. Tis much that the coaches travell to and from London, the last night was so windie; it rayned so much that they were fayne to rise to prevent the overflowe of the cockeys. The people are afrayd of a Colchester yeare, God of his mercy send more favourable seasons. Wee heare the Bantam embassadour[6] hath brought a present of rough diamonds to the king, butt no strange animals. I hope litle Sukey is well recovered by this time. Mr. Clark is in a very lowe condition. God blesse you all. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Wee heare from Guernsey on Saturday, by a letter dated April 27, when the Monmouth yact is mended, and fitted, and returnes to Guernsey by Captain Cotton, shee intends to take the advantage of the first wind, and they expect the yackt dayly. If the Duke of York were at sea, hee had a tempestuous night, and the like hee had before hee gott to Yarmouth. I beleeve the Monmouth yackt is fitted at London or Portsmouth. My service to my cosens Cradock, cosens Hobbs, my Lady Adams, Madame Burwell, Mr. and Madame Suckling.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Monday, May 29th, [1682.]

DEAR SONNE,

My daughter Lytelton came to my howse this daye, about six o'clock in the morning; shee came from Guernsey on Thursday last in the afternoone; and arrived at Yarmouth on Sunday, about five or six o'clock in the afternoone. Shee had a most pleasant passage, and was not sick all the while, though shee could have been contented to have been sea-sick,

[6] See Evelyn, i, 544.

as shee was when shee went from Portsmouth to Guernsey. When shee came by Deale, by a shippe that was going to Deale, shee writt a letter unto you, and the master of the shippe promised that hee would putt it into the post office of Deale; that as soone as you receaved it, you might write to my sonne Lytelton, and give him notice that shee was come safe as farre as the Downes, on Saturday last. If they had come a day sooner, they had mett with his Royal Highnesse: who I thought would have a tedious passage, in such disadvantage of winds as I told you. Captain Cotton, commander of the Monmouth yackt, which attendeth on Garnsey, did not come to an anchore in Yarmouth road, butt sayled into the haven's mouth, and came up the streame as farre as Gorlston, and there anchored; then putt out his boat, and the mariners rowed your sister up into the towne; and shee landed on the key and went to the Three Fethers, where shee had a light supper provided, and came away by boat that night, and to Norwich by six o'clock, praysed bee God. Shee came not on shoare all the waye, which is a hundred leagues, nor cast anker, butt only two howers off of Lestoffe. When Captain Cotton had come so neere as Gorlston, hee discharged all his gunnes, and also a lowd kind of gunne, though butt small, called paturaines, which had been taken from the Turks; whereupon, it being Sunday, a great many runne out of the towne to see what shippe was come in, the greater part having never seen one of the king's yackts so neere hand, and that newlie trimmed and paynted, tooke much delight to looke upon it. Captain Cotton, having never seen Norwich, intends to bee heere to-morrowe, to see the place, and then returne with as much speed as the winds will give leave. That honest, industrious, gentleman, Dr. Grew, writt unto mee, and sent mee his proposalls, which you knowe, on last Saturday. I have sent him this day my owne subscription, Dr. Howman's, Dr. Harvy's and Mr. Henry Bokenham's. Myself and Dr. Howman paye downe ten shillings a peece, for the half paye, and desire for each of us a coppy of Duch-demy; the other two paye downe butt seven shillings and sixpence for the first pay, as being the half of fifteen shillings a peece; so that the whole comes to one pound fifteen shillings, which money is in

my hand. Pray, therefore, pay unto Dr. Grew one pound fifteen shillings, and desire him to give a receipt particular to every one, and I will, God willing, find an opportunity to repay you and send you that money.

I returned the papers by Mr. Andrewe Brierton, atturney, lodging at Furnevalls Inne, at Mr. Thymblethorp's chamber. There are three translations of the meeter of the rapturd pædagogue; that on the left side of the sheet [is] the playnest, that which rymes every second word not so allowable. God blesse you all. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

DEARE DAUGHTER,

Your fathar have given you an acount of your sister Lyttelton's arivall safe amongst us; wee bless God for it. And now I hope to see you and yong Suecy here, and when you cum, my cosen Bendish desires you to bring her fan along with you, or to send it if you have an opertunity. You must also bring Tomey anothar hat, hee gives you many thanks for his clothes; hee has apered very fine this king's day with them. Yong Mistres Whightfoutt is now brought to bad, with a fine boy. As you helped att the weding, so you must dooe now. A lased taile, of fifty shilins, or if it be somthing more, as you shall see caus, and two thin houds; she would gladly have them next Satterday night, by the choch, and you shall have the money. I pray God bless you and yours. Your affectinat mothar,

DOROTHY BROWNE.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

[June, 1682.]

DEAR SONNE,

I haue read ouer the four sheets, and shall, God willing, returne them by the first good opportunity. I knowe not whether you intend to putt any marginall notes, which

denotes some particulars how the storie proceeds in the subiect thereof, according as it is in our English translation; which is somewhat more gratefull to the reader then a bare margin, and affords some direction when a man would find out any particular. I told you I doubted much that it would not bee allowable in a translator to putt in the last verses, which are so many, and some not at all contained or implyed in the originall.

The first may bee retained, butt you may consider whether they may not passe thus:

> Thy (Σὸς *thy*, not *your*,) tomb is fittly placed on the strand
> Where marchands from all parts may passe or land,
> And shippes from euery quarter come in sight,
> And here engage in many a bloody fight,
> So that thy ashes, placed on the shore,
> Both earth and sea may honour and adore.

Wee do not yet heare whether Captain Cotton bee returned to Guernsey. Hee sayd hee would call at your house. Butt my daughter hath receaued two letters from her husband since shee came to Norwich: hee writes that on the last of May, at three in the morning, upon a vehement storme of thunder, rayne, and hayle, the sea, in the hauen where the shipps laye, flowed and ebbed twice in lesse than half an hower; so that it ranne allmost quite out of the hauen at high water, and in agayne. My daughter, knowing the place, giues some account how it might possibly come to passe. Dr. Parham brought mee a philosophicall collection of last Marche. sent mee from Dr. Briggs; it containes an account of a monstrous animal vomited up and obserued by Dr. Martin Lister, of York; a new theorie of vision communicated to the Royal Society by Dr. Briggs; and a voyage made to the South *terra incognita*, extracted from the Journall of a Captaine Abel Jansen Tasman. I am obliged to giue Dr. Briggs my thancks by a few lines. I haue not seen a philosophicall collection a long time. Perhaps your account of the oestridge was not printed, butt what you sent mee I had got transcribed. When I send the papers of translation, I shall, God willing, send also a paper with some notes which you are to consider:

> Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
> Interpres——

was Horace his advice, *de arte poetica*, and hee may bee *fidus interpres* who renders not only the words butt also enlargeth a little, maintaining the same, and so you have done allowably in both. My daughter tells mee they haue very good powdred beef and neates tongues brought to them frequently from Ireland, which probably were of the same sort with those which Captain Briteridge sent you, and shee brought some in the yackt. Bee as officious as you can to the captaine. I am sorry you were not acquainted with Dr. Sharp, our good deane, who is to come in a fortnight hence to Norwich: if, when you go that way, you may do well to present my seruice to him, and tell him how glad I shall bee to enioy his good company at Norwich; hee had come last weeke but for a sister of his come out of Yorkshire to see what may bee done about a cancer in her breast. God blesse you all.

Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

For Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisburie Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.[7]

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

June 16, [1682.]

DEAR SONNE,

I have sent the 4 sheets you sent mee, by captaine Lulmans eldest sonne, who went this morning towards London, in the 2 dayes coach, and a paper within them. I am glad you have putt an end to that labour, though I am not sorry that you undertooke it. Wee are glad to understand, by my daughter Browne's letter, that my daughter Fairfax is delivered of a sonne. The blessing of God bee with them both, and send them health. The vessel of sider sent you from Guernzey was rackt, it came not out of Normandie butt from Guernzey, though it was not of my sonne and daughters making. They might have made much, there being plenty of

[7] Retrospective Review, vol. i, p. 162.

apples, butt they made butt 2 or 3 hoggesheads themselves for their own use. Your sister tells mee that they have plentie of large oysters, like Burnham oysters, about Gurnzey, and all those rocky seas to St. Mallowes and have a peculiar way of disposing and selling of them, that they are not decayed or flatt before they bee eaten. They bring them into the haven in vessells that may containe vast quantities, and when they come at a competent distance from the peere head, they anker and cast all the oysters overboard into the sea; and when the tide goeth away, and the ground bare, the people come to buy them, and the owners stand on drye ground and sell them. When the tide comes in, the buyers retire, and come agayne at the next ebbe, and buye them agayne, and so every ebbe till they bee all sould. So the oysters are kept lively, and well tasted, being so often under the salt sea water, and if they had a vessell of a hundred tunne full they might sell them while they were good, being thus ordered allthough it should take sometime to sell them all. This seemes a good contrivance, and such as I have not heard of in England. Wee hope captain Cotton is got by this time to Guernzey, though the winds have been often crosse to gett from the Downes thither, it hath been in the north these 3 dayes, and it was yesterday so cold that wee could have endured a fire. Captain Cotton intended to call at Southampton, if possible, for divers letters and dispaches, which had been retarded by the lasting south-west wind, which I doubt hee could not performe. My daughter hath heard twice from Guernsey, since shee came to Norwich, and once from Lychfield, from Mrs. Katherine Litelton, her husbands sister, a singular good woeman. I heare Mrs. Suckling is well at her brothers, in Suffolk, butt shee dares not yet adventure to Norwich, with her children, for feare of the small pox. The warlike provisions of the emperour and empyre, &c. hath the countenance of a warre, butt the summer is farre advanced. Wee heare the Duchesse of Portsmouth hath found much benefitt by the waters, and is returning into England. The peace with Argier gives some life unto the Yarmouth men, and no small content unto all. My daughter receaved the things by Mrs. Dove, which were provided by

the singular good care of my daughter Browne. Tom, God bee thancked, is well, and beginnes to thinck on the guild which is to bee the next Tuesday; butt the maior dwells beyond the water, and so wee are like to have the more quiet time. My service to my cosen Cradock, cosens Hobbes, Mr. Dobbins, and all friends.

These for Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Sir Thomas Browne to his son Edward.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CVIII.]

June? [1682.]

DEAR SONNE,

I met this weeke with the *oratio anniuersaria* in commemoration of the benefactors made by Dr. Rogers, made the 18th of October, upon St. Luke's day, 1681, which I had not seen nor heard of before, printed by Ben Tooke, 1682. Hee hath taken good paynes and vseth many learned expressions and conceptions therein, concluding with a complaint that they did not then obserue the founders will in a conuiuium ordained by him; which charge probably they spared toward their new librarie. Hee speakes so much of it that perhaps the next time they will not omitt it. Hee hath also ioyned vnto this oration another which hee made at Padua, when hee tooke his degree of Dr. 1646, *Benedicto Syluatico Præside, Fortunio Liceto promotore.* In the colledge oration hee mentioneth the lady Genet, my lord marquis his daughter as you may perceaue, which must bee thought on, especially you hauing been an instrument in procuring the bookes, and have also been obliged by that good lady. If captain Briteredge bee still in London, present my humble seruice vnto him. Enquire also after my L. Archbishop of Cashell, and Sir Standish Harstong, with my humblest seruice vnto them. There is a booke come very lately out called a Prospect of the state of Ireland, from the yeare of the world, 1756, to the yeare of Christ, 1652, butt

this alreadie published is butt the first part and endeth before the English conquest of Ireland. The second part the author promiseth hereafter which may proue a part of better creditt. It was writt by Mr. or Sir Peter Walsh, a Romanist, gathered out of the manuscripts of Keating, and Lynch alias Gratianus Laicus, 2 priests. I thinck there was one Peter Walsh of the Royal Societie: it is 3 shillings price. Printed by Broome at the Gunne, in St. Paul's church yard, perhaps captain Briteridge hath not heard of it. Keting and Barry writt in Irish. If captain Briteridg desire to carry our booke into Ireland you may present one to him, few will take any pleasure to read it who haue not been in Ireland, and is acquainted with the old historie of that country. If hee hath not, or not seen your trauells you may present them, and best if the false printing were corrected. Mr. Reppes will consult you this weeke about the waters, hee goeth for London this daye. I shall, God willing, send you the fortie-two shillings and sixpence which you payd vnto Dr. Grew for the subscriptions. I wish I had his receipt for the satisfaction of the particular subscribers, which hee promiseth to giue as hee receiueth the first payments. God blesse my daughter Browne and you all. Your loving father,

THOMAS BROWNE.

For Dr. Edward Browne, in Salisbury Court, next the Golden Balls, London.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

Oct. 3, 1682.

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

The salary of the hospitall is so ordered that it comes to twenty shillings a weeke: for the patients within the house, the physitian receives quarterly nine pounds and a noble, and for the out patients at Easter, fiften pounds, which comes to fifty-two poundes and a noble in a year; for which hee cannot write less then six thousand præscriptions. We want a good chalybeat electuary, that doth not purge,

for ours doth sometimes. I know not who invented it, and it is not well compounded, yet it doth much good; it is this,

R. Rad. Raphani rustic. ℥iij.
Cort. Ligni Sassafras ʒiij.
Rad. jalappæ,
Rad. Mechoacan. ā ℥ß.
Trium Santal. ā ℈ij.
Rassuræ Eboris ʒß.
Crem. Tartari ℥j.
Limaturæ Chalybis ℥ij.
Conserv. Cochleariæ hortensis ℥j.
Theriacæ Diatessar. ʒvj.
Conserv. Marrubij
Conserv. Absynt. vulgaris ā ℥ß.
Oxymel. scyllit q. s. m. f. Electuar.

I thinke to have this made ready, but if you please to adde or alter it, it shall not be made up till I hear from you, sir.

R. Conserv. Absynt. vulgaris ℥ij.
Conserv. Rosar. Rubrar. ℥xij.
Zinzib. condit. ℥iiij.
Cort. Winter. ℥j.
Limaturæ Chalyb. ℥iij.
Syr. de Quinq. Rad. q. s. m. f. Electuar.

And so it may be a standing medicine, as well as the other. They make use of pills in old coughs and diseases on the lungs, which they call *pilulæ nigræ*, which are these,

R. Rad. Enulæ
Rad. Irid. florent.
Sem. Anisi
Sacchari Cadi ā lib. j.
Picis liquidæ q. s. m. f. Massa

but I præscribe more of a strong *diacodium* they make. Pray, sir, write me word how you make your *syrupus de scordio*, for it is not knowne in London. Pray, sir, thinke of some good effectual cheape medicines for the hospitall; it will be a piece of charity, which will be beneficiall to the poore, hundred of years after we are all dead and gone. The purging electuary, which is divided into boluses of half an ounce, or six dragmes, as it is ordered, is thus,

R. Electuarii lenitivi ℥xij.
Cremor. Tartar. ℥iij ℥vj.
Jalap. Pulv. ℥ijß.
Syr. Rosar. solutivi q. s. m. f. Electuarium.

We make much use of *caryocostinum* and jalep powdered, which are also often taken in four ounces of the purging decoction, which is made of senna, rhubarb, polypody, sweet fennell seeds, and ginger. Their scurvy grass drinke is good; they allow three barrells every weeke of it, to every barrell they put a pound of horse raddish, four handfulls of common wormwood, fifteen handfulls of scurvy grasse, garden scurvy grasse, fiften handfulls of brokelime, and fiften handfulls of water cresses, to a barrell of good ale; which the poor people like very well.

St. Thomas Hospitall is larger than ours, and holds forty or fifty persons more; we have divers of the kings soldiers in the hospitall. My wife sent downe the last weeke, a pastborde box, by the waggons, with candlesticks for Mrs. Pooly, and chocolate for my lady Pettus. My duty to my most dear mother, and love to my sister, and Tomy.

Your most obedient sonne,
EDWARD BROWNE.

When I am out of towne, there are divers other physitians who will willingly præscribe for me at the hospitall.

These for Sir Thomas Browne, at his house, in Norwich.

Miscellaneous Correspondence.

WHITEFOOT in his "Life of Sir Thomas Browne" says, that "he was not only consulted by the most eminent men at home, but likewise by the most learned foreigners; viz. *Gruter*, *Windet*, *Theodorus Jonas* of Iceland, &c." Letters from all these, and a number of other persons have been found among his papers: but, unfortunately, Sir Thomas's replies to the greater number of those letters have not reached us; for which reason a selection only has been made of them. There are four Latin letters from Isaac Gruter, the first in 1650, the last in 1675, on the subject of a Latin translation of the *Pseudodoxia*, which he contemplated, and seems to have had in hand during those twenty-five years, but which never made its appearance. The letters of Windet, a medical practitioner, residing at Yarmouth, and apparently *not* a foreigner, are most tedious and pedantick;—written in Latin, profusely ornamented with Greek and even Arabick, but utterly destitute of interest. All these, and several other Latin letters of a similar stamp, from persons still less known, have been omitted. Three Latin communications from Theodore Jonas, not strictly epistolary, are reserved for another part of the

work. They probably supplied the information contained in Sir Thomas' communication to the Royal Society respecting Iceland,[1] and may afford some illustration to that paper.

Mr. Duncon[2] *to Sir Thomas Browne.*

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CCCXCI.]

ESTEEMED FRIEND,

Haveinge perused a booke of thyne called Religio Medici (and findeinge these sound assertions followinge—"To aske whare heauen is, is to demand whare the presence of God is"—"Moyses committed a gross absurditye when with these eyes of fflesh he desired to see God."[3] Wee are much contested agst by some, because we can't comply to their tenett in that particular, viz. that with their ffleshly eyes they shall see God. "There is surely a piece of divinitye in us, some thinge that was before the elements"[4]—"That God loves us for that part which is, as it were himselfe, and the traduction of his holy spirit.")[5] Judgeinge thee juditious, I therewith send thee a booke to peruse; and if thou desire any personall conferrance with me, or any of my friends concernynge the principalls of our religion, (which we believe is the immortal religion, though generally accounted herisie) I shall indeauer it, in the same loue I present this booke to thy vieue, who am a lover of mankinde in generall, and thyselfe in particuler.

SAMUEL DUNCON.

[1] Printed in the Posthumous Works, 8vo. 1712.

[2] In reply to my enquiries respecting this Samuel Duncon, I have been favoured with the following particulars, by a member of the Society of Friends, resident in Norwich. "We trace Samuel Duncomb in many of our books, both printed and manuscript. He was in jail in Norwich, in 1660, for refusing to take an oath, and again in 1664. In 1670 he wrote a letter to the magistrates from prison. His signature is always put Duncomb in the printed books, whilst in the registers of the time, I see he appears to have lost his wife and two sons, both spelt Duncon. I also find the following entry, 1679, Samuel Duncon of Norwich, departed this life the 12th day of the 8th month, 1679, and is the 72nd person buryed in Friends burying place there."

[3] Rel. Med. i, § 49. Works, ii, p. 72.

[4] Ibid, ii, § 11. Ibid, p. 111.

[5] Ibid, ii, § 14. Ibid, p. 116.

Mr. Henry Bates to Dr. Browne.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CCCXCI.]

From the Court at Greenwich, Aug. 28, 1647.

HONOURED SIR,

If my boldnes bee a sinne, I hope your goodnes will make it veniall, and give me leave to kiss your hands. Sir, amongst those great and due acknowledgments this horizon owes you, for imparting your sublime solid phansie to them, in that incomparable piece of invention and judgment, R. M. give mee leave, sir, here at last to tender my share, which I wish I could make proportionable to the value I deservedly sett upon it, ffor truly, sir, ever since I had the happines to know your religion, I have religiously honourd you; hug'd your Minerva in my bosome, and voted it my *vade mecum.* This makes mee think, that though my library was plundered from mee long since, I have it still in my pocket, onely chymically quintessentiated into the spirit of science, or, *secundum vulgus et ævum,* 'reformed,' but into a more noble and sacred religion then those two are like to produce. Oh how oft in that litle house, soe well filld, have I recreated my soule, and that with more varieties and delights then all the folioes and booke-follies of the time could affoord mee. Three lines at any time will fill me to the brimme of admiration, yet can I never bee satisfied, still *sitio,* and every reading produces new graces. Had Alexander light on't in his time, sure Homer had gone to the paystry. Or were Ptolemy alive now, the next straightsman of Yarmouth would land another Septuagint there, with supplication that you would honour theire Alexandria with a present of the rich meditates in R. M. And let the Cimons and Triuialists of the time bite or snuffe, or say what they can *ad oppositum,* it shall never move mee from the truth of my first conceptions. I received it at first as one of the blessings almighty God had, by your faire hands, sent to this age, and was accordingly thankfull; nay, and I am of that opinion still, that next the *Legenda Dei,* it is the

master-piece of Christendome; and though I have met sometimes with some *omnes sic ego vero non sic* men, prejudicating pates, who bogled at shadowes in't, and carpt at atoms, and have soe strappadoed mee into impatience with their senselesse censures, yet this still satisfied my zeale toward it, when I found *non intelligunt* was the nurse of theire *vituperant*, and they onely stumbled for want of a lanthorne. That *Scarabæus Aquilam* and *Jockey R.*[6] should rush in with his ob. and publish sae muckle impudense and ignorance at once, I doe not wonder; its the nature of the beast and the countrie that bred him. Alas, how hee hath toyld himselfe for a victory, yet foyles himselfe by so foolish engagements; indeed all he hath done is but a foyle to sett of and illustrate your gallant thoughts. But it troubles mee like the fall of Phaeton, that Monsieur le Chevalier,[7] who passes both for a wit and a judgment, should attempt to reyne the horses of the sunne, and *Schioppir* on[8] Religio Medici; I wish hee had thought on the motto of that noble family,[9] whence hee tooke that employment, *aut nunquam tentes aut perfice*, or that hee had animadverted better, or had beene *aliud agendo*, then soe *nihil agendo* on that piece, sure then he would have crost himselfe, blest him for that undertaking, and gone to bed rather then to have sitt up soe late to soe little purpose, and lose his sleepe, unles hee intended to make an opiate for his readers. I must confesse, sir, I was once taking that piece in hand myselfe, but soe, as with your good grace to reach it into other nations, to stop theire leualtoes and brauadoes over our northerne clime, and let them know, that *et hic habitant musæ;* but before I got to the middle, I found another at the latter end; for coming to Leyden, I saw *opus operatum*, and the busines by a friend of mine done to my hand.

At my returne into England, each poast presented mee with the frontispiece of your enquiries, and I was readie to present an hecatomb in thankfulnes, and did acknowledge it the greatest entertainement the kingdome could affoord mee; nothing could bee more satisfactorious to mee who had been long in quest after most of those particulars, and lamented

6 Alexander Ross.
7 Sir Kenelm Digby.
8 To fire upon.
9 The Duke of Dorset.

the confident mistakes and worm-eaten errours of the age. To correct which I have beene long collecting from my studies, trauells, and discourse with forraigners, whatsoever would tend toward resolution in those queries, and I have been proud in that I attained to soe much satisfaction by myselfe; but when you, sir, lent mee your hand I was ravishd with ioy, and could have wisht I had been happy in the parents acquaintance before the child was borne. For my owne observations and collections in those particulars, as I thought it pitty to let them returne to their confusion and dust, soe I knew not well how to preserve them; but now, sir, I thank you, you have showd mee a way, by laying them up in your urne, which doubtlesse will see the last fire. And might I, sir, avoid the name of an intruder, I would tell you how; I made bold to interleafe your enquiries, and soe insert my blank and empty phansies, under the protection of your blanch and clearer judgment; soe hope to preserve my litle bird in the lap of Jupiter, which else would undoubtedly have perisht with the sheets she was first lapt in. And now, sir, having so faire an occasion to salute you, were this book *ad manum*, I would beg leave to present it too, that you might see how much your child is growne in a yeare, and perhaps what a thankless office I have undertaken; yet, sir, had you intent of another edition, of which some probabilitie I see, the turning over of those thoughts of mine, and adiutant collections, probably *aut prodesse volunt aut delectare*, and if either, they shall be at your command. I know how many answers, and the worst, a solitary or crosse polumathist might returne mee; but, sir, for yourselfe, your second part told mee seaven years agoe, you was endowd with soe much charitie and polished civilitie, that I might goe on and say any thing, since I had to deale with Dr. Browne. And I was a litle confident on my owne part too, as being conscious of the candour and ingenuitie of my thoughts in all . . . . . which aimes at nothing but the advancement of le . . . . . and all gallant respects to a gentleman, and a sen . . . . . and I see you are both, soe much, and soe refin'd . . . . . in spight of distance and disacquaintance . . . . . must bee all yours; all in all, morrall and . . . . . observance, and would blesse

God for an opportunitie to tell you soe in your armes. Till I bee so happy, sir, give me leave to embrace and entertaine you in the highest mansion of my thoughts, and to serve you in any thing within my circumference and reach; cast mee into what mould you please, I will endeauour to fitt it, and every way to approve myselfe, sir,

Your faithfull friend, servant, honourer,

HENRY BATES.

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*Dr. Browne to . . . . . .**

[FROM KIPPIS'S BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.]

[1647?]

Ex Βιβλίου κυβερνήτα [i. e. statesman from the book] is grown into a proverb; and no less ridiculous are they who think out of book to become physicians. I shall therefore mention such as tend less to ostentation than use, for the directing a novice to observation and experience, without which you cannot expect to be other than ἐκ βιβλίου κυβερνήτης. Galen and Hippocrates must be had as fathers and fountains of the faculty. And, indeed, Hippocrates's *Aphorisms* should be conned for the frequent use which may be made of them. Lay your foundation in anatomy, wherein αυτοψία must be your *fidus Achates*. The help that books can afford you may expect, besides what is delivered *sparsim* from Galen and Hippocrates, Vesalius, Spigelius, and Bartholinus. And be sure you make yourself master of Dr. Harvey's piece *De Circul. Sang.;* which discovery I prefer to that of Columbus. The knowledge of plants, animals, and minerals, (whence are fetched the *Materia Medicamentorum*) may be your παρεργον; and, so far as concerns physic, is attainable in gardens, fields, apothecaries' and druggists' shops.

* From a reference in Mr. Smith's letter, p. 360, there seems little doubt that the present, (which appears to have been communicated to the world by Dr. Richard Middleton Massey, F. R. S.,) was addressed to Dr. Henry Power, of New-Hall, near Ealand, Yorkshire; author of *Experimental Philosophy, in Three Books, containing new Experiments, Microscopical, Mercurial, and Magnetical*, 4to. 1664.

Read Theophrastus, Dioscorides, Matthiolus, Dodonæus, and our English herbalists: Spigelius's *Isagoge in rem herbariam* will be of use. Wecker's *Antidotarium speciale*, Renodæus for composition and preparation of medicaments. See what apothecaries do. Read Morelli *Formulas medicas*, Bauderoni *Pharmacopœa*, *Pharmacopœa Augustana*. See chymical operations in hospitals, private houses. Read Fallopius, Aquapendente, Paræus, Vigo, &c. Be not a stranger to the useful part of chymistry. See what chymistators do in their officines. Begin with *Tirocinium Chymicum*, Crollius, Hartmannus, and so by degrees march on. *Materia Medicamentorum*, surgery, and chymistry, may be your diversions and recreations; physic is your business. Having, therefore, gained perfection in anatomy, betake yourself to Sennertus's *Institutions*, which read with care and diligence two or three times over, and assure yourself that when you are a perfect master of these institutes you will seldom meet with any point in physic to which you will not be able to speak like a man. This done, see how institutes are applicable to practice, by reading upon diseases in Sennertus, Fernelius, Mercatus, Hollerius, Riverius, in particular treatises, in counsels, and consultations, all which are of singular benefit. But in reading upon diseases satisfy yourself not so much with the remedies set down (although I would not have these altogether neglected) as with the true understanding the nature of the disease, its causes, and proper indications for cure. For by this knowledge, and that of the instruments you are to work by, the *Materia Medicamentorum*, you will often conquer with ease those difficulties, through which books will not be able to bring you; *secretum medicorum est judicium*. Thus have I briefly pointed out the way which, closely pursued, will lead to the highest pitch of the art you aim at. Although I mention but few books (which, well digested, will be *instar omnium*) yet it is not my intent to confine you. If at one view you would see who hath written, and upon what diseases, by way of counsel and observation, look upon Moronus's *Directorium Medico-practicum*. You may look upon all, but dwell upon few. I need not tell you the great use of the Greek tongue in physic; without it nothing can be

done to perfection. The words of art you may learn from Gorreus's *Definitiones Medicæ*. This, and many good wishes, From your loving friend,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Dr. Henry Power to Dr. Browne.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

Ch. Coll. Cambridge, Feb. 10, 1647-8.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

The subject of my last letter being so high and noble a peece of chymistry, viz., the reindividualling of an incinerated plant, invites mee once more to request an experimentall eviction of it from yourselfe,[1] and I hope you will not chide my importunity in this petition, or be angry at my so frequent knockings at your doore to obtaine a grant of so great and admirable a mystery? Tis only an ocular demonstration of our resurrection, but a notable illustration of that phychopannchy wch antiquity so generally received, how these formes of ours may be lulled, and ly asleepe after the separation (closed up in their *ubis* by a surer then Hermes his seale) untill that great and generall day when, by the helpe of that gentle heat wch in six dayes hatched the world, by a higher chymistry it shall be resuscitated into its former selfe; *suamque arborem inversam, in continuo esse, et operari, iterata præservabit.*

The secret is so noble and admirable, that it has invited my enquiries into divers authors and chymicall tractates, amongst wch Quercitan and Angelus Sala give some little hint thereof, but so obscurely and imperfectly, that I have no more hopes to be ocularly convinced through their præscriptions, then to be experimentally confirm'd that the species of an incinerated animal may be encask'd in a piece of winter chrystall, as some other mineralists confidently affirme. Alsted, I confesse, in his Pyrotechnia, more cleerely describes

[1] See Religio Medici, vol. ii. p. 70, *note*.

the matter, but the manner of experimenting it hee utterly leaves unmentioned. Therefore, my only addresse is to you, hoping to find as much willingnesse to communicate as ability to evince the certainty of this secret to

The most engaged of your friends,
HENRY POWER.

Sir, this enclosed is from a worthy friend of myne, who hath made bold, upon my incitement, to enwrappe a few lines to you; if you please to repay us both but with one single answer, it will not only evince us of your faire acceptance of them, but shall also challenge a double gratulatory as a due debt, in counterpoize and recompence thereof.

To the Right Worshipful Dr. Browne, resident in Norwich, these.

Mr. Thomas Smith to Dr. Browne.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CCCXCI.]

Chr. Coll. St. Thomas.

WORTHY DOCTOR,

Though this be the first time I venture upon so much boldness as to send you a letter, it is not the first that I have written. I once penned a large sheete of observations upon that exact manual of yours which our Greeke professor copied out, and I and other scholars were once about to learne *memoriter*. But considering with how many scriblings of that kind your serious studies might be interrupted, I consecrated not that paper to your hands, as I intended, but to the flames. Yet must confesse I never met with the articles of any religion which I could better subscribe to than to yours. I can as little digest Fr. Cheynel as Card. Bellarmine, and can, without indignation, peruse the Alcoran or the Talmud. I was never yet so hæreticall as to be frighted with bookes, those horrible μορμολύκεια, I can live with pleasure among the dead, though they stinke, and dye among the living, yea, be buried among them, and not feare biting. Which hath made me so inquisitive after Ochinus *De tribus*

mundi impostoribus (which you first acquainted me with[1]), that I have searched many libraries, inquired of most of the booksellers in London, yet could never see it. If you would be pleased to helpe me or my loving friend Sr.[2] Power with the sight of it, or tell us where we might see it, you would doe us such a courtesy as we might ever study but never be able to requite. But I intend not to rest here, seeing I have begun to beg favours, pardon my boldness, good sir, if I proceed.

It hath been my fortune, among other studies which my *ingenium desultorium* hath tasted of, to looke a little into your honourable profession, having been told by Drexelius that *peritus Medicus ægroto Angelus, imo Deus est.* And tis no small comfort to me, having perused some bookes, to see your directions to Sr. Power[3] (which I had the happiness to see even now) run parallell to my small readings. I first read Bartholinus, then Spigelius, Sennertus his *Institutions* and *De febribus,* and some few other small tracts, as Dr. Harvey *De circul.* Asellius *De venis lacteis,* Fienus. As for Lacuna, I have read here and there two or three leaves in him, but I saw nothing in him which was not in Sennertus; perhaps I was too perfunctory, and did not see through him. I have some thoughts of reading over Sennertus his Praxis, and to that purpose bought his works printed at Venice, but I shall first crave your advice. Ingignerus his *Physiognomia naturalis* pleaseth me better than any booke I have seene in Italian. I have looked a little into the Arabicke, and gone so far as to read a peece of the Bible, but whether there be any thing in physick deserving and requiring my further progresse in it is a question desiring your resolution. Would you be pleased, when your leisure may permit, to condescend so low as to lend me a catalogue of such bookes, great and small, as you shall conceive to be the most rational and solid pieces in this, or that, or any language, I shall thinke my selfe eternally obliged, and ever subscribe myselfe, Sir, your thankfull servitour, THO. SMITH.

[1] Rel. Med. i. § 20.

[2] This title was, in the early ages, general to all who had taken a degree or entered into holy orders; and thus, in our old writers, we continually meet with *Sir* prefixed to the name, which has occasionally given rise to a mistaken supposition that these persons were knighted.—*Letters, &c. from the Bodleian,* I. p. 117.

[3] See letter at p. 357.

Dr. Henry Power to Dr. Browne.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

Ch. Coll. Camb. 15th Sept. 1648.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

I cannot but returne you infinite thankes for your excessive paynes in doubling of your last letter to mee, both pages whereof were so exceeding satisfactory to my requests, as that I know not wheather of them may more justly challenge a larger returne of thankes from mee. For the forepage I have traced your commands, and simpled in the woods, meadows, and fields, instead of gardens, which being obvious and in every countrey, I may easyly hereafter bee made a garden herbalist by any shee empirick. I have both Gerard with Johnson's addition, and Parkinson; the former has the cleerer cutt, and outvies the other in an accurate description of a plant; the latter is the better methodist, and has bedded his plants in a better ranke and order. I compared, also, Dodonæus with them, who does very well for a short and curt herbalist: yet I shall embrace Gerard above all, because you pleased to honour him with your approbation. For the back side of your letter, I am extreamely satisfied in your resolves of my quære, I confesse I run into too deepe a beliefe and too strong a conceipt of chymistry, (yet not beyond what some of those artists affirme) of the reproduction of the same plant by ordinary way of vegetation, for (say they) if the salt be taken and transferred to another countrey and there sowed, the plant thereof shall sprout out even from common earth. But it will be satisfaction enough, to the greatest of my desires, to behold the leafes thereof shaddowed in glaciation, of which experiment I hope I shall have the happynesse to be ocularly evinced at some opportunity by you.

Sir, I have a great desire to shift my residence a while, and to live a moneth or two in Norwich by you: where I may have the happynesse of your neighbourhood. Here are such fewe helpes here, that I feare I shall make but a lingering

progresse unlesse I have your personall discourse to further and prick forwards my slow endeavours. But I shall determine of nothing till I see you here, in which journey I could wish (were it not to the disadvantage of your affaires) you would prevent our expectations. Sir, I have now by the frequency of living and dead dissections of doggs, run through the whole body of anatomy, insisting upon Spigelius, Bartholinus, Fernelius, Columbus, Veslingius, but especially Harvey's circulation, and the two incomparable authors Des-Cartes and Regius, which, indeed, were the only two that answered my doubts and quæres in that art. I have likewise made some little proficiency in herbary, and by going out three or four miles once a weeke have brought home with mee two or three hundred hearbs. I have likewise run through Heurnius which I very well allow of for a peripateticall author; hee is something curt *De urina*, which I conceive to bee a very necessary piece in physick now the circulation is discovered; for since the urine is channelled all along with the blood, through almost all the parenchymata of the body, before it come to the kidneys to bee strained and separated, it must needes carry a tincture of any disaffected or diseased part through which it passes. For Sennertus I cannot yet procure him, but 'tis sayd hee is comming out in a new letter, and then I question not but I shall have him. Mr. Smith presents his humble respects to you, and shall bee extreame glad to give you a deserved welcome to Cambridge, who may doe it, perchance, more nobly yet not more heartyly then will

Your most obliged friend and servant,

HENRY POWER.

Sir, my father Foxcroft and mother in their last to Cambridge forgott not to tender their best respects to you, which I have requited in the like returne of yours to them (according to your request) this last journey.

To his ever honoured friend Thomas Browne, Dr. of Physick, at his house in Norwich, these.

Dr. Henry Power to Dr. Browne.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

Hallyfax, August 28th, 1649.

HONOURED SIR,

I cannot by silence let fall that same interest you have beene pleased to grant mee in you; though this large distance twixt Hallyfax and Norwich might almost put mee to the dispaire of an answer from you. I sent a letter about three or four moneths since by Cambridge to you, wherein I made bold to raise some little discourse upon those tenets you pleased to deliver to mee in point of concoction; with which I shall not here trouble you againe, as accounting them unworthy of a repetition. But wheather those lines came to your hands or no, or miscarryed in the conveihance, I know not. I therefore send this letter, as a second arrow, to find out the first. Sir, the great satisfaction I have alwayes received from you in the resolve of such quæres as still puzled my progresse in study, emboldens mee still to some further proposealls: amongst which, the chiefe quære I desire to be resolved in, is wheather toads, froggs, snailes, swallows, and such like animals as wee usually say sleepe all winter, doe in that interim only lose the rise and motion of their lungs, (the heart still working and circulating the blood,) or cease from all motion both of heart and lungs, and for that season absolutely ly dead or no? Van Helmont peremtoryly asserts the former, page 189, fig. 33.

Du Roy (or Regius) will have both the motion of their heart and lungs also to cease, and they to ly that halfe yeare as perfectly dead. *Fundament. Phys.* page 154.

Harvey asserts neither the one nor the other, but, having demonstrated that insects ly void of all motion in the winter season, and the part analogous to the heart in them, utterly to cease from all palpitation, hee thus waryly concludes: "Sed an idem etiam quibusdam sanguineis animalibus accidat, ut ranis, serpentibus, etc. dubitare licet."

I shall in this point so farre agree with Helmont, that the motion of the lungs and heart are not inseparable, but that the latter may bee where the former is not requisite; as wee clearly see in infants, which ly almost twelve moneths in the wombe without any respiration at all, but not without pulsation of the heart. But in this case of other animals methinkes Du Roy has hitt on the better probability; for wee see flyes, butterflyes, &c. yea, and snailes, in winter time cease from all motion, and the heart (or that vesicle in them which is analogous to it, for such a pulsing particle they all have) lyes still and rests without the least palpitation whatsoever all winter long; till the vernall equinox begin to actuate and re-enliven them againe. The like may be probably conjectured of those other sanguineous animals: but I'll leave the decision of the question to your more experienced selfe, and give my assent to neither part any further, but that your rationall determination may easily recall it to the truth.

There is one other quære which I shall make bold to superadde, and it is this: to what use and purpose is that long tenuous and thin bladder found alwayes full of aire in fishes, lying above the entrayles just cleaving to the spinall bone and vertebræ of the back, stretched even from the very mouth to the anus of the fish; as is clearely to bee seene in salmons, trouts, chubbs, grailings, perches, eeles, herrings, gougeons, &c. De Back, a Roterdame physician, (which I met with accidentally,) has a little touch concerning this point in his dissertations *De corde*, cap. 5. Hee there asserts with the ancients, that the lungs in animals doe not only serve *ad refrigerium sanguinis*, but that the aire in the lungs is mingled and incorporated with the blood to rarefy and attenuate it, that it might passe through the capillary veines and arteryes and still through the pores of the flesh, to give nutrition to every atome of it: for without this intermixion (saith hee) the blood would be so grosse that it could not penetrate the subtle pores of the flesh, either to maintaine the circulation or nutrition; and therefore, (saith hee,) since nature could not supply that double office by the gills in fishes, (the part analogous to the lungs in other animals,) shee superadded this vesicle of aire, which might serve for the subtiliation and

rarefaction of the blood, *ut melius penetraret in partes nutriendas*, and the gills solely for its refrigeration.

To this conceite of his I could first oppose that the serous humour, togeather with the naturall heat intermixed with the blood, serves no other purpose, but by subtiliation and attenuation of it, to conduct it through all the parts of the body and the minute and capillary chanells, and therefore there needs not the intermixion of aire with it for that purpose.

Secondly, upon strict inspection into the bodyes of fishes I could never find this vesicle had any chanel or passage but one which came straight to the mouth, by which the fish received the aire, and there eructates it (for any thing I know) againe. But this also I wholly leave to your determination.

Sir, there were many things which I tooke notice of in the viper's head you pleased to shew mee when I was last at Norwich, especially concerning the two poysonous teeth which moved in the upper jaw upon jemmers, which shee could lay flatt along in a little cavity of either side of her jaw, or erect them as shee pleased. Yet there was one thing therein which slipped my observance, which was weather these two teeth were perforated or no, as the two venomous teeth of the aspe is sayd to bee, through which shee ejects her poyson. Sir, if you please to honour mee in the grant of these requests you will strike a deeper engagement upon

Your most obliged friend and servant,

HENRY POWER.

Dr. Henry Power to Dr. Browne.

[MS. SLOAN. 3515.]

9th of 9ber, 1668.

Yours I receaved, togeather with the little tractate of urnes, for both which I returne you a thousand thankes. To tell you that I honour the piece for the author's sake, were obliquely to disparage it; give mee leave to peruse it, and I doubt not but by its own merit it may well challenge the applause of the world; one thing as I glanced over the

latter part of it I could not passe, and that is the peculiar signature of *Acaia, Viviu, Lilil.*[4] In what plant these tearmes are inscribed, I would gladly know, though I have narrowly searched very many, yet either my fancy was not so active, or else my enquiries not so satisfactory, as to light of any plant where I could ever rudely imagine any such characters. I should have blamd the barrenesse of our soile in not producing it, had not you tould mee 'twas a common one. I shall desire you to be my Oedipus. 3 old Spanish bookes I have found of my fathers, I knowe not wheather they be worth the carriage to Norwich or noe, much less worthy of your acceptance, yet I have presumed to send them to you, hoping they will be entertained, if not for their own, yet for his sake that formerly ought them, who I am sure was one that did much honour you, and left one that can doe noe lesse whilst hee is H. P.

Mr. Merryweather to Dr. Browne.[5]

Cambridge, Magd. College, Octob. 1, 1649.

HONOURED SIR,

To know and be acquainted with you, though no otherwise than by your ingenious and learned writings, which now a good part of Christendom is, were no contemptible degree of happiness: the fool-hardy enterprize of translating your book might seem to give me some small title to a further pretence; but it is my great unhappiness, that as small as this is, I have forfeited it already upon several scores. I undertook a design, which I knew I could not manage without certain disadvantage and injury to the author; and after, though I saw the issue no happier than I expected, yet I could not be content to conceal or burn it, but must needs obtrude to

[4] See Garden of Cyrus, towards the end of ch. 3.

[5] Mr. Merryweather returning from his travels in France and Holland, Anno 1649, went to Norwich, to acquaint the Doctor with the different sentiments entertained abroad of the Religio Medici; but he being at that time from home, Mr. Merryweather left a book with a friend, to be presented him the first opportunity, and shortly after writ the following letter from Cambridge.—*Whitefoot's Life*, p. v.

the large world, in beggarly and disfigured habit, that which you sent out in so quaint and polisht a dress. Besides, I might have acquainted you with it sooner, presented you with a copy, begged pardon sooner for these miscarriages, which now I may justly fear is too late. The truth of it is, sir, I have some real pleas and justifications for most of these crimes; and have, with impatience, waited for some opportunity to have represented them by word of mouth, rather than writing; which I hoped to have had the happiness to have done when I was lately at Norwich, as my honoured friend, Mr. Preston, of Beeston, will assure you, whom I desired, after we found not you in the town, being unwilling to continue this incivility any longer, to present you with a copy at his first opportunity, which I question not but by this time you have received. Thus much, sir, at the least I had done sooner, if I had not been hindred by a constant unwelcome rumour, all the time I was abroad in the Low Countries and France, (which was the space of some years after the impression,) that you had left this life: upon what ground the report was raised I know not, but that it was so, many then with me, and some of them not unknown to your self, can witness. When I came at Paris, the next year after, I found it printed again, in which edition both the epistles were left out, and a preface, by some papist, put in their place, in which making use of, and wresting some passages in your book, he endeavour'd to shew, that nothing but custom and education kept you from their church. Since my return home, I see Hackius, the Leyden printer, hath made a new impression, which furnished me afresh with some copies, and whereof that which I left with Mr. Preston is one, as is easily observable by the difference of the pages, and the omission of the errata, which were noted in the first, though the title page be the same in both. These frequent impressions shew the worth of the book, which still finds reception and esteem abroad, notwithstanding all that diminution and loss which it suffers by the translation; which I am the willinger to observe, because it found some demurr in the first impression at Leyden; and upon this occasion, one Haye, a book-merchant there, to whom I first offered it, carried it to Salmasius for his appro-

bation, who in state, first laid it by for very nigh a quarter of a year, and then at last told him, that there were indeed in it many things well said, but that it contained also many exorbitant conceptions in religion, and would probably find but frowning entertainment, especially amongst the ministers, which deterred him from undertaking the printing. After I showed it to two more, de Vogel and Christian, both printers; but they, upon advice, returned it also; from these I went to Hackius, who, upon two days deliberation, undertook it. Worthy sir, you see how obstinately bent I was to divulge my own shame and impudence at your expence; yet seeing this confidence was built upon nothing else but the innate and essential worth of the book, which I perswaded myself would bear it up from all adventitious disadvantages, and seeing I have gained rather than failed in the issue and success of my hopes, as it something qualifies the scruples, which the conscience of my own rashness had in cold blood afterward raised, so I hope it will conduce to the easier obtaining pardon and indulgence from you for the miscarriages in it. This, I am sure, I may with a clear mind protest, and profess, that nothing so much moved me to the enterprize as a high and due esteem of the book, and my zeal to the author's merit, of whom I shall be ever ambitious to show my self an admirer, and in all things to give some testimony that I am,

Honoured sir,

Your most affectionate, and most devoted servant,

JOHN MERRYWEATHER.

Dr. Browne to . . . . . .

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

[April or May, 1652.]

Pray request Mr. Johnson to obtayne this favor of Mr. Bacon, who is unknown unto me, to afford mee his resolution to these fewe queries concerning the whale, whereof I understand hee had the cutting up and disposure. Whether there were any spermaceti found or made out of other parts beside

the head, if soe, of what parts, and out of what most, and whether any out of the meere fleshie parts? Whether that which runne from it about the shoare came out of the mouth?

Mr. Bacon to Dr. Browne.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Yarmouth, 10th May, 1652.

SIR,

In answer to your questions concerning the whale, I founde noe sperme but in his heade, and that after I had taken off his scalpe, one tonn weight or more of a nexuous substance we found, in the circumference as large as a small coach wheele, in the middle part certaine round pieces of sperm, as bigg as a man's fist, some as large as eggs, and on the out side of the said rounds flakes as large as a man's head, in forme like hony combs, beinge very white and full of oyle. And that sperm which was cast upon the shore, I doe conceive came out of his nostrells. Thus much from him who doth remayne,

Sir, your humble servant,
ARTHUR BACON.

Sir Hamon L'Estrange[6] *to Dr. Browne.*

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CCCXCI.]

Jan. 16, 1653.

SIR,

I acknowledge the great favour of your late large and full expressions to mee in opinion, advice, and direction for myne infirmitye. I wish my servant had so well collected himselfe (upon Mr. Sares absence) as to have broken open

6 Of Hunstanton, in Norfolk: a learned man and an active magistrate. Armstrong, in his History of Norfolk, has printed the translation of a Latin letter, from a MS. at Hunstanton, describing Sir Hamon's exertions in saving the valuable goods of a wreck of the ship Bon Adventura (dated June 11, 1649), and appropri-

and shewed you my letter to Mr. Sares, which might better have informed your judgment for direction. I am aged neare 70 yeares, of sanguine humour, and a thinn cholerique frame of body, and was taken with the palsey 3 yeares since, though (I prayse God) I endure no great affliction or disability hereby. I doe not find but my chief vitalls are well conditioned, onely some spleenatique obstructions . . . . . I presume to send you a list of such things as I have used. I pray you bee pleased to fixe your sence and opinion generally to them, and after to returne the paper. Now I come to give you an account of your desire and question concerning the whale and sperme. About 3 yeares since, I hapned to read your book of Enquiries into Common Errours, and in that masse of various matter, I met with many things in the middle and lower formes of the schoole of knowledge, formerly obviated to my curiosity and observation, which set my fancy and pen on worke, as you may reed in this my rude and imperfect manuscript, which I send you to peruse, and pag. 27 thereof, I write of the whale cast upon my shoare. I acknowledge the excellency of your learning;—

. . . . . qui monte potitus
Ridet anhelantem . . . . . .

may laugh att my creeping and crawling at the foote of the hill, but *amare licet, si potiri non licet.* In the ambition of knowledge to God's honour and service is no errour, and so armed, I feare not the ferula of your candour, and write myselfe, sir,

Your most serious friend and servant,
HAMON L'ESTRANGE.

ating what in fact was his, as lord of the manor, to the original owner. Sir Hamon had three sons, Nicholas, Hamon, and Roger, the latter, afterwards the celebrated Sir Roger L'Estrange, an eminent royalist, who was compelled to leave the kingdom, from the part he took in the attempt to rescue King Charles when in the Isle of Wight, but returned in 1653. Soon after the restoration he established the first NEWSPAPER, *The Public Intelligencer and News*, and was afterwards appointed licenser of the press. He translated Seneca's Morals, and Æsop's Fables.—See *Stacy's Norfolk Tour*, ii, 926.

Dr. Browne to [J. Hobart, Esq.][7]

[BIBL. BODL. MS. TANNER. XLI, 90.]

August, 1654.

HONORD SIR,

I was at your howse this afternoone to haue kissed your hand, and testified my good wishes vnto you, wch being in no waye able to act in proportion to my desires, I am in noe small measure left vnto the mercy of your construction.

I haue enclosed this bill for pills and an aperitiue syrupes, wch you may haue made at any apothecaries.

Of the pills you may please to take one last to bed and three in the morning, sleepinge after them, and about two howers after to take a messe of broath or gruell, and obserue noe other rule in order to them. You may take them upon occasion when your body is costiue, when you find yourself hartburned, hott, or find any predominance of choler or salte flegme in your stomack. You may make triall first of one ouer night and two in the morninge, and if they be not operatiue enough three in the morning.

Of the syrupes, two spoonfuls may bee taken in a morning in a draught of beere or whaye, wch may open obstructions and keepe your flegme from being drie and tough. Creme of tartar may be vsed also sometimes in broath or gruell.

The last to bed to moysten your throat and moderate the drinesse of salt humours eat a piece of a codling roast apple or bargamot peare, and at noe time fast to long.

Sir, I exceedingly wish your health and welcome returne agayne vnto your true and respectfull friends, resting your faythfull seruant and unworthy kinsman,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Scuruie grasse, beere, and wormwood, not to strong, equall parts in the winter.

[7] This and the following letter were probably both addressed to Mr. Hobart, whose daughter married Dean Astley, to whom Sir Thomas was related; and through whom, possibly, the letters found their way into the MS. collection of Bishop Tanner.

R. Syr. de 5 Rad. ℥iij.
Syr. de Cochlear. } ℥ij.
de Suc. Auranc }
Caryophyll. ℥i.
M.
Sp. Sulph. gutt. 4.
R. pil. Mastick } ℥i.
Aloes Ros. }
Ol. Muscat. gutt. 7.
M. fiat pil. n. 12.

The whole endorsed "Dr. Browne's directions, August 1654."

Dr. Browne to J. Hobart, Esq.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. TANNER. NO. CCLXXXV. p. 90.]

Great Melton, Aug. 31, [1666.]

WORTHY AND HONORD SIR,

I am extremely troubled to heare that some haue had the sicknesse in your howse. As you shall all haue my daylie prayers, so I cannot giue myself any satisfaction unlesse I conferre my mite vnto the preseruation of a person, whose friendshipp I highly ualue, and whose true worth I haue soe long and truly honord. And, therefore, in order to preuention you may please to use two fumes, one of vinegar, wherein rue, angelica, wormwood, scordium, juniper, bay leaves, and savin are steeped, wch may bee vsed often in the day, and in the chambers. Another of an higher and stronger nature twice or thrice a day in the hall, parlor, and other roomes; and if any one hath had it, before hee cometh to communicate with others his chamber may bee fumed, the doors being shutt close. Of this you may haue, if you please to send to Mr. Dey, the apothecarie, where you may also haue a preuentiue, and also an antidotall electuary of no meane nature, whereof giue a dragme and half in posset drinck vnto any that is falling sick, and to bee in bed, and agayne the next night, and so agayne the third night, and to drink possets of

scordium, wood sorrell, and angelica. If you haue no issue to make one may bee of singular effect, though it bee stopped up two moneths hence, or to keepe a blister alwayes on some part, sometimes on the arme, sometimes on the legge; from the report made of some who haue been sick in your howse and escaped, I am very hopefull that the malignitie was not so great as in other places; and I haue one obseruation set downe by a learned man, and confirmed to mee by Dr. Wetherley, in the late sicknesse of London, wch affordeth mee much comfort, and I hope will be verified in your familie; that in howses where the first that falleth sick escape, the rest either fall not sick, or, if sick, escape; of this I would not omitt to informe you, because I comfort myself much thereon, and I am sure it holds *ad plurimum* if not alwayes. Good sir excuse mee.

I rest your most faithfull friend and unworthy kinsman,

THOMAS BROWNE.

To my honord friend John Hobart, esquier, at his howse in St. Giles parish, these.

Dr. Browne to John Evelyn, Esq.

[FROM THE MS. COLLECTION OF DAWSON TURNER, ESQ.[8]]

Norwich, Jan. 21, 1657-8.

WORTHY SIR,

In obedience unto the commands of my noble friend, Mr. Paston, and the respects I owe unto soe worthy a person as yourself, I have presumed to present these enclosed lines unto you, which I beseech you to accept as hints and proposalls, not any directions unto your judicious thoughts. I have not taken the chapters in the order printed, butt set downe hints upon a few, as memorie prompted and my present diversions would permit; readie to bee your servant further, if your noble worke bee not alreadie compleated beyond admission of

[8] Mr. Turner, who has favoured me with a copy of this letter, informs me that it "is addressed to John Evelyn, is endorsed by him."

additionalls: esteeming it no small honour to hold any communication with a person of your merit, unto whom I shall industriously endeavour to expresse myself,

Sir, your much honouring friend and servant,

THOMAS BROWNE.

John Evelyn, Esq. to Dr. Browne.

[FROM THE LONDON MAGAZINE (1824) VOL. X. P. 589.]

Co. Garden, Lond. 28 Jan. [1657-8.]

HONOURED SIR,

By the mediation of that noble person, Mr. Paston, and an extraordinary humanity of your owne, I find I haue made acquisition of such a subsidiary, as nothing but his greate favour to me, and your communicable nature could haue procur'd me. It is now, therefore, that I dare promise myselfe successe in my attempt; and it is certaine that I will very justly owne your favours with all due acknowledgements, as the most obliging of all my correspondents. I perceive you haue seene the *proplasma* and delineation of my designe,[9] which, to avoyde the infinite copying for some of my curious friends, I was constrain'd to print; but it cannot be imagined that I should haue travell'd over so large a province (though but a garden) as yet, who set out not many moneths since, and can make it but my diversions at best, who haue so many other impediments besieging me, publique and personall, whereoff the long sicknesse of my *unicus*, my only sonn, now five moneths afflicted with a double quartan, and but five yeares old, is not one of the least; so that there is not danger your additionalls and favours to your servant should be pre-

9 A projected work bearing the title, *Elysium Brittannicum*, the plan of which is given in Upcott's *Miscellaneous Writings of J. Evelyn, Esq.* This work was intended to comprise forty distinct subjects, or chapters, disposed in three books. One of the chapters was "*Of the coronary garden, &c.,*" to which Sir Thomas Browne's tract, "*Of garlands, and coronary or garland plants,*" was intended as a contribution. The work, however, was never completed; though parts of it remain among the MSS. at Wotton. One chapter only, "Of Sallets," was published in 1699, under the title, "*Acetaria; a Discourse of Sallets.*"

vented by the perfection of my worke, or if it were, that I should be so injurious to my owne fame or your civility, as not to beginn all anew, that I might take in such auxiliaries as you send me, and which I must esteeme as my best and most effectuall forces. Sir, I returne you a thousand acknowledgements for the papers which you transmitted me, and I will render you this account of my present vndertaking. The truth is, that which imported me to discourse on this subject after this sorte, was the many defects which I encounter'd in bookes and in gardens, wherein neither words nor cost had bin wanting, but judgement very much; and though I cannot boast of my science in this kind, as both vnbecoming my yeares and my small experience, yet I esteem'd it pardonable at least, if in doing my endeauour to rectifie some mistakes, and advancing so vsefull and innocent a divertisement, I made some essay, and cast in my symbole with the rest. To this designe, if forraine observation may conduce, I might likewise hope to refine upon some particulars, especially concerning the ornaments of gardens, which I shall endeavor so to handle, as that they may become usefull and practicable, as well as magnificent, and that persons of all conditions and faculties, which delight in gardens, may therein encounter something for their owne advantage. The modell, which I perceive you haue seene, will aboundantly testifie my abhorrency of those painted and formal projections of our cockney gardens and plotts, which appeare like gardens of past-board and marchpane, and smell more of paynt then of flowers and verdure: our drift is a noble, princely, and universal Elysium, capable of all the amœnities that can naturally be introduced into gardens of pleasure, and such as may stand in competition with all the august designes and stories of this nature, either of antient or moderne tymes; yet so as to become vsefull and significant to the least pretences and faculties. We will endeauour to shew how the aire and genious of gardens operat vpon humane spirits towards virtue and sanctitie, I meane in a remote, preparatory and instrumentall working. How caues, grotts, mounts, and irregular ornaments of gardens do contribute to contemplatiue and philosophicall enthusiasme; how *elysium, antrum, nemus, paradysus, hortus, lucus,* &c.,

signifie all of them *rem sacram et divinam;* for these expedients do influence the soule and spirits of man, and prepare them for converse with good angells; besides which, they contribute to the lesse abstracted pleasures, phylosophy naturall and longevitie: and I would have not onely the elogies and effigie of the antient and famous garden heroes, but a society of the *paradisi cultores,* persons of antient simplicity, Paradisean and Hortulan saints, to be a society of learned and ingenuous men, such as Dr. Browne, by whome we might hope to redeeme the tyme that has bin lost, in pursuing *Vulgar Errours,* and still propagating them, as so many bold men do yet presume to do. Were it to be hoped, *inter hos armorum strepitus,* and in so generall a catalysis of integrity, interruption of peace and propriety, the hortulane pleasure, these innocent, pure, and vsefull diversions might enjoy the least encouragement, whilst brutish and ambitious persons seeke themselues in the ruines of our miserable yet dearest country, *quis talia fando —?*—But, sir, I will not importune you with these matters, nor shall they be able to make me to desist from my designe, so long as you reanimate my languishings, and pardon my imperfections. I greately thanke you for your discourses, and the acoustic diagramme, &c. I shall be a faithfull reporter of your favours to me. In my philosophico-medicall garden you can impart to me extraordinary assistances, as likewise in my coronary chapter, and that of transmutations, c. I. lib. 3. Norwich is a place, I understand, which is very much addicted to the flowry part; and what indeede may I not promise myselfe from your ingenuity, science, and candor? And now to shew you how farr I am aduanced in my worke, though I haue drawne it in loose sheetes, almost euery chapter rudely, yet I cannot say to haue finished any thing tollerably farther than chapter XI. lib. 2, and those which are so completed are yet so written that I can at pleasure inserte whatsoeuer shall come to hand to obelize, correct, improve, and adorne it. That chapt. of the history of gardens being the 7th of the last booke, is in a manner finished by itselfe, and, if it be not ouer tedious, I thinke it will extreamely gratifie the reader: for I do comprehend them as vniversally as the chapter will beare it, and yet am

as particular in the descriptions as is possible, because I not onely pretend them for pompous and ostentatiue examples, but would render them usefull to our trauellers which shall goe abroad, and where I haue obserued so many particularities as, happly, others descend not to. If you permitt me to transcribe you an imperfect summ of the heads, it is to let you see how farr we correspond (as by your excellent papers I collect) and to engage your assistance in suppliing my omissions; you will pardon the defects in the synchronismes, because they are not yet exactly marshalled, and of my desultory scribbling.

CHAP. VII, LIB. 3.

Paradise, Elysian fields, Hesperides, Horti Adonidis, Alcinoi, Semyramis, Salomon's. The pensile gardens in Babylon, of Nabucodonosor, of Cyrus, the gardens of Panchaia, the Sabean in Arabia Felix. The Egyptian gardens out of Athenæus, the Villa Laura neere Alexandria, the gardens of Adominus, the garden at Samos, Democritus's garden, Epicurus's at Athens, *hortorum ille magister*, as Pliny calls him. That of Nysa described by Diodorus Siculus; Masinissa's, Lysander's, the garden of Laërtes, father of Ulysses, ex Homero. Theophrastus's, Mithridates' gardens; Alexandrus's garden at Sydon, Hieron's Nautilus gardens out of Athenæus; the Indian king's garden out of Ælian; and many others, which are in my scattered adversaria, not yet inserted into this chapter.

Amongst the antient Romans.—Numa's garden, Tarquin's, Scipio Africanus's, Antoninus Pius's, Dioclesian's, Mæcenas's, Martial's gardens; the Tarentine garden, Cicero's garden at Tusculum, Formia, Cuma; the Laurentine garden of Pliny junior, Cato, at Sabinus, Ælius Spartianus's garden, the elder Gordian's, Horti Cassipedis, Drusi, Dolabella's garden, Galienus's, Seneca's, Nero's, the Horti Lamiani, Agrippina's, the Esquiline, Pompey's, Luculla's most costly gardens, &c.

More moderne and at present.—Clement the 8th's garden; the Medicean, Mathæo's garden, Cardinal Pio's; Farnesian, Lodovisian, Burghesean, Aldobrandino's, Barberini's, the Belvedere, Montalta's, Bossius's, Justiniane's, the Quirinal gardens, Cornelius's, Mazarini's, &c.

In other parts of Italy.—Ulmarini's at Vacenza, Count Giusti's at Verona, Mondragone, Frescati, D'Este's at Tivoli. The gardens of the Palazzo de Pitti in Florence; Poggio, Imperiale, Pratoline,

Hieronymo del Negro's pensile garden in Genoa, principe d'Oria's garden, the Marquesi Devico's at Naples, the old gardens at Baiæ, Fred. Duke of Urbine's garden, the gardens at Pisa, at Padoa, at Capraroula, at St. Michael in Bosco, in Bolognia; the gardens about Lago di Como, Signior Sfondrati's, &c.

In Spaine.—The incomparable garden of Aranxues, Garicius's garden at Toledo, &c.

In France.—Duke of Orleans at Paris, Luxemburg, Thuilleries, Palais Cardinal, Bellevue, Morines, Jard. Royal, &c.

In other parts of France.—The garden of Froment, of Fontaine Beleau, of the Chasteau de Fresnes, Ruel, Richelieu, Couranet, Cauigny, Hubert, Depont in Champagne, the most sumptuous Rincy, Nanteuile, Maisons, Medon, Dampien, St Germain en Lay, Rosny, St. Cloe, Liancourt in Picardy, Isslings at Essonne, Pidaux in Poictiers. At Anet, Valeri, Folembourg, Villiers, Gaillon, Montpellier, Beugensor, of Mons. Piereskius. In Loraine, at Nancy, the Jesuites at Liege, and many others.

In Flanders.—The gardens of the Hofft in Bruxelles, Oroenendael's neere it, Risewick in Holland. The court at the Hague, the garden at Leyden, Pretor Hundius's garden at Amsterdam.

In Germany.—The Emperor's garden at Vienna, at Salisburgh; the medicinall at Heidelburg, Caterus's at Basil, Camerarius's garden of Horimburg, Scholtzius's at Vratislauia, at Bonne neere Collen, the elector's there: Christina's garden in Sweden made lately by Mollet; the garden at Cracovia, Warsovia, Grogning. The elector's garden at Heidelburg, Tico Brache's rare gardens at Vraneburge, the garden at Copenhagen. Tho. Duke of Holstein's garden, &c.

In Turkey, the East, and other parts.—The grand Signor's in the Serraglio, the garden at Tunis, and old Carthage; the garden at Cairo, at Fez, the pensal garden at Pequin in China, also at Timplan and Porassen; St. Thomas's garden in the island neere M. Hecla, perpetually verdant. In Persia the garden at Ispahan; the garden of Tzurbugh; the Chan's garden in Schamachie neere the Caspian sea, of Ardebil, and the citty of Cassuin or Arsacia; the garden lately made at Suratt in the East Indias by the great Mogoll's daughter, &c.

In America.—Montezuma's floating garden, and others in Mexico. The King of Azcapuzulco's, the garden of Cusco; the garden in Nova Hispania. Count Maurice's rare garden at Boavesta in Brasile.

In England.—Wilton, Dodington, Spensherst, Sion, Hatfield, Lord Brook's, Oxford, Kirby, Howard's, Durden's, my elder brother George Evelyn's in Surry, far surpassing any else in England, it may be my owne poore garden may for its kind, perpetually greene, not be vnworthy mentioning.

The gardens mentioned in Scripture, &c.

Miraculous and extraordinary gardens found upon huge fishes' backs, men over growne with flowers, &c.

Romantique and poeticall gardens out of Sidney, Spencer, Achilles Statius, Homer, Poliphele, &c. All these I have already described, some briefly, some at large according to their dignity and merite.

But this paper, and my reverence to your greate patience, minds me of a conclusion.

Worthy, sir,

I am your most humble and most obliged servant,

J. EUELYN.

Sir, I beg the fauour of you when you see Mr. Paston to make my seruice acceptable, and to let him knowe how greately I thinke my selfe obliged to him for this civillity.

I make bold to send you another paper of the chapters, because I have there added another chapter concerning Hortulan entertainments; and I intend another for wonderfull plants, &c.

If you thinke me worthy of the continuance of these fauours to your servant, your letters will infallibly find me by this addresse:—"For Mr. Iohn Euelyn, at the Hauk and Feasant on Ludgate Hill, London."

Dr. Browne to John Evelyn, Esq.[1]

[FROM THE MS. COLLECTION OF MR. WILLIAM UPCOTT.]

WORTHY SIR,

Some weekes past I made bold to send you a letter with an enclosed paper concerning garlands and coronarie

[1] Indorsed by Evelyn "Dr. Browne from Norwich."

plants,[2] which I hope you have received, having directed it unto the Hawke and Pheasant, on Ludgate Hill. If you think fit to make use of such a catalogue as I sent therewith, I could add unto it. However for *Moly flore luteo*, you may please to put in *Moly Hondianum novum*. I now present unto you a small paper which should have been attended with a catalogue of plants,[3] wherein experiments might bee attempted by insition and wayes of propagation; but probably you may bee provided in that kind. Yet I have not met with any of that nature and particulars, this extending beyond garden plants unto all wild trees among us. This, if you please, you may command within very few dayes, or any thing in the power of,

Sir, your honoring friend and servant,

THOMAS BROWNE.

I pray my humble service unto Sir Robert Paston when you see him, which you may now at pleasure, he being of the House, and an highly deserving and loyall member of it.

The gardens upon great fishes I would not tearme miraculous gardens, but rather extraordinarie and anomalous gardens, animal gardens, or the like.

Mr. Dugdale to Dr. Browne.

[POSTHUMOUS WORKS, AND MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

Blyth-hall, neer Colhill, in Warwickshire,

HONOURED SIR, 4th Oct. 1658.

By your letter, dated 27th September, (which came to my hands[4] about two days since) I see how much I am obliged to you for your readinesse to take into consideration those things which I desired by the note sent to Mr. Watts; so that I could not omitt, but by this first opportunity, to returne you my hearty thanks for the favour. I resolve, God willing, to be in London about the beginning of the next terme, and by Mr. Watts (my kind friend) will send you some of the bones of that fishe which my note mentioneth.

[2] No. 2 of the "Miscellany Tracts."

[3] Now first published from *MS. Sloan.* 1848, 1882, 5233.—*See vol.* IV.

[4] Unfortunately it has not come to our hands.

Certainly, sir, the gaining Marshland, in Norfolk, and Holland, in Lincolnshire, was a worke very antient, as by many circumstances may be gathered; and therefore considering the industry and skill of the Romans, I conceive it most like to have been performed by them. Mr. Cambden, in his Britannia, speaking of the Romans in Britaine, hath an observation out of Tacitus in the life of Agricola; which Dr. Holland (who translated Cambden) delivers thus: viz. that the Romans wore out and consumed the bodies and hands of the Britans, in clearing of woods, and paving of fens. But the words of Tacitus are, *paludibus emuniendis*, of which I desire your opinion; I meane, whether the word *emuniendis* do not meane walling or banking.

Sir, I account my selfe much happy to be thus far known to you as I am, and that you are pleased to thinke me worthy to converse with you in this manner, which I shall make bold still to do upon any good occasion, till I be more happy by a personall knowledge of you, as I hope in good time I may, resting Your very humble servant and honourer,

WILLIAM DUGDALE.

For my much honoured friend, Dr. Browne, at his house in Norwich.

Mr. Dugdale to Dr. Browne.

[POSTHUMOUS WORKS, AND MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

From my chamber, at the Herauld's Office in London, 9th Nov. 1658.

HONOURED SIR,

Yours of October 27th, with that learned discourse inclosed,[5] came safe to my hands the last weeke, for which I return you my most hearty thanks, being highly satisfyed therewith. Since the receipt thereof, I have spoke with Mr. Jonas Moore (the chiefe surveyor of this great worke of drayning in Cambridgeshire and the counties adjacent) who tells

[5] The letter (probably a mere envelope) has not reached us; the discourse (which it contained) there is very little doubt is published among the Miscellany Tracts, No. 9, *Of Artificial Hills, &c.* preceded by Dugdale's Note of Enquiry.

me that the causey I formerly mentioned is sixty foote broad in all places where they have cutt through it, and about eighteen inches thicknesse of gravell, lying upon the moore, and now in many places three foote deepe under a new accession of moore.

It seemes I mistook when I signifyed to you that Mr. Ashmole had some Romane coynes, which were found in the fens; for he now tells me that he hath nothing as yet, but that urne which Jonas Moore gave him; but my Lord St. John had divers, as he tells me, which are lost, or mislayed.

Jonas Moore now tells me, that very lately, in digging a piece of ground which lyes within the precincts of Soham, (about three or four miles from Ely,) the diggers found seven or eight urnes, which by carelessnesse were broken in pieces, but no coyne in or near them. The ground is about six acres, and in the nature of an island in the fenne, but no raysed heap of earth to cover them, as he tells me. I resolve to intreat Mr. Chichley, (my very good friend,) who is owner thereof, to cause some further digging there; for they are of opinion that there are many more of that kind; and then I shall be able to satisfy you better, and what is found in them. Sir Thomas Cotton is not as yet come up to London, otherwise I would have sent you some of those bones of the fishe, which I will be sure to do so soone as he comes.

Mr. Ashmole presents his service to you, with great thanks for your kinde offer, desiring a note of what manuscripts you have that may be for his purpose, whereupon he will let you know whether he wants them or not; for he hath others than what he hath formerly made use of. I hope I shall obtain so much favour of the adventurers, as to procure one of those large heaps of earth to be cut through, to the end that we may see whether any urnes or other things of note are covered therewith.

Sir, this favour which you are pleased to afford me, thus to trouble you with these things, I highly value, and shall rest

At your commands wherein I may serve you,

WILLIAM DUGDALE.

For my much honoured friend, Dr. Browne, at his house in St. Peter's, in Norwich.

Dr. Browne to Mr. Dugdale.

[POSTHUMOUS WORKS, AND MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

Norwich, Nov. 10th, 1658.

SIR,

Your observation is singular, and querie very ingenious, concerning the expression of Tacitus in the life of Agricola, upon the complaint of the Britans, that the Romans consumed and wore out their bodyes and hands, *sylvis et paludibus emuniendis*, that is, whether thereby walling or bancking the fennes is not to bee understood according to the signification of the word *emunire*.

This, indeed, is the common and received signification, as probably derived from the old word *mœnire*, that is, *mœnibus cingere*, to wall, fence, or fortifie by enclosure, according to the same acception in warlike munitions and entrenchments.

But in this expression strictly to make out the language of the author, a sense is to be found agreeable unto woods as well as fennes and marshes; the word *emuniendis* relating unto both, which will butt harshly be expressed by any one word in our language, and might cause such different and subexpositive translations.

And this may be made out from the large signification of the word *munire*, which is sometimes taken not only to wall, fence, or enclose, butt also to laye open, and render fitt for passage. Soe is that of Livie expounded by learned men, when, in the passage of Hannibal over the Alpes, he sayth, *rupem muniendam curavit*, that is, he opened a passage through the rock; and least the word should bee thought rather to be read *minuendam*, a fewe lines after, the word is used agayne; *et quies muniendo fessis hominibus triduo data*.

And upon the same subject the like expressions are to bee founde in the Latin translation of Polybius, sett forth by Casaubon, *labore improbo in ipso principitio viam munivit*. And for the gettinge downe of his caryages and elephants from the hills covered with ice and snowe, it is afterwards

sayd, *Numidus ad viam muniendam per vices admovet vixque tertio demum die elephantos trajecit,* which cannot well be understood by raysing any banks and walls, butt by removing the snowe, planing the wayes, and making it passable for them.

Which exposition is received by Godelevæus upon Livie, and also the learned Turnebus, *Adversariorum,* lib. xiii. "Interpretor autem munire, per rupem viam aperire eamque in ea munire et tanquam struere, eam cædere et opere laboreque militari complanare, et æquare iter aut deorsum deprimere et declive reddere quodam anfractu molli. Itaque qui aggerem jaciunt, fossas aperiunt, vias muniunt, militiæ munitores vocantur."

And therefore when Dr. Holland translated this passage in Cambden out of Tacitus, by cleering of woods and paving the fennes, hee may be made out by this acception of *munire,* extending unto fennes and woods, and comprehending all pyoners work about them. As likewise Sir Henry Savile, when hee rendreth it by paving of bogges and woods; and as *viam munire* is also taken in Livie, that is, *lapidibus sternere.*

And your owne acception may also bee admitted, of walling and banking the fennes, which the word will also well beare in relation to *paludibus,* beside the other signification of causies, wayes, and passages, common unto woods and fennes; nor only the clearing of woods and making of passages, butt all kind of pyoning and slavish labour might bee understood in this speech of Galgacus which with stripes and indignities was imposed upon the Britans in workes about woods, bogges, and fennes; and soe comprehend the laborious aggers, banks, and workes of securement against floods and inundations, wherein they were imployed by the Romans, a careful and provident people, omitting noe waye to secure or improve their dominions and lands, lost by carelesse ignorance in the disadvantages of sea and waters, and which they were first to effect, before they could well establish their causies over the marshes.

And so the translation in two words may be tolerably made by one. By clearing the woods and fennes, that is, the woods by making them passible, by rendring them open and lesse fit for retreat or concealment of the Britans; and by clearing

the fennes either for passage or improvement, and soe comprehending cawsing, paving, drayning, trenching, fencing, and embanking agaynst thieves or sea-floods.

I remain, sir, yours, &c.

THOMAS BROWNE.

Mr. Dugdale to Dr. Browne.

[POSTHUMOUS WORKS, AND MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

London, 17th Nov. 1658.

HONOURED SIR,

Yours of the 10th instant came safe to my hands, with that learned discourse inclosed, concerning the word *emunire*, wherein I perceive your sense is the same with my good friends Mr. Bishe and Mr. Junius, (with both whome I have also consulted about it.) I have herewithall sent you one of the bones of that fish, which was taken up by Sir Robert Cotton, in digging a pond at the skirt of Conington Downe, desiring your opinion thereof and of what magnitude you think it was.

Mr. Ashmole presents his best service and thanks to you, for your kinde intention to send him a list of those books you have, which may be for his use.

That which you were told of my writing any thing of Norfolke was a meere story; for I never had any such thing in my thoughts, nor can I expect a life to accomplish it, if I should; or any encouragement considerable to the chardge and paynes of such an undertaking. This I mean as to the county, and not my Fenne History, which will extend thereinto. And as for Mr. Bishe, who is a greate admirer and honourer of you, and desires me to present his hearty service and thanks to you for that mention you have made of him in your learned discourse of Urnes.[5] He says he hath no such

[5] It is not in the Hydriotaphia, but the Garden of Cyrus, that Browne mentions "Upton de Studio Militari, et Johannes de Bado Aureo, cum Comm. *Cl. et Doct. Bissæi.*"—*Hamper.*

purpose at all, nor ever had; but that his brother-in-law Mr. Godard (the recorder of Lynne) intends something of that towne, but whether or when to make it publique he knows not.

And now, sir, that you have been pleas'd to give me leave to be thus bold with you in interrupting your better studies, I shall crave leave to make a request or two more to you. First, that you will let me know where in Leland you finde that expression concerning such buriall of the Saxons, as you mention in your former discourse[6] concerning those raysed heaps of earth, which you lately sent me; for all that I have seene extant of his in manuscript, is those volumes of his *Collectanea* and *Itineraryes*, now in the Bodleyan Library at Oxford, of which I have exact copies in the country.

The next is, to entreat you to speake with one Mr. Haward[7] (heir and executor to Mr. Haward lately deceased, who was an executor to Mr. Selden) who now lives in Norwich, as I am told, and was a sheriffe of that city the last yeare: and to desire a letter from him to Sir John Trevor, speedily to joyne with Justice Hales and the rest of Mr. Selden's executors, in opening the library in White Friars', for the sight of a manuscript of Landaffe, which may be usefull to me in those additions I intend to the second volume of the Monasticon, now in the presse; for Sir John Trevor tells me, that he cannot without expresse order from him, do it: the rest of the executors of Mr. Selden being very desirous to pleasure me therein. If you can get such a letter from him for Sir John Trevor, I pray you enclose it to me, and I will deliver it, for their are 3 keys besides.

And lastly, if at your leisure, through your vast reading, you can point me out what authors do speake of those improvements which have been made by banking and drayning in Italy, France, or any part of the Netherlands, you will do me a very high favour.

From Strabo and Herodotus I have what they say of Ægypt, and so likewise what is sayd by Natalis Comes of

[6] Which discourse is No. 9, of the Miscellany Tracts published by Dr. Tenison, Ann. 1684, but mistakenly superscribed to E. D. instead of W. D. for William Dugdale, page 151.—*Note in the Posthumous Works.*

[7] William Heyward, or Howard.—*Blomfield.*

Acarnania: but take your owne time for it, if at all you can attend it, whereby you will more oblige

Your most humble servant and honourer,

WILLIAM DUGDALE.

For my much honoured friend, Dr. Browne, &c.

Dr. Browne to Mr. Dugdale.[8]

[FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE EDITOR'S POSSESSION.]

Norwich, Dec. 6, 1658.

WORTHY SIR,

I make noe doubt you have receaued Mr. Howard's letter unto Sir John Trevor. Hee will be readie to doe you any seruice in that kind. I am glad your second booke of the Monasticon is at last in the presse. Here is in this citty a conuent of Black Friers, which is more entire than any in these parts of England. Mr. King tooke the draught[9] of it when he was in Norwich, and Sir Thomas Pettus, Baronet, desired to have his name sett vnto it. I conceive it were not fitt in so generall a tract to omit it, though little can be sayd of it, only coniectur'd that it was founded by Sir John of Orpingham, or Erpingham, whose coat is all about the church and *six-corner'd steeple*. I receaued the bone of the fish, and shall giue you some account of it when I have compared it with another bone which is not by mee. As for *Lelandus*, his works are soe rare, that few private hands are masters of them, though hee left not a fewe; and therefore, that quotation of myne was at second hand. You may find it in Mr. Inego Jones' description of *Stonehenge*, pag. 27; having litle doubt of the truth of his quotation, because in that place hee hath the Latine and English, with a particular commendation of the author and the tract quoted in the margin, and in the same author, quoted p. 16, the page is also mentioned; butt the title is short and obscure, and therefore I omitted it.

[8] Not in Hamper's Correspondence of Dugdale. This letter bears the indorse in Dugdale's hand-writing—"Dec. 6, 1658, Dr. Browne's letter (not yet answered.)"

[9] Qre: to ask the Docter whether ever he saw this draught.—*MS. marginal Note by Dugdale in the Original.*

Leylande Assert. Art. which being compared with the subiect of page 25, may perhaps bee *De Assertione Arthuri*, which is not mentioned in the catalogue of his many workes,[1] except it bee some head or chapter in his *Antiq. Britannicis* or *de Viris illustribus.* I am much satisfied in the truth thereof, because Camden hath expressions of the like sense in diuers places; and, as I think in Northamptonshire, and probably from Lelandus: for Lambert in his perambulation of Kent, speakes but some times of Lelandus, and then quoteth not his words, though it is probable hee was much beholden unto him having left a worke of his subject *Itinerarium Cantii.*

Sir, having some leasure last weeke, which is uncertaine with mee, I intended this day to send you some answer to your last querie of banking and draining by some instances and examples in the four parts of the earth, and some short account of the cawsie, butt diuersions into the country will make me defer it untill Friday next, soe that you may receive it on Mondaye. Sir, I rest

Your very well-wishing friend and servant,

THOMAS BROWNE.

To my worthy friend Mr. Dugdale, at his chamber, in the Herald's Office, London, these.

Mr. Dugdale to Dr. Browne.

[POSTHUMOUS WORKS, AND MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

London, 24 Feb. 1658.

HONOURED SIR,

Being now (through God's goodnesse) so well recovered from my late sicknesse, as that I do looke upon my bookes and papers againe, though I have not as yet adventured abroad, in respect of the cold, I do againe salute you, giving you great thanks for your continued mindfulnesse of me, as appears by that excellent note which I yesterday re-

[1] Assertio Inclytiss. Arturi, &c. 4to. 1540, 1544. Translated by R. Robinson, 4to. 1582. Published by Hearne, 8vo. Oxford, 1715.

ceived from you, touching the drayning made of late years by the Duke of Holstein, it being so pertinent to my business. My thanks for what you sent me from your learned observations touching the banking and drayning in other forreign parts,[2] I desired my good friend Mr. Ashmole to present to you, when I was not able to write my self; which I presume he did do.

And being thus emboldened by these your favours, I shall here acquaint you with my conceipt touching this spacious tract in forme of a sinus or bay, which we call the great levell of the fenns, extending from Linne, beyond Waynflete in Lincolnshire, in length; and in breadth, into some parts of the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Northampton, Huntington, and Lincoln, intreating your opinion therein. That it was at first firme land, the sea having no recourse into it, I am induced to believe, when I consider the multitude of trees, viz. firre, oake, and of other kindes, that are found in those draynes and diggings which have of late years been made there; nay, some with their rootes standing in the ground below the moore, having been cut off about two foote above the ground, as I guesse; which I my selfe saw at Thorney, they having been dig'd up in that fen. And Mr. Godard (the recorder of Linne) assures me, that lately in Marshland, about a mile off Magdalene bridge, at 17 foot deepe, (upon occasion of letting down of a sluce) were found below the silt (for of that nature is all Marshland and Holland) in the very firme earth, furr-bushes as they grew, not rotted; and nut-trees with nuts not perisht; neither of which kind of bushes or trees are now growing upon that silthy soil of Marshland, though it be fruitfull and rich for other vegetables. The like firr-trees and other timber is found in great abundance in Hatfield level, in the Isle of Axholme, where I am assured from ocular testimony, that they find the rootes of many firr-trees as they stand in the soyle, where they grew, below the moore, with the bodyes of the trees lying by them, not cut off with an axe or such like thing, but burnt, the coall appearing upon the ends where they were so burnt asunder: therefore when, or on what occasion it was that

[2] This communication has not been preserved.

the sea flowed over all this, as appears by that silt at the skirt of Conington Downe, wherein the bones of that fish were found whereof you have one, is a thing that I know not what to say to, desiring your opinion thereof.

I shall now tell you how I do conclude that it became a fen, by the stagnation of the fresh waters; which is thus, viz. that the sea having its passage upon the ebbs and flows thereof, along by the coast of Norfolke to the coast of Lincolnshire, did in time, by reason of its muddinesse, leave a shelfe or silt, betwixt those two points of land, viz. Rising in Norfolke, and the country about Spilsby in Lincolnshire, which shelfe increasing in height and length so much, as that the ordinary tides did not overflow it, was by that check of those fluxes, in time, so much augmented in breadth, that the Romans finding it considerable for the fertility of the soyle (being a people of great ingenuity and industry) made the first sea-banks for its preservation from the spring tides, which might otherwise overflow it. And now, sir, by this setling of the silt the soyle of Marshland and Holland had their first beginning; by the like excesse of silt brought into the mouths of these rivers which had their out-falls at Linne, Wisbiche, and Boston, where the fresh waters so stop'd, as that the ordinary land-floods being not of force enough to grinde it out (as the term is) all the levell behind became overflowed; and as an ordinary pond gathered mud, so did this do moore, which in time hath increased to such a thicknesse that since the Podike was made to keep up the fresh water from drowning of Marshland on the other side, and the bank called South Ea Bank, for the preservation of Holland from the like inundation, the levell of the fen is become 4 foot higher than the levell of Marshland, as Mr. Vermuden assures me, upon view and observation thereof. And this, under correction of your better judgment, whereunto I shall much submit, do I take to be the originall occasion of Marshland and Holland, and likewise of the fens.

But that which puzles me most is the sea coming up to Conington Downe; as I have sayd therefore, perhaps by your great reading and philosophicall learning you may shew me some probable occasion thereof. That the sea hath upon

those coasts of England, towards the North-west, much altered its course as to the height of its fluxes and refluxes, is most apparent from those vast banks nere Wisbiche, which you shall observe to be about 10 foot in height from the now levell earth, which levell is now no lesse in full height than 10 foot, as I am assured, from the ordinary levell of the sea, as it rises at the present.

I shall be able to shew about what time it was that the passage at Wisbiche was so silted up, as that the outfall of the great river Ouse, which was there, became altered, and was diverted to Linne, where before that time the river was not so large; it being in King Henry III. time, as my testimonyes from records do manifest. And I finde in King Edward III. time, that upon the river Humber the tides flowed 4 foot higher than before they did, as the commission for raysing the banks upon the sides of that streame, as also of the great causey betwixt Anlaby and Hull, doth testify.

Having now sufficiently wearied you, I am sure, for which I heartily desire your pardon, I shall leave you to your own time for considering of these things, and vouchsafing your opinion therein, resting

Your most humble servant and honourer,

WILLIAM DUGDALE.

For my much honoured friend, Dr. Browne, &c.

Mr. Dugdale to Dr. Browne.

[POSTHUMOUS WORKS, AND MS. SLOAN. 3418.]

London, 29 Nov. 1659.

HONOURED SIR,

Yours of the 17th instant came to my hands about 4 days since, with those inclosed judicious and learned observations,[3] for which I returne you my hearty thanks.

Since I wrote to you for your opinion touching the various course of the sea, I met with some notable instances of that

[3] These "observations" have not yet come to light.

kinde in a late author, viz. Olivarius Uredius, in his history of Flanders; which he manifesteth to be occasioned from earthquakes.

I have a great desire that you should see my copy, before I put it to the presse. It is now in the hands of the late chief justice St. John, who desired the perusall of it. In Easter term I resolve (God willing) to be again in London; for I am now going into Warwickshire; and then if you be not here, I will endeavour to contrive some safe way for conveying my papers to you: resting

Your most obliged servant and honourer,

WILLIAM DUGDALE.

For my much honoured friend, Dr. Browne, &c.

Mr. Dugdale to Dr. Browne.[4]

[FROM THE EUROPEAN MAGAZINE.]

From the Herald's Office, in London,
5th April, 1662.

HONOURED SIR,

Having at length accomplisht that worke,[5] whereunto you have been pleased to favour me with so considerable assistance, and whereof, in page 175, I have made some brief mention, I here present you with a copye thereof. Some other things I have in hand of my owne, which (God sparing me life and health) will ere long be ready for the presse. But at present, at the desire of my lord chancelour, and some other eminent persons, I am taken up much with the ordering of Sir Henry Spelman's works for the presse, viz. that part of his Glossary long since printed, with corrections and additions, as he left it under his own hand; and the other part of it to the end of the alphabet: and of his second volum of the Councells, which will reach from the Norman

4 This letter is not in Hamper's Correspondence of Dugdale.

5 "The History of Embanking and Draining of divers fenns and marshes, both in foreign parts and in this kingdom, and of the improvements thereby." London, 1662, folio.

Conquest to the abolishing of the Pope's supremacy here. There are many things, which I shall from my own collections add to these workes, from records of great credit; for without such authorities I will not presume to meddle. If in any old manuscripts, which have or may come to your view, you can contribute to these works, I know it will be very acceptable. Sir, if your occasions should bring you to London, I should thinke myself happy to wayt on you. Resting ever

Your most obliged servant and honourer,

WILLIAM DUGDALE.

For Doctor Thos. Browne, att Norwich.

Dr. Browne to Dr. Merritt.

[MS. SLOAN. 1833.]

July 13, 1668.

MOST HONORED SIR,

I take the boldness to salute you as a person of singular worth and learning, and whom I very much respect and honour. I presented my service to you by my son some months past; and had thought before this time to have done it by him again. But the time of his return to London being yet uncertain, I would not defer those at present unto you. I should be very glad to serve you by any observations of mine against the second edition of your Pinax, which I cannot sufficiently commend. I have observed and taken notice of many animals in these parts, whereof three years ago a learned gentleman of this country desired me to give him some account, which, while I was doing, the gentleman, my good friend, died. I shall only at this time present and name some few unto you, which I found not in your catalogue. A *Trachurus*, which yearly cometh before or in the head of the herrings, called therefore a horse. *Stella marina testacea*, which I have often found upon the sea-shore. An *Astacus marinus pediculi marini facie*, which is sometimes taken with the lobsters at Cromer, in Norfolk. A *Pungitius marinus*, whereof I have known many taken among weeds by fishers, who

drag by the sea-shore on this coast. A *Scarabæus Capricornus odoratus* which I take to be mentioned by Moufetus, fol. 150. "I have taken some abroad; one in my cellar, which I now send;" he saith, "*Nucem moschatam et cinnamomum vere spirat.*" To me it smelt like roses, santalum, and ambergris. I have thrice met with *Mergus maximus Farensis Clusii;* and have a draught thereof. They were taken about the time of herring-fishing at Yarmouth. One was taken upon the shore, not able to fly away, about ten years ago. I sent one to Dr. Scarborough. Twice I met with a *Skua Hoyeri,* the draught whereof I also have. One was shot in a marsh, which I gave unto a gentleman, which I can send you. Another was killed feeding upon a dead horse near a marsh ground. Perusing your catalogue of plants, upon *Acorus verus,* I find these words:—"found by Dr. Brown neer Lynn:"—wherein probably there may be some mistake; for I cannot affirm, nor I doubt any other, that it is found thereabout. About 25 years ago, I gave an account of this plant unto Mr. Goodyeere, and more lately to Dr. How, unto whom I sent some notes, and a box full of the fresh *juli.* This elegant plant groweth very plentifully, and leaveth its julus yearly by the banks of Norwich river, chiefly about Claxton and Surlingham; and also between Norwich and Hellsden-bridge; so that I have known Heigham church, in the suburbs of Norwich, strewed all over with it. It has been transplanted, and set on the sides of marsh ponds in several places of the country, where it thrives and beareth the julus yearly.

Sesamoides salamanticum magnum;—why you omit *Sesamoides salamantium parvum?* This groweth not far from Thetford and Brandon, and plentiful in neighbour places, where I found it, and have it in my *hortus hyemalis,* answering the description in Gerard.

Urtica romana, which groweth with button seed bags, is not in the catalogue. I have found it to grow wild at Golston by Yarmouth, and transplanted it to other places.

Dr. Browne to Dr. Merritt.

[MS. SLOAN. 1830.]

Aug. 18, 1668.

HONORED SIR,

I received your courteous letter, and am sorry some diversions have so long delayed this my second unto you. You are very exact in the account of the *fungi*. I have met with two, which I have not found in any author; of which I have sent you a rude draught inclosed. The first, an elegant *fungus ligneus*, found in a hollow sallow. I have one of them by me, but, without a very good opportunity, dare not send it, fearing it should be broken. Unto some it seemed to resemble some noble or princely ornament of the head, and so might be called *fungus regius;* unto others, a turret, top of a cupola, or lantern of a building; and so might be named *fungus pterygoides*, *pinnacularis*, or *lanterniformis*. You may name it as you please. The second, *fungus ligneus teres antliarum*, or *fungus ligularis longissimus*, consisting or made of many woody strings, about the bigness of round points or laces; some above half a yard long, shooting in a bushy form from the trees, which serve under ground for pumps. I have observed divers, especially in Norwich, where wells are sunk deep for pumps.

The *fungus phalloides* I found not far from Norwich, large and very fetid, answering the description of Hadrianus Junius. I have a part of one dried still by me.

Fungus rotundus major I have found about ten inches in diameter, and [have] half a one dried by me.

Another small paper contains the side draughts of *fibulæ marinæ pellucidæ*, or sea buttons, a kind of squalder; and referring to *urtica marina*, which I have observed in great numbers by Yarmouth, after a flood and easterly winds. They resemble the pure crystal buttons, chamfered or welted on the sides, with two small holes at the ends. They cannot be sent; for the included water, or thin jelly, soon runneth from them.

Urtica marina minor Johnstoni, I have often found on this coast.

Physsalus I have found also. I have one dried, but it hath lost its shape and colour.

Galei and *caniculæ* are often found. I have a fish hanging up in my yard, of two yards long, taken among the herrings at Yarmouth, which is the *canis carcharius alius Johnstoni,* table vi, fig. 6.

Lupus marinus, you mention, upon a handsome experiment, but I find it not in the catalogue. This *lupus marinus* or *lycostomus,* is often taken by our seamen which fish for cod. I have had divers brought me. They hang up in many houses in Yarmouth.

Trutta marina is taken with us. A better dish than the river trout, but of the same bigness.

Loligo sepia, a cuttle; page 191 of your Pinax. I conceive, worthy sir, it were best to put them in two distinct lines, as distinct species of the molles.

The *loligo, calamare,* or *sleve,* I have also found cast upon the sea-shore; and some have been brought me by fishermen, of about twenty pounds weight.

Among the fishes of our Norwich river, we scarce reckon salmon,[6] yet some are yearly taken; but all taken in the river or on the coast have the end of the lower jaw very much hooked, which enters a great way into the upper jaw, like a socket. You may find the same, though not in figure, if you please to read Johnston's folio, 101. I am not satisfied with the conceit of some authors, that there is a difference of male and female; for all ours are thus formed. The fish is thicker than ordinary salmon, and very much and more largely spotted. Whether not rather *Boccard gallorus,* or *Anchorago Scaligeri.* I have both draughts, and the head of one dried; either of which you may command.

Scyllarus, or *cancellus in turbine,* it is probable you have. Have you *cancellus in nerite,* a small testaceous found upon this coast? Have you *mullus ruber asper?—Piscis octangularis Bivormii?—Vermes marini,* larger than earth-worms, digged out of the sea-sand, about two feet deep, and at an

[6] In June, 1827, I knew of two salmon-trout in our Overstrand mackarel nets.—*G.*

ebb water, for bait?[7] They are discovered by a little hole or sinking of the sand at the top about them.

Have you that handsome coloured jay, answering the description of *garrulus argentoratensis*, and may be called the parrot-jay? I have one that was killed upon a tree about five years ago.[8]

Have you a May chit, a small dark grey bird, about the bigness of a stint, which cometh about May, and stayeth but a month; a bird of exceeding fatness, and accounted a dainty dish? They are plentifully taken in Marshland, and about Wisbeech.

Have you a *caprimulgus*, or dorhawk;[9] a bird as a pigeon, with a wide throat bill, as little as a titmouse, white feathers in the tail, and paned like a hawk?

Succinum rarò occurrit, p. 219 of yours. Not so rarely on the coast of Norfolk.[1] It is usually found in small pieces; sometimes in pieces of a pound weight. I have one by me, fat and tare, of ten ounces weight; yet more often I have found it in handsome pieces of twelve ounces in weight.

Dr. Browne to Dr. Merritt.

[MS. SLOAN. 1830.]

SIR, Sept. 13, [1668.]

I received your courteous letter; and with all respects I now again salute you.

The *mola piscis* is almost yearly taken on our coast. This last year one was taken of about two hundred pounds weight. Divers of them I have opened; and have found many lice sticking close unto their gills, whereof I send you some.

In your Pinax I find *onocrotalus*, or pelican; whether you mean those at St. James's, or others brought over, or such as have been taken or killed here, I know not. I have one hung up in my house, which was shot in a fen ten miles off, about

[7] Bait for codling.—*G.*

[8] The Garrulous Roller.

[9] Not uncommon; I had a young one brought me a few years ago.—*G.*

[1] It is becoming scarce at Cromer. The fat amber most commonly occurs.—*G.*

four years ago; and because it was so rare, some conjectured it might be one of those which belonged unto the king, and flew away.

Ciconia,[2] *rarò huc advolat.* I have seen two in a watery marsh, eight miles off; another shot, whose case is yet to be seen.

Vitulus marinus. In tractibus borealibus et Scotia. No rarity upon the coast of Norfolk.[3] At low water I have known them taken asleep under the cliffs. Divers have been brought to me. Our seal is different from the Mediterranean seal; as having a rounder head, a shorter and stronger body.

Rana piscatrix.[4] I have often known taken on our coast; and some very large.

Xiphias, or *gladius piscis,* or sword-fish, we have in our seas. I have the head of one which was taken not long ago, entangled in the herring-nets. The sword about two feet in length.

Among the whales you may very well put in the *spermacetus,* or that remarkably peculiar whale which so aboundeth in spermaceti. About twelve years ago we had one cast up on our shore, near Wells, which I described in a peculiar chapter in the last edition of my "Pseudodoxia Epidemica;" and another was, divers years before, cast up at Hunstanton; both whose heads are yet to be seen.

Ophidion, or, at least, *ophidion nostras,* commonly called a sting-fish, having a small prickly fin running all along the back, and another a good way on the belly, with little black spots at the bottom of the back fin. If the fishermen's hands be touched or scratched with this venomous fish, they grow painful and swell. The figure hereof I send you in colours. They are common about Cromer. See Schoneveldeus, "*De Ophidia.*"

Piscis octogonius, or *octangularis,* answering the description of Cataphractus Schonevelde; only his is described with the fins spread; and when it was fresh taken, and a large one. However, this may be *nostras,* I send you one; but I have seen much larger, which fishermen have brought me.

2 The Stork.

3 Very rarely seen at Cromer. I think they are met with on sandbanks near Hunstanton.—*G.*

4 Frog-fish.

Physsalus. I send one which hath been long opened and shrunk and lost the colour. When I took it upon the sea-shore, it was full and plump, answering the figure and description of Rondeletius. There is also a like figure at the end of Muffetus. I have kept them alive; but observed no motion, except of contraction and dilatation. When it is fresh, the prickles or bristles are of a brisk green and amethist colour. Some call it a sea-mouse.[5]

Our mullet is white and *imberbis;* but we have also a *mullus barbatus ruber miniaceus,* or *cinnaberinus;* somewhat rough, and but dry meat. There is of them major and minor, resembling the figures in Johnstonus, tab. xvii, Rotbart.

Of the *acus marinus,* or needle fishes, I have observed three sorts. The *acus Aristotelis,* called here an addercock; *acus major,* or garfish, with a green verdigrease back-bone; the other, *saurus acui similis. Acus sauroides,* or *sauriformis,* as it may be called; much answering the description of *saurus Rondeletii.* In the hinder part much resembling a mackerell. Opening one, I found not the back-bone green. Johnstonus writes nearest to it, in his *Acus Minor.* I send you the head of one dried; but the bill is broken. I have the whole draught in picture. This kind is much more near than the other, which are common, and is a rounder fish.

Vermes marini are large worms found two feet deep in the sea-sands, and are digged out at the ebb for bait.

The *avicula Maialis,* or May chit; is a little dark grey bird, somewhat bigger than a stint, which cometh in May, or the latter end of April, and stayeth about a month. A marsh bird, the legs and feet black, without heel; the bill black, about three quarters of an inch long. They grow very fat, and are accounted a dainty dish.

A dorhawk, a bird not full so big as a pigeon, somewhat of a woodcock colour, and paned somewhat like a hawk, with a bill not much bigger than that of a titmouse, and a very wide throat; known by the name of a dorhawk, or preyer upon beetles, as though it were some kind of *accipiter muscarius.* In brief, this *accipiter cantharophagus,* or dorhawk, is *avis*

[5] I have seen a sea-mouse taken out of a cod-fish, but they are not common at Cromer.—*G.*

rostratula gutturosa, quasi coaxans, scarabæis vescens, sub vesperam volans, ovum speciosissimum excludens. I have had many of them; and am sorry I have not one to send you. I spoke to a friend to shoot one; but I doubt they are gone over.

Of the *upupas,* divers have been brought me; and some I have observed in these parts, as I travelled about.

The *aquila Gesneri*[6] I sent alive to Dr. Scarburg, who told me it was kept in the colledge. It was brought me out of Ireland. I kept it two years in my house. I am sorry I have only one feather of it to send you.

A shoeing-horn or barker, from the figure of the bill and barking note; a long made bird, of white and blackish colour; fin-footed; a marsh-bird; and not rare some times of the year in Marshland. It may upon view be called, *recurvirostra nostras,* or *avoseta;* much resembling the *avosetæ* species in Johnstonus, tab. 5. I send you the head in picture.

Four curlews I have kept in large cages. They have a pretty shrill note; not hard to be got in some parts of Norfolk.

Have you the *scorpius marinus Schoneveldei?*

Have you put in the *musca tuliparum muscata?*

That bird which I said much answered the description of *garrulus argentoratensis,*[7] I send you. It was shot on a tree ten miles off, four years ago. It may well be called the parrot jay, or *garrulus psittacoides speciosus.* The colours are much faded. If you have it before, I should be content to have it again; otherwise you may please to keep it.

Garrulus Bohemicus[8] probably you have. A pretty handsome bird, with the fine cinnabrian tips of the wings. Some which I have seen have the tail tipt with yellow, which is not in their description.

I have also sent you *urtica mas,* which I lately gathered at Golston, by Yarmouth, where I found it to grow also twenty-five years ago. Of the *stella marina testacea,* which I sent you, I do not find the figure in any book.

I send you a few flies, which, some unhealthful years, come about the first part of September. I have observed them so numerous upon plashes in the marshes and marish[9] ditches,

6 The Golden Eagle.
7 The Garrulous Roller.
8 The Waxen Chatterer.
9 Marshy.

that, in a small compass, it were no hard matter to gather a peck of them. I brought some; what my box would hold; but the greatest part are scattered, lost, or given away. For memory's sake, I wrote on my box *muscæ palustres autumnales*.

Worthy sir, I shall be ever ready to serve you, who am, sir,

Your humble servant,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Dr. Browne to Dr. Merritt.

[MS. SLOAN. 1830.]

December xxix, [1668.]

SIR,

I am very joyful that you have recovered your health, whereof I heartily wish the continuation for your own and the public good. And I humbly thank you for the courteous present of your book. With much delight and satisfaction I had read the same not once in English. I must needs acknowledge your comment more acceptable to me than the text, which I am sure is a hard obscure piece without it, though I have not been a stranger unto the vitriary art, both in England and abroad. I perceive you have proceeded far in your Pinax. These few at present I am bold to propose, and hint unto you; intending, God willing, to salute you again. A paragraph might probably be annexed unto Quercus. Though we have not all the exotic oaks, nor their excretions, yet these and probably more supercrescencies, productions, or excretions may be observed in England.

Viscum—polypodium—juli—pilulæ—gemmæ foraminatæ foliorum—excrementum fungosum verticibus scatens—excrementum lanatum—capitula squamosa jacææ æmula—nodi—melleus liquor—tubera radicum vermibus scatentia—muscus—lichen—fungus—varæ quercinæ.

Capillaris marina sparsa, fucus capillaris marinus sparsus; sive, capillitius marinus; or sea perriwig. Strings of

this are often found on the sea-shore. But this is the full figure, I have seen three times as large.

I send you also a little elegant sea-plant, which I pulled from a greater bush thereof, which I have, resembling the backbone of a fish. *Fucus marinus vertebratus pisciculi spinum referens, ichthyorachius ;* or what you think fit.

And though perhaps it be not worth the taking notice of *formicæ arenariæ marinæ,* or at least *muscus formicarius marinus:* yet I observe great numbers by the sea-shore, and at Yarmouth, an open sandy coast, in a sunny day, many large and winged ones, may be observed upon, and rising out of the wet sands, when the tide falls away.

Notonecton, an insect that swimmeth on its back, and mentioned by Muffetus, may be observed with us.

I send you a white reed-chock by name. Some kind of *funco,* or little sort thereof. I have had another very white when fresh.

Also the draught of a sea-fowl, called a sheerwater, billed like a cormorant, fiery, and snapping like it upon any touch. I kept twenty of them alive five weeks, cramming them with fish, refusing of themselves to feed on any thing; and wearied with cramming them, they lived seventeen days without food. They often fly about fishing ships when they clean their fish, and throw away the offal. So that it may be referred to the *lari,* as *larus niger gutture albido rostro adunco.*

Gossander.—*Videtur esse puphini species.* Worthy sir, that which we call a gossander, and is no rare fowl among us, is a large well-coloured and marked diving fowl, most answering the merganser. It may be like the puffin in fatness and rankness; but no fowl is, I think, like the puffin, differenced from all others by a peculiar kind of bill.

Burganders, not so rare as Turn[1] makes them, common in Norfolk, so abounding in vast and spacious warrens.

If you have not yet put in *larus minor,* or stern,[2] it would not be omitted, so common about broad waters and plashes not far from the sea.

[1] This name is very illegible in the original.

[2] Probably *sterna hirundo* and *minuta.* See Sir Thomas's paper "On the Birds, &c. of Norfolk."

Have you a yarwhelp, barker, or latrator, a marshbird about the bigness of a godwitt?

Have you *dentalia*, which are small univalve *testacea*, whereof sometimes we find some on the sea-shore?

Have you put in *nerites*, another little *testaceum*, which we have?

Have you an *apiaster*, a small bird called a bee-bird?

Have you *morinellus marinus*, or the sea dotterell, better coloured than the other, and somewhat less?

I send you a draught of two small birds; the bigger called a chipper, or *betulæ carptor;* cropping the first sproutings of the birch trees, and comes early in the spring. The other, a very small bird, less than the *certhya*, or eye-creeper, called a whin-bird.

I send you the draught of a fish taken some times in our seas. Pray compare it with *draco minor Johnstoni*. This draught was taken from the fish dried, and so the prickly fins less discernible.

There is a very small kind of smelt; but in shape and smell like the other, taken in good plenty about Lynn, and called prims.

Though *scombri* or mackerell be a common fish, yet our seas afford sometimes strange large ones, as I have heard from fishermen and others; and this year, 1668, one was taken at Leostoffe, an ell long by measure, and presented to a gentleman, a friend of mine.

Musca tuliparum moschata is a small bee-like fly, of an excellent fragrant odour, which I have often found at the bottom of the flowers of tulips.

In the little box I send a piece of *vesicaria* or *seminaria marina* cut off from a good full one, found on the sea-shore.

We have also an ejectment of the sea, very common, which is *funago*, whereof some very large.

I thank you for communicating the account of thunder and lightning; some strange effects thereof I have found here; but this last year we had little or no thunder or lightning.

Dr. Browne to Dr. Merritt.

[POSTHUMOUS WORKS.[3]]

Norwich, Febr. 6, [1668-9.]

HONOURED SIR,

I am sorry I have had diversions of such necessitie, as to hinder my more sudden salute since I received your last. I thank you for the sight of the spermaceti, and such kind of effects from lightning and thunder I have known, and about four yeares ago about this towne, when I with many others saw fire-balls fly, and go of when they met with resistance, and one carried away the tiles and boards of a leucomb window of my own howse, being higher than the neighbour howses, and breaking agaynst it with a report like a good canon. I set down that occurrence in this citty and country, and have it somewhere amongst my papers, and fragments of a woeman's hat that was shiver'd into pieces of the bignesse of a groat. I have still by me too, a litle of the spermaceti of our whale, as also the oyle and balsome which I made with the oyle and spermaceti. Our whale was worth 500lib. my apothecarie got about fiftie pounds in one sale of a quantitie of sperm.

I made enumeration of the excretions of the oake, which might bee observed in England, because I conceived they would be most observable if you set them downe together, not minding whether there were any addition: by *excrementum fungosum vermiculis scatens* I only meant an usual excretion, soft and fungous at first, and pale, and sometimes cover'd in part with a fresh red, growing close unto the sprouts; it is full of maggots in litle woodden cells, which afterwards turne into litle reddish brown or bay flies. Of the *tubera indica vermiculis scatentia* I send you a peece, they are as bigg as good tennis-balls and ligneous.

The litle elegant *fucus* may come in as a difference of the *abies*, being somewhat like it, as also unto the 4 *corallium* in *Gerhard*, of the sprouts, whereof I could never find any

[3] Where it is published (erroneously) as a letter to Mr. Dugdale.

sprouts, wings, or leaves as in the *abies*, whether fallen off I know not, though I call'd it *ichthyorndius* or *pisciculi spinam referens*, yet pray do you call it how you please. I send you now the figure of a *quercus mar.* or *alga*, which I found by the sea-shore, differing from the common as being denticulated, and in one place there seems to be the beginning of some flower-pod or seed-vessell.

A draught of the *morinellus marinus*, or sea-dotterel,[4] I now send you; the bill should not have been so black, and the leggs more red, and a greater eye of dark red in the feathers or wing and back: it is less and differently colour'd from the common *dotterell*, which cometh to us about March and September: these sea-dotterels are often shot near the sea.

A yare-whelp or barker,[5] a marsh-bird, the bill two inches long, the legges about that length, the bird of a brown or russet colour.

That which is knowne by the name of a bee-bird,[6] is a litle dark gray bird; I hope to get one for you.

That which I call'd *betulæ carptor*, and should rather have call'd it *alni carptor*, whereof I sent a rude draught; it feeds upon alderbuds, nucaments or seeds, which grow plentifully here; they fly in little flocks.

That call'd by some a whin-bird,[7] is a kind of ox-eye, but the shining yellow spot on the back of the head, is scarce to bee well imitated by a pensill.

I confesse for such litle birds I am much unsatisfy'd on the names given to many by countrymen, and uncertaine what to give them myself, or to what *classis* of authors cleerly to reduce them. Surely there are many found among us which are not described; and therefore such which you cannot well reduce, may (if at all) be set down after the exacter nomination of small birds as yet of uncertain class or knowledge.

I present you with a draught of a water-fowl, not common, and none of our fowlers can name it, the bill could not bee exactly expressed by a coale or black chalk, whereby the little

[4] The ring plover, or sea lark, plentiful near Blakeney; *charadrius hiaticula.—G.*

[5] Names of two distinct species, the *godwit*, or *yarwhelp*, *scolopax ægocephala*, and the *spotted redshank* or *barker*, *S. Totanus*. The description agrees with neither.

[6] Probably the *beam-bird*, or flycatcher; *Muscicapa Grisola.—G.*

[7] Possibly the goldencrested wren, *Motacilla Regulus*.

incurvitie at the upper end of the upper bill, and small recurvitie of the lower is not discerned; the wings are very short, and it is finne-footed; the bill is strong and sharp, if you name it not I am uncertain what to call it, pray consider this *anatula* or *mergulus melanoleucus rostro acuto.*

I send you also the heads of *mustela,*[8] or *mergus mustelaris mas. et fœmina,* called a wesel, from some resemblance in the head, especially of the female, which is brown or russet, not black and white, like the male, and from their preying quality upon small fish. I have found small eeles, small perches, and small muscles in their stomachs. Have you a sea-phaysant, so commonly called from the resemblance of an hen-phaisant in the head and eyes, and spotted marks on the wings and back, and with a small bluish flat bill, tayle longer than other ducks, longe winges, crossing over the tayle like those of a long winged hawke.[9]

Have you taken notice of a breed of *porci solidi pedes?* I first observed them above twenty yeares ago, and they are still among us.

Our *nerites* or *neritæ* are litle ones.

I queried whether you had *dentalia,* becaus probably you might have met with them in England; I never found any on our shoare, butt one brought me a few small ones, with smooth small shells, from the shoare. I shall enquire farther after them.

Urtica marina minor, Johnst. tab. xviii. I have found more then once by the sea-side.

The hobby and the merlin would not bee omitted among hawks; the first comming to us in the spring, the other about autumn. Beside the ospray[1] we have a larger kind of eagle, call'd an *eruh.*[2] I have had many of them.

Worthy deare sir, if I can do any thing farther which may be serviceable unto you, you shall ever readily command my endeavors; who am, sir,

Your humble and very respectfull servant,

THOMAS BROWNE.

[8] This must be the smew, *mergus albellus:* which comes on the coast of Norfolk in hard winters.—*G.*

[9] The pin-tailed duck.—*G.*

[1] Several ospreys have been taken near Cromer.—*G.*

[2] *Erne?*—The white-tailed or cinereous eagle; *falco albicilla.*

Dr. Browne to Dr. Merritt.

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

Feb. xii, 1668-9.

WORTHY SIR,

Though I writ unto you last Monday, yet having omitted some few things which I thought to have mentioned, I am bold to give you this trouble so soone agayne. Have you putt in a sea fish called a bleak, a fish like a herring, often taken with us and eat, but a more lanck and thinne and drye fish?

The wild swan or elk would not bee omitted, being common in hard winters and differenced from our river swans, by the *aspera arteria*. *Fulica* and *cotta Anglorum* are different birds though good resemblance between them, so some doubt may bee made whether it bee to bee named a coot, except you set it downe *Fulica nostras* and *cotta Anglorum*. I pray consider whether that water-bird whose draught I sent in the last box, and thought it might bee named *anatula* or *mergulus melanoleucos*, *&c.* may not bee some *gallinula*, it hath some resemblance with *gallina hypoleucos* of Johnst. tab. 32, butt myne hath shorter wings by much, and the bill not so long and slender, and shorter legs and lesser, and so may either be called *gallina aquatica hypoleucos nostras*, or *hypoleucos anatula*, or *mergulus nostras*.

Tis much there should bee no *icon* of *rallus* or *ralla aquatica;* I have a draught of some and they are found among us.

THOMAS BROWNE.

The *vescaria* I sent is like that you mention, if not the same, the common *funago* resembleth the husk of peas, this of barley when the flower is mouldred away.

Dr. Browne to [*Dr. Merritt?*]

[MS. SLOAN. 1847.]

1669.

SIR,

I crave your pardon that I have no sooner sent unto you. I shall bee very reddie to do you service in order to your desires, and shall endeavour to procure you such animals as I have formerly met with, and any other not ordinary which are to bee acquired, though many of my old assistants are dead and sometimes they fell upon animalls scarce to bee met with agayne. I wish I had been acquainted with your desires 3 years ago, for I had about fortie hanging up in my howse, which, the plague being at the next doores, the person intrusted in my howse, burnt or threwe away. The figure of the weazell cray was in a long paper pasted together at the ends, and I make no question you will find it; otherwise I would send another, that fowl which some call willick, we meet with sometimes; the last I met with was taken on the sea shore, the head and body black, the brest enclining to black, headed and litle like a crowe, wings short, leggs set very backward, that it move overland very badly. It may bee a kind of *cornix marinum*.

That litle plant upon oyster shells I remember I have seen, and surely is some kind of *vescania* or *calicularia*.

Of what that other electricall body was Mr. Boyle showed; by this time more tryall hath probably been made, something of jet it might consist of.

I thanck you that you were pleased to enquire of those German gentlemen concerning my sonne. I receaved a letter lately from him, hee hath not been unmindfull of the Royal Societie's concerns, and hath been in Hungaria, in the mines of gold, sylver, and copper, at Schemts, Cremitz, and Neusol, and desired mee to signifie so much unto Mr. Oldenberg.

Sir Robert Paston to Dr. Browne.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CCCXCI.]

Parson's Greene, the 19th of September, [1662.]

WORTHY SIR,

You may justly wonder my pen has beene soe long a stranger to you, though, through manie removes, I could never till now com att my meddalls. All I have of the Brittish and Saxon I have this day sent you in a box, by the Norwich coachman, which I hope will be with you this night, with a large one of Heraclius, and some copper ones, which I hope are good. The manuscript of Dunstan and Beniamin Lock, I find verbatim in print, but nott the *coronatio naturæ*, though I have the same figures in another manuscript, without explication uppon them.

This ring with the head of Vespasian, which I esteeme verie good, I desire your finger may honor, I having worne itt on my owne, as the best I could find of that kind.

Sir, I desire the favor of you, by the returne of the coachman, to send me your two manuscripts of Mayerne, there beeing somthing in one of them which I immediatelie intend to putt in execution.

My wife has the ill fortune to be attacqued with a quartan ague, which is soe much the worse, she beeing within two months of her time.

My humble service to your ladie and my cousin Le Gross, and, sir, if you have anie notion that you please to communicate, in order to the old affaire I discoursed to you att Norwich, I shall hope to give you an accompt of itt in som short time; for I have delayed my self in vainelie endeavouring to fix a volatile spiritt on itts fixed salt; when I am master of the way, bringing the fixed part over in a volatile water, which, after circulation, I hope will performe the promises of Raymund Lullie. Your good hints may be a meanes to aduance my design which will oblidge,

Sir, your verie humble servant,

ROBERT PASTON.

Sir, be pleased to direct your letter, as also the bookes, to Mr. George Clayton's, att the Crowne, in Lombard-street, London.

Sir Robert Paston to Dr. Browne.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CCCXCI.]

Oxnead, April the 5th, 1669.

HONORED SIR,

On Saturday night last, going into my laboratorie, I found som of the *adrop* (that had beene run foure or five times in the open ayre, and euerie time itts ætheriall attracted spiritts drawne of from itt) congealed to an hard candied substance, the which I ordered my man to grind in a marble to attenuate itts parts, and make itt more fitt for attraction, and comming in in the operation, I chid my servant for grinding itt where white lead had before beene ground, for I found it from itts fuscye red color, looke licke white lead ground with oyle, butt more lustrous, and he to convince that the stone was cleane, ground som of the same before my face on a tile, with another muller, which came to the same color and viscositye. I must confess that gave me a transport to find the ayre had worked such an effect. Uppon about half a pound of this I cohobated[3] som of itts ætheriall spiritt, which itt nottwithstanding tinged red, and I am now drawing itt of againe, for I think I had better have exposed itt in itts consistence to the open ayre againe, though I find itt hard to run into anye thin substance; yett perhapps the viscous matter may be more pretious, and by often grinding, exposing, and distilling, itt may att last goe a white and spiss water, such an one as philosophers looke after, or att least be fitt to receiue, and be acuated[4] with, the . . . . . and saline parts of the ætheriall spiritt, when that operation comes in hand if itt affords us anye that way. I haue given Mr. Henshaw an accompt of this which I

[3] Distilled again. [4] Acidified.

beleeve will please him, and I desire your advice in the point how to proceed upon't, for certainlye if these matters have anye truth in them, wee are upon the brink of a menstruum to dissolve mettalls in generall. The keys are not yett fitted to your table, butt I hope will be by Thursday, my service to your ladye, and excuse this relation with that generous condescention that allowes you to consider even the lowest thinges. Sir, I am,

Your humble servant,

ROBERT PASTON.[5]

The Earl of Yarmouth to Sir Thomas Browne.

[BIBL. BODL. MS. RAWL. CCCXCI.]

Septembr. the 10th, 1674.

HONORED SIR,

The great ciuility of your letter is an obligation I haue som time layne under, adiourning my returne on purpose that I might haue som thinge to discourse. My friend, Mr. Henshaw, (who is lately returned from his employmt. of envoye extraordinary in Denmark,) and has brought over with him many curiositys; the principle of which lyes in the Unicornes horne, in which he has as much as he prises att foure or five hundred pounds, beeing three very long hornes of the fish called puach and seuerall peeces; many raritye of amber; great store of *succinum*[6] beeing found about those shores, and a very large peece he gave mee, which was found in the earth many miles from the sea, he has one piece in which a drop either of water or quicksilver is included, which turnes round as the amber is moved, and severall with insects in them. He confesseth he had licke to have beene cheated by a merchant with a piece that had somwhat included in itt, which he found to bee rosin, and wee have a way to counterfeitt itt very handsomely, which he has taught mee, and, if wee had a workman to help us,

[5] Created Earl of Yarmouth, Jan. 1673. [6] Amber.

might doe many pretty thinges of that nature. He has seuerall peeces of the mineralls of Dronthem; he has brought over a vegetable called the *alga saccharifica*, which, when he putt itt in the box, had nothing on the leaves, and in bringing has attracted a matter in tast and feeling licke sugar. He tells mee the former King of Denmark was curious in all manner of rarities, and has one of the best collections of that kind in the world, as allsoe a most famous library of choyse collected bookes, butt this king's delights are in horses, and the discipline of an army, of which he has thirty thousand brauely equipped, which Mr. Henshaw saw encamped att the rendevous att Colding, in Juteland; allsoe a potent navy ready to assist those that will pay the most for them. The king, att his comming away, gave him considerable presents to the value of betweene five and six hundred pounds, and has written such a character of him that I feare may invite him thither agayne, if our king has any occasion to send one. He was there acquainted with the principle physitian, one Bouchius, a great louer of chymistry, butt I thinke nott much experienced in itt, who assumed that leafe gold by continuall grinding for som fourteen dayes, and then putt into a retort *in nudo igne* yields som dropps of a bloud red licquor, and the same gold exposed to the ayre, and ground againe, doth *toties quoties* yield the same; this is now under the experiment of a physitian in this towne, to whome I gave the process to undertake the tryall, and shall bee able shortly to give you an accompt of itt. I have little leysure and less convenience to try any thing heere, yett my owne salt will sett mee on work, having now arrived to this that I can with foure drachmes of itt dissolve a drachme of leafe gold into an high tincture, which by all the art I have is nott seperable from the menstruum which stands fluid, and is both before and after the solution of the gold as sweet almost as sugar, soe farr is itt from any corrosive nature. I am gooing to seale up two glasses, one of the menstruum with gold dissolved in itt, and another of the menstruum *per se*, and to putt them in an athanor,[7] to see if they will putrify, or what alteration will happen. I have att Oxned seene this salt change as blacke

[7] Furnace.

as inke, I must, att the lowest, have an excelent *aurum potabile*, and if the signes wee are to judge by in Sendivogius description bee true, I have the key which answers to what he says, that if a man have that which will dissolve gold as warme water doth ice, you have that out of which gold was first made in the earth. My solution is perfectly agreeable to itt; dissolves itt without hissing, bubble or noyse, and doth itt *in frigido:* that which encourages mee is that I shall make my lump with spiritt of wine, which I could never by under twelve shillings a quart, and now heere is one, which Prince Rupert recommended mee to, that sells it for eighteene pence the quart, and will fire gunpowder after itts burnt away in a spoone, and answers all the tryalls of the highest rectified spiritt of wine. I shewed some of itt to Dr. Rugeby, who thinkes itt must com from molosses, butt whatever itt comes from there itt is in all qualities bearing the highest tryalls of spiritt of wine. Sir, I pray take my thankes for your kind remembrance of mee, and if you can recommend mee to any author that can further enlighten my understanding pray doe. My wife ioynes with mee in the presentments of our services to your lady and yourself. I begg your pardon for tiring you with soe many words to soe little purpose, and am,

Sir, your most humble servant,

YARMOUTH.

Sir Thomas Browne to Elias Ashmole.

[FROM THE ASHMOLEAN MS. 1131, F. 280; BEING VOL 35 OF ELIAS ASHMOLE'S COLLECTIONS FOR THE ORDER OF THE GARTER.]

Norwich, Oct. viij, 1674.

HONORD SIR,

I give you late butt heartie thancks for the noble present of your most excellent booke; which, by the care of my sonne, I receaved from you. I deferred this my due acknowledgment in hope to have found out something more of Dr. John Dee, butt I can yett only present this paper unto

you written by the hand of his sonne, Dr. Arthur Dee, my old acquaintance, containing the scheme of his nativity, erected by his father, Dr. John Dee, as the title sheweth; butt the iudgment upon it was writt by one Franciscus Murrerus, before Dr. Arthur returned from Russia into England, which Murrerus was an astrologer of some account at Mosko. Sir, I take it for a great honour to have this libertie of communication with a person of your eminent merit, and shall industriously serve you upon all opportunities, who am,

Worthy good sir,

Your servant most respectfully and humbly,

THOMAS BROWNE.

("Recd. 24 Oct. 1674.") In the hand-writing of Ashmole.

Sir Thomas Browne to Mr. John Brown.[8]

[PREFIXED TO "BROWN ON TUMOURS."]

[1677-8.]

SIR,

Since you were pleased to honour me with a sight of your chirurgical endeavours in this work, I must, in justice, return you my thanks and commendations due unto it: for though the same subject hath been handled by others, yet have you made so good a collection out of approved authors, and so well disposed and set down the nature and cure of tumours, together with apposite historical observations, that the same may become of very good use, especially unto younger chirurgions, unto whom you chiefly designed it; and, therefore, I wish you happy success therein, and also in all future endeavours, unto which art and industry shall enable you. Your loving friend and servant,

THOMAS BROWNE.

[8] Mr. John Brown was the nephew and pupil of Mr. William Crop, a distinguished surgeon in Norwich. He was appointed surgeon to King Charles II, and published in 1678 "*A Compleat Treatise of Preternatural Tumours, &c. 8vo.*" To which is prefixed, among other recommendatory letters, the present, from Sir Thomas Browne.

Sir Thomas Browne to Mr. Talbot.[9]

[MS. SLOAN. 1833, FOL. 16.]

SIR,

The coyne which you shew me hath on the obverse the head of Marcus Plætorius Cestianus, with a dagger behinde his head; on the reverse it hath a Caduceus or Mercuries wande, with this inscription: M. PLAETORJ CEST. EX. S. C., the j in Plætorius and s. c. on the reverse are scarce visible, or the dagger on the obverse. It is thus to be read; *Marcus Plætorius Cestianus ex Senatus Consulto.*

This Marcus Plætorius, or, as some will have it, Lætorius, was a remarkable man of the ancient Plætorian family, who derive themselves from the Sabines, which family was of the faction of the commons of Rome, as may be gathered from their being chosen ædiles and tribunes of the people. He was contemporary with Crassus, Pompey, Brutus, and was designed prætor together with Cicero, in the 686 yeare after the foundation of Rome, three yeares before Catilines conspiracy, and eighty-five yeares before the birth of our Saviour. He had been an ædile before that, as I know by a coyne which I have with an ædiles chair on the reverse, and this inscription: M. Plætorius ÆD. CVR. EX. S. C., on the obverse his head, with this inscription: Cestianus. He is mentioned by Varro in his fifth booke *De Linguâ Latinâ*, and by Livy, lib. 30. He preferred a law *de jure dicendo*, taken notice of by Censorinus *De die natali*, cap. 19. He is spoken of by Cicero in his oration *pro Marco Fonteio*, whom this M. Plætorius accused, and in another, *pro A. Cluentio;* but this coyne was stamped upon his being chosen to dedicate the temple of Mercury, no small honour, and for which both the consuls at that time sued, Claudius and Servilius, but carried it from them both by the election of the people, although he were at that time onely a centurion, as is to be seen in Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. cap. 3.

[9] This letter is but a fragment. It is accompanied by a pen drawing of the coin.

Sir Thomas Browne to . . . . . .[10]

[BIBL. BODL. MS. TANNER. CCLXXXV. P. 73.]

December *2.*

HONOURED SIR,

I am very sorry it was my ill fortune to bee diuerted by a journey into the country, from wayting upon you, according to your courteous inuitation. I had sufficient cause, and I sought a good opportunity to tender my thanks and acknowledgements for your kindnesse vnto mee the last audit, when you were pleased, with my other good friends the prebends, to grant mee the medowe for life. This fauour I confesse might reasonably restrayne mee from desiring any higher; but since some of the chapter are willing and desirous that I might take a lease thereof, and to that intent haue desired mee to addresse myself unto you; I humbly craue your pardon that I presume at this time to begge this fauor of you: what fine you please to set shall bee accepted by mee, who am

Worthy Sir,
Your euer respectful friend and humble seruant,
THOMAS BROWNE.

Sir, I desire not to putt you to the trouble of an answer.

[10] This letter seems to have been addressed to the Dean of Norwich. On enquiry, however, of my friend John Kitson, Esq. I am informed that there does not appear to have been any lease granted to Sir Thomas; so that this was probably an unsuccessful application.

The remaining letters in this volume, having resulted from a second examination, very recently made, of the materials whence the former were drawn, are of necessity placed out of their due order of date.

From Dr. How[1] *to Dr. Browne.*

[MS. SLOAN. 3418. FOL. 96.]

SIR, MY CHOISEST, ETC.

I received your rare present, and shall answere your summons for yourselfe, or friends, with any faire florall returnes, pacquett of seeds, or if this place may any wayes instrumentaly present mee yours I shall putt on such affected employments. For the dresse of our garden, that you may know the modell, this rough title may acquaint you; *Botanotrophium Westmonasteriense, tentaminibus noviter exploratis hortensibus, medicinalibus, tingentibus, imprægnatum.* The style to this discourse will appeare Roman; nor shall I present you with a catalogue of nude names: a mode taken upp to prevent further scrutinyes, in which designes the most experienced botanists find too much anxiety; the younger student meetes with nothing but confusion. Therefore to each recited plant you shall have the originall author annexed, and paged, that with small labor they may peruse the plant; but to nondescribed species who refuse limitts, wee shall present them delineated in theire names. The method wee intend in paging authors may bee discerned in this instance: *Pimpinella moschata, sive Agrimoniæ folio, quorundam Agrimonoides. Fab. Columnæ minus cognit. stirp.* pag. 145; after wee have thus circumscribed the plant wee shall adde our

1 William How, of St. John's Coll. Oxon. a captain of Horse in K. Charles I's army, afterwards a physician in London; first in Lawrence Lane, then in Milk Street, a noted herbalist of his time. He published "*Phytologia Britannica, &c.* Lond. 1650: and died in 1656.

experiments; to this, *hortensiall* (wherein acquirements *de novo* are onely to bee inserted;) to that, *medicinall*, if never formerly approved in physicke, or applyed to such particular disturbances; to those, *tinctoriall*, if by theire iuyces, or decoctions any such qualityes may be perceived. For the knowledge of our garden series whereby you say something might bee annexed, wee almost equaly boast what our clyme may produce, so that however you may appropriate your digestions, wee easily may render them classicall; though I must be compelled to confesse you haue enrich't mee with the *Pimpinella*. The *Carduus Hisp. siue Carduus aculeatus, Math. edent. Bauh.* pag. 496, I further want: yett our little instructed farme numbers aboue 2200 species, submitting to no European culture; which fabricke might be compleated with any of your mature explorate additions! since our designes shall acknowledge those inuentions with affixed titles! Wee are emboldened from your "Common Errors," pag. 103;—"Swarmes of others there are, some whereof our future endeauors may discouer:" and being rauished with those learned enquiryes, pardon this pressing discourse, therfore vented, *possit ut ad monitum facere tuum.* Pag. 102;—"That *Ros solis* which rotteth sheepe hath any such cordiall vertue upon us, wee have reason to doubt." If the salubrious operation in decoctions upon tabid bodyes might purchase credentialls, troopes of physitians might appeare combatants: nor the rotting of sheepe in our apprehensions any wayes oppugnes his alexipharmacy in man: *Pinguiculam oviaricum gregem omnes villatici uno ore necare asserunt. Matronæ graves Cambro-Britannicæ ex pinguicula parant syrupum, uti rosaceum ad evacuandos pueros: ruricolæ mulieres horeales ex pulte avenacea, aut alio jusculo addita pinguicula pueros purgant, evacuare phlegma verisimile.* "That cats haue such delight in the herbe *nepeta*, called therefore *cattaria*, our experience cannot discouer." I haue numbred about 2 rootes of *nep.* in my garden 16 cats, who never destroied those plants, but have totally despoyled the neighbouring births in that bedd to a yard's distance, rendring the place hard, and smooth like a walke with theire frequent treddings: but of this *una litura potest.* I find many of my lord Bacon's

experiments concerning phytologie in his 6 and 7 centuries, very crude. If you may commend any of these heads to Dr. Short for his enlargments, it must proue a fauor which cannot more obleidge,

Yours most obseruant,

Milk Streete, Sept. 20, 55. WILL. HOW.

For the most worthy, and his very much honoured friend Thomas Browne, Dr. in Physicke, at his house, these present, Norwich.
Post Paid.

[*Dr. Browne?*] *to Mr. Daniel King.*

[FROM KING'S VALE ROYAL OF CHESTER.]

[1656.]

DEAR FRIEND,

Though it will be acknowledged that you have fallen upon a most worthy subject, yet it may be started for a question, whether owe a greater duty, you unto your country, (whereof I also am a more unworthy member,) or your country unto you. For it may be truly said that therein you drew your first breath, that it hath been a fosterer of you and your father's father, nay more, that you had education there and that therefore *cum animo revertendi* you owe all your pains and labour to illustrate, beautifie, and adorn the place. But though it be my way sometimes to put cases, yet should I be injurious to have made this quæry without a resolve; for I shall answer for you, that though you had your beginning in this countrey, yet like a plant removed you have elswhere grown up to more compleat man, and to that perfection which speaks itself in this work. Had you still kept at home, its more than probable you had not prospered so well in your own soyl nor born such pleasant fruit as herein your countrey-men may taste and refresh themselves withall, and therefore in that you hold out your hand to your own countrey-men and bend your studies, nay, I may say stoop and incline to do them grace, I may well conclude that your countrey owes more to you than you to it. By this *work* you have not onely done an honour to your countrey, but also raised a glorious monument

of your own worth, upon which although I am not able to build turrets of silver to make it more famous and perspicuous, yet will I strew about it a few flowers pickt out of your own garden, this *Royall Vale*, which, like him *qui suam iotam proffert*, speaks my good will to draw on the reader to a due commendation of your imparted *improvements*. The first flower that offers itself to my hand is a *violet* (a lively emblem of yourself,) which, though it be odoriferous and as well usefull as pleasant, yet being small is usually covered with a great leaf; and so obscured that passers by cannot easily discern it, till the sense of *smelling* summon them to contemplate the virtue of it. There needs no *clavis* to illustrate the parallell your worth hath vaild, till *time*, the next flower in this garden, makes a most pleasant discovery of it. I have a *rose* that is grown up above the pricks, shewing how your self hath been fenced and preserved amongst the briars, till your riper years should bloom this fragrancie, that it had been hard, nay pity too, any one should have nipt the bud without a bloody finger. The next are *gillyflowers* of various and most choice complexions; should I name them all I must be beholding France for some affected and fictitious terms to expresse their beauties. These, stuck in *camomile*, strewd round the foot pace of this monument will adde to the fragrancie, for the more spectators tread and trample, the greater perfume do they make.

Of these and other choice blossoms from your own garden, conglutinated with gratitude, will I also compose a coronet most worthily to adorn your temples, in token of praise for this *Herculean labour* in collecting and composing this book so eminently beneficiall to your country-men, which I hope will be acknowledged by all, as well as by

Your old acquaintance and true friend,

THO. BROWN.

To his endeared friend, Mr. Daniel King, the ingenious author of that worthily to be commended work and accurate piece of the Geographicall and Historicall description of the Vale-Royall of England, or County Palatine of Chester, most artificially adorned with typographie and sculpture.

NOTE.—I feel somewhat doubtful as to the identity of the writer of this letter with Sir Thomas Browne.—The style is certainly not like his:—nor did he spell his name without the final *e*. But as it is so spelt in some editions of his works

From Dr. Robinson to Dr. Browne.

[MS. SLOAN. 3418. FOL. 80.]

HONOURED SIR,

I cannot but returne you infinite thankes for the enjoyment of your excellent society at Norwich. And since my fortune is not rich enough to present any thing in requitall of so large a favour, I shall presume to offer nothing but a serious confession how infinitely I cherish the remembrance of it; and how, to speak truth, I have since but lived upon the received emanations of your goodnesse, repositing the notions which then entertained my eare in a memory whose greatest honour it was to bee before furnished with some of your printed discourses. Which acquired ideas I despaire not to fix in mee to eternity, knowing that if any sullen lethargy could possibly prevaile to theire obliteration, my greatest happiness must needes vanish with them. And if I might be allowed the presumption (as who knowes how diffusive your goodnesse is) to hope for a continuation of this correspondence, I should esteeme my selfe beyond expression happy, that I might have such an oracle to appeale to in a day of difficulty.

Sir, in discourse with that worthy and learned gentleman Mr. Bacon of Gillingham, (who very nobly treated us in our returne) something did occurre concerning the *nostoch Paracelsi*, that gelatinous substance, which in the high-shoe physiology passes for the slough and reliques of a decayed starr. In which I did then deliver my private opinion (as I had done long since to Dr. Power, who seemes not to disapprove it) which I shall now briefly present to you, craving the boldnesse

published during his life-time, this may not be regarded as conclusive. On the other hand we know that he was acquainted with Mr. King, who had visited Norwich. And though not a native of Cheshire, he was descended from a Cheshire family, and might therefore call himself "a member" of that country. This letter was obligingly pointed out to me by Mr. Hunter, the accurate historian of Hallamshire,—but without any opinion of its authorship;—and I publish it, leaving the reader to decide for himself. Mr. Ormerod and Mr. Upcot mention it as "a letter signed, Tho. Brown."

to request your judicious and more mature decision of the point. I know not what to conjecture it with more probability to bee then the imperfect conception of sheep, produced perhaps of some spermatick matter supervenient to the true conception, and so by them after some little time excluded. My reasons are, it is never to bee found (at least by the best scrutiny that I could make) but in latter end of September, and the beginning of October, which is time enough after sheep's rutting (being much about the same time with that of deere) to eject any thing which might bee vitious or superfluous. Nor could I ever find it (although I have seene many of them) but in places where sheep were pastured. Besides, that it is an animal concretion is evincible from the variety of parts; some of them consisting manifestly of flesh, veines, membranes, and abundance of tough fibers. I once found it all over bloudy: it was indeed in a churchyard, but where the butchers (as afterwardes they affirmed to mee) had put in sheep the night before. There are I confesse other conjectures of this strange matter. Amongst which those that would have it relate to the philosophers mercury, may excuse our belief. And that certainly of Dr. Charleton (that it is the nocturnall pollution of some plethorick or wanton starr: or rather excrement blowne from the nosthrills of a rheumatick planett) savours more of the orator then the philosopher, a figurative locution, not a legitimate definition: and was I suppose rather intended to putt a metaphor upon the rack, then meant for a solid description of it. Helmonts conceipt is yet more passable, as carrying with it a greater verisimility; that it is nothing but a frog resolved by the frost into a slime. For (sayes hee) hang up a frog in a frosty night *flante Borea*, and it will bee turned into a gelly, which were worth our experiment if wee could find a frog this frosty time, or that they were not all retired to theire hybernall latitancy. But there are many difficulties attend this opinion not easily extricable at the first hearing. For 1. Neither is the time of the yeare when these substances are found cold enough nor frosty. 2. Neither is cold a proper instrument of resolution since wee experimentally find that nothing does more conduce to the conservation either of fish or flesh: witnesse

your Iceland fish, which is preserved without any salt, only the humidity (which disposes every thing to putrefaction) frozen up; witnesse the stories of your Greenland venison killers, who affirme that unless they presently embowell theire deere, and fill the belly with snow, they will in two houres stink beyond all recovery. It seemes the flesh and fat being suddainly raised have not firmness or solidity enough to resist the putrefying heat of the bowells. 3. I have found this *nostoch* in several pieces interspersed here and there: which must be affirmed to bee many frogs surprised together in theire nocturnall march, at the same time, and by the breath of the same *Boreas*, which is not probable. 4. I have had entire pieces of it as big as two frogs, and upon some pieces more bloud then can bee conceived in three or foure. 5. This matter is not easily resoluble: for wee have exposed it foure dayes and yet found some part of it remaining, notwithstanding great raines that fell during that time.

I have oftentimes mett with two other entities which seeme to bee of a congenerous substance with the aforenamed gellies, both of them to bee found in the salt water. One is flat and round, as broad as a mans palme, or broader, and as thick as the hand, cleare and transparent, convex on one side and somewhat like the gibbous part of the human liver, on the other side concave with a contrivance like a knott in the very middle thereof, but plainly with circular fibers about the verge or edge of it (where it is growne thin) which suffer manifest constriction and dilatation, which doe promote it's natation, which is also perceptible, and by which you may discerne it to advance towards the shore, or recede from it. About us they are generally called squalders, but are indeed evidently fishes although not described in any Ichthyology I have yet mett with. The distinction of theire parts is very obscure; yet the *succus nutritius* or alimentall liquor, discoverable on the convex part to run in peculiar channells, not pellusid but subflavous, not much vnlike the serum in the lymphœducts; wee have distilled these fishes, and find that they come over the helme in a cleare insipid water, and no residence or *caput mortuum* but a little sea-salt granulated in the bottome of the cucurbites.

The other is of a sphœroidall figure, of the magnitude of a sparrow's egg, with both ends æqually obtuse, handsomely chamfered with small ridges from pole to pole, like some kind of buttons, (from whence they receive the denomination of silver buttons) purely diaphanous, the christalline humour of the eye not exceeding them in translucency. At each pole is a little puncture, which seemes to passe quite through. I could never attaine to the knowledge of these beings, or conjecture to what classis they are to bee referred, except wee may imagine then the ovall exclusions of some fish.

Sir, if your leisure will at any time give leave, and your candor condiscend to returne two or three lines in answere to this imperfect scriblett, be pleased to direct them to Mr. John Crooke, bookseller, at the ship in Paules churchyard, for mee (by whom I intend to send this letter to the post). And I [shall] either retaine these conjecturall conceptions, if your more accurate judgment give them a *placet*, or relinquish them if they agree not with your more solid disquisitions. However you will thereby lay a high obligation upon one that truly honours your worth, and will encourage the poore enquiries of

Sir, your most obliged,
And most affectionate Servant,
REUBEN ROBINSON.

Maldon, Decemb. 12th, 1659.

These are for my much honoured friend
Thomas Browne, Dr. of Physick.

From M. Escaliot to Dr. Browne.

[MS. SLOAN. 1860, FOL. 5.]

My last I wrote to youe was from abord the shipp Loyall, merchant, then at anckor in the Downes, wich I hope was safely brought in to you, and there in I gaue you an account of my passage from Grauesend: wich I shall repeate least that letter should have miscarried. The winde had been at east or very neere for eighteen dayes togather

after our shipp was ready to sayle, all wich tyme I was to bee at a dayes warning to goe abord, or elss to go over land to Deale, wich would have prooued a chargeable journey. And therefore continued in a readyness from day to day expecting a wind, vntill Satturday Aprill 4th, on wich day about noone the winde began to vere to the south, and that night being come faire the ship fell downe from Eriff to Gravesend and came to an anckor. On Sunday I had notice of her departure to Grauesend, and on Munday, the 6th Aprill, 1663, I tooke leave of my Lord Richardson at his lodgings, and about six that night, after a great storme of winde and raine, wich I mett with upon the Thams, and that soe violent as forced vs in at Blackwall, I came on borde the ship, and from thence went a shoare to the Torre, where I supped, and lay that night. The next morninge about eight wee came abord againe and hoysed sayle and came to an anckor that afternoone about two. On Wedensday about nine in the morning wee sett sayle againe; at four afternoone came to an anckor. Thursday 9th we weighed about four in the morning, and anckord againe at ten; and weighed againe about five afternoone, and at nine that night cast anckor, the north foreland bearing from vs S. W. by west. Friday the 10th, about four morning, we sayled againe with little winde, wich about seven proved calme till three that afternoone, about wich tyme a gale arrising, wee sett sayle, and at five that evening came to anckor in the Downes; that night tooke abord our fresh provissions from Deale and tow passengers, one of them a Portugall gentleman, called Don Vasco de Gama, who for killing a man in a duel is banished from his country and is now at Goa, where his kinsman is vice roye, the other was a Kentish gentleman, Mr. Hardnett, now with vs at Surat. Saturday the 11th, about seven in the morning, wee being ready to weigh, there came one with a warrant from his Majestie to search our ship for gold. He came attended upon by the lieuetenant of Douer castell, and some soldiers; thay kept vs from weighing anckor till four afternoone, to the loss of so many howers as with that gale wee then inioyed, would, by judgement, have set vs 20 leagues, wich tyme thay wholy spent in searching the captaines round-

house, and opening all the chests of treasure belonging to the company, and carried away some ingotts of gold to the value of about £2000, wich notwithstanding it was shipped of by cocket: about five that afternoone we set sayle and had good weather all the night and a fresh gale on the 13th: wee were in the height of the Lizard Point and that day was my farewell to England for this voiage, I then seeing the land about six or seven leagues of, with various winds wee made the best of our voiage possible (beeing much belated) and passed without any considerable accident vntil wee were come into the Bay of Biscay and had elevation about 44 degrees.

Thuss farr deare Browne, I had wrote on Tuesday the fifth of January about ten in the morning, when on a sudden a strong alarme was brought to our house from the towne with news that Seua-Gee Raya, or principall governor, (for such assume not the name of kings to them selues, but yet endeuor to bee as absolute each in his prouince as his sword can make him,) was coming downe with an army of an vncertaine number upon Surat, to pillage the citty, which newes strook no small consternation into the mindes of a weake and effeminate people, in soe much that on all hands there was nothing to be seene but people flying for their lives and lamenting the loss of their estates, the richer sort whose stocke of money was large enough to purchase that favor at the hands of the gouernor of the castle, made that their sanctuary and abandoned their dwellings to a merciless foe, wich they might well enough haue defended with the rest of the towne had thay had the heartes of men. The same day a post coms in and tells them that the army was come within tenne course or English miles, and made all hast forward, wich put the cowardly and vnfaithful govenor of the towne to send a seruant to Sevagee to treat of some conditions of ransome. But Sevagee retaines the messenger and marches forwards with all speed, and that night lodged his camp about 5 miles English from the city, and the governor perceueing well that this messenger returned not againe, and that Sevagee did not intend to treat at that distance, he craues admission into the castle and obtaineth it, and soe deserted his towne.

The city of Surat is the only port on this side India, wich

belongs to the Mogol, and stands upon a river commodious enough to admitt vessells of 1000 tun, seven milles up, at wich distance from the sea, there stands a reasonable strong castle well manned, and haueing great store of good guns mounted for the securing of the riuer at a conuenient distance, on the north east and south sides of this castle is the citty of Surrat built of a large extent and very popelus. Rich in marchandise, as being the mart for the great empire of the Mogol, but ill contriued into narrow lanes and without any forme. And for buildings consists partly of brick, soe the houses of the richer sort partly of wood, the maine posts of wich sort only are timber, the rest is built of bambooes (as they call them) or caines, such as those youe make your angles at Norwich, but very large, and these being tyed togather with the cords made of coconutt rinde, and being dawbed ouer with dirt, are the walls of the whole house and floors of the upper story of their houses. Now the number of the poore exceedingly surmounting the number of those of some quality, these bamboo houses are increased vnmeasurably, soe that in the greatter part of the towne scarce tow or three brick houses are to bee seen in a street, and in some part of the towne not one for many streets togather; those houses wich are built of bricke are vsually built strong, their walls of tow or tow and a half feet thicke, and the roofes of them flat and couered with a plaster like plaster of Paris, wich makes most comodous places to take the euening aire in the hotter seasons; the whole town is unfortified ether by art or nature, its situation is upon a larg plaine of many miles extent and their care hath been so little to secure it by art, that they have only made against the cheefe auenues of the towne, some weake and ill built gatts and for the rest in some parts a dry ditch, easely passable by a footman, wanting a wall or other defence on the innerside, the rest is left soe open that scarce any signe of a dich is perceiuable; the people of the towne are either the marchants, and those of all nations almost, as English, Dutch, Portugalls, Turkes, Arabs, Armenians, Persians, Jews, Indians, of seueral sorts, but principally Banians, or els Moores the conquerors of the country Hindues, or the ancient inhabitants or Persees, whoe are people fled out of Persia ages

agoe, and here and some miles up the country settled in great numbers. The Banian is one who thinks it the greatest wickedness to kill any creature whatsoever that hath life, least possibly they might bee the death of their father or relation, and the Persee doth supperstitiously adore the fire as his God, and thinks it an vnpordonable sin to throw watter upon it, soe that if a house bee fired or their clothes upon their backs burning thay will if thay can hinder any man from quenching it. The Moores ar troubled with none of these superstitions but yet through the unworthy couetuousness of the gouernour of the towne thay had noe body to head them, nor none vnto whome to joyne themselves, and soe fled away for company, whereas if there had beene 500 men trayned, and in a readyness, as by order from the king there ever should, whose pay the gouernour puts into his own pocket, the number to defend the citty would haue amounted to some thousands. This was the condittion of the citty at the tyme of its inuasion.

The inuader Seva Gee is as I haue said by extraction a Rayar or a gouernour of a small country on the coast southward of Basiue, and was formerly a tributary to the King of Vijapore, but being of an aspiring and ambitious minde, subtile and withall a soldier, hee rebells against the king, and partly by fraude, partly by force, partly by corruption of the kings gouernours of the kings castles, seaseth many of them into his hands. And withall parte of a country for wich the King of Vijapore paid tribute to the Mogul. His insolencys were soe many, and his success soe great, that the King of Vijapore thought it high tyme to endeavor his suppression, or els all would be lost. Hee raises his armies, but is worsted soe euery where by the rebbell, that he is forced to conditions to release homage to Sevagee of those lands wich hee held of him, and for the rest Sevagee was to make good his possession against the Mogol as well as hee could, after some tyme of forbearance. The Mogol demands his tribute from him of Vijapore, whoe returns answer that hee had not possession of the tributary lands, but that they were detayned from him by his rebbell who was grown too strong for him. Upon this the Mogol makes warr both vpon the King of Vijapore and Seuagee, but as yet without any considerable

success: many attempts have been made, but still frusterated either by the cuning, or vallor, or money of Seuagee: but now of late Kuttup Chawn, an Umbraw, who passed by Surrat since I arriued with 5000 men, and 14 elephants, and had 9000 men more marched another way towards their randevouz, as wee hear hath taken from him a strong castle, and some impression into his country, to deuest wich, ware it is probable he took this resoluetion for inuation of this country of Guzurat. His person is described by them whoe haue seen him to bee of meane stature, lower somewhat then I am erect, and of an excellent proportion. Actual in exercise, and when euer hee speaks seemes to smile a quicke and peercing eye, and whiter then any of his people. Hee is distrustfull, seacret, subtile, cruell, perfidious, insulting over whomsoever he getts into his power. Absolute in his commands, and in his punishments more then severe, death or dismembering being the punishment of every offence, if necessity require, venterous and desperate in execution of his resolues as may appeare by this following instance. The King Vijapore sends downe his vnckell a most accomplished soldier, with 14000 men into Sevagee's country: the knowne vallor and experience of the man made Seuagee conclude that his best way was to assasinate him in his owne armye by a sudden surprise. This conduct of this attempt, how dangerous soever, would haue been vndertaken by many of his men of whose conduct hee might haue assured himselfe, but it seemes he would haue the action wholly his own, hee therefore with 400 as desperate as himselfe enters the army vndiscovered, comes to the generalls tent, falls in upon them, kills the guard, the generalls sonne, wounds the father, whoe hardly escaped, seiseth on his daughter and carries her away prisoner, and forceth his way backe through the whole army, and returnes safe without any considerable loss, and afterward in dispight of all the King of Vijapore could do, hee tooke Rajapore, a great port, plundered it, and seised our English marchants, Mr. Rivington, Mr. Taylor, and digged vp the English house for treasure, and kept the marchants in prison about 8 months.

Wednesday the 6th Janu: about eleven in the morning, Sevagee arriued neere a great garden, without the towne

about a quarter of a mile, and whilst hee was busied in pitching his tents, sent his horsmen into the outward streets of the towne to fire the houses, soe that in less then halfe an houer wee might behold from the tops of our house two great pilliers of smoke, the certaine signes of a great dissolation, and soe they continued burning that day and night, Thursday, Friday and Saturday; still new fires raised, and every day neerer and neerer approaching our quarter of the towne, that the terror was great, I know youe will eassly belieue, and upon his first begining of his firing, the remainder of the people fled as thicke as possible, so that on Thursday the streets were almost empty, wich at other tymes are exceeding thicke with people, and we the English in our house, the Duch in theirs and some few marchants of Turkey and Armenia, neighbours to our English house, possessed of a Seraw or place of reception for strangers, were left by the gouernor and his people to make what shift we could to secure ourselves from the enemys: this might the English and Duch have done, leaving the towne and gooing over the riuer to Swalley to our shipps, which were then riding in Swalley hole, but it was thought more like Englishmen to make ourselves ready to defend our liues and goods to the uttermost than by a flight to leaue mony, goods, house, to merciless people, and were confirmd in a resolution that the Duch alsoe determined the same, though there was no possibility of relieuing one another, the Duch house beeing on the other side of towne almost an English mile asunder.

In order therfore to our better defence, the president St. George Oxinden, a most worthy discreet courageous person, sent advice to our ships at Swalley of our condition, with his desires to the Captains to spare him out of their ships what men they could, and wee in the meane tyme endeavoured to fitt our house soe well as wee could, sending out for what quantity of prouision of victualls, watter and pouder we could gett, of wich wee gott a competent store. Tow brass guns we procured that day from a marchant in towne, of about three hundred weight a piece, and with old ship carriages mounted them, and made ports in our great gate for them to play out of to scoure a shorte passage to our house; that

afternoone we sent aboard a ship in the riuer for guns and had tow of about six hundred a piece sent up in next morning with shott conuenient; some are sett to melt lead and make bullets, others with chezels to cutt lead into slugs, no hand idle but all imployed to strengthen every place as tyme would give leaue to the best advantage. On Weddensday men arriued to the number of forty odd, and bring with them tow brass guns more, our four smaller guns are then carried vp to the tope of the house and three of them planted to scoure two greet streets, the four was bent vpon a rich churles house (Stogee Said Beeg of whom more by and by) because it was equally of hight and being posesed by the enemy might haue beene dangerous to our house; Captaines are appointed and every man quartered and order taken for relieuing one another vpon necessity; a fresh recrute of men coming of about twenty more, wee than began to consider what houses neere vs might bee most prejudiciall; and on one side wee tooke possession of pagod, or Banian idol temple, which was just vnder our house, wich hauing taken wee were much more secured on that quarter; on the other a Morish Mesecte where seuerall people were harboured, and had windowes into our outward yard, was thought good to bee cleared and shutt vpp, wich accordingly done by a party, all the people sent to seeke some other place to harbour in. Things being thus reasonably well prepared, newes is brought vs that Mr. Anthony Smith, a servant of the companyes, one whoe hath been cheife in severall factoryes, was taken prisoner by Seuagee soulderiers as he came ashore neere the Duch house, and was comeing to the English,—an vnfortunate accedent wich made vs all much concerned, knowing Seuagee cruelty, and indeed gaue him ouer as quite lost: hee obtaines leaue some few houers after to send a note to the president, wherin hee aquants him with his condittion, that hee being brought before Sevagee hee was asked what hee was and such like questions, and att last by Sevagee told that he was not come to doe any personall hurte to the English or other marchants, but only to revenge him selfe of Oroin Zeb, (the great Mogol) because hee had invaded his counttry, had killd some of his relations, and that hee would only have the English and Duch give him some treasure and

hee would not medle with their houses, else hee would doe them all mischeefe possible. Mr. Smith desired him to send a guard with him to the English house least hee should finde any mollestation from his men, but hee answers as yet hee must not goe away, but comands him to bee carried to the rest of the marchants, where, when hee came, hee found the embassador from the great king of Ethiopia vnto Oram Zeb prisoner, and pinioned with a great number Banians, and others in the same condition: hauing set there some tyme, about halfe an hower, hee is seised vpon by a cupple of black rogges, and pinioned in that extremety that hee hath brought away the marke in his armes with him; this what hee writt and part of what he related when wee gott him againe. The president by the messenger one of Sevagee men, as we imagined, returned answer that hee wounderd at him, that professing peace hee should detaine an English man prissoner, and that if he would send him home, and not to suffer his people to come so neere his house as to give cause of suspition, hee would hurt none of his men, other wayes hee was vpon his owne defence upon these tearmes; wee were all Wedensday and vntil Thursday about tow at afternoon, when perceiueing tops of lances on the other side of a neighbour house, and haueing called to the men to depart and not come so neere vs, but thay not stirring and intending as wee concluded to sett fier to the house, on the quarter whereby our house would have been in most eminent danger of being fiered alsoe, the president comanded twenty men vnder the comand of Mr. Garrard Aungier, brother to my lord Aungier, to sally forth vpon them, and another party of about soe many more to make good their retreate, they did soe, and when thay facd them, judgd them to bee about twenty-five horsmen well mounted, they discharged at them and wounded one man and one horse, the rest fac'd about and fled but made a shift to carry off their wounded man, but the horse fell, haueing gone a little way; what became of the wounded man we cannot tell, but Mr. Smith saw him brought into the armey upon mens shoulders and shewed there to Sevagee; tow of our men were hurt, one shott slightly into the legg with an arrow, the other rashly parting from the rest and runing on before was

cutt deep ouer the shoulder, but thanks to God in a faire way of recovery.

On Wedensday afternoone a party of the enemy came downe to Hogee Said Begs house, hee then in the castle, one of a prodigous estate, and brake open the vndefended doores, and ther continued all that night long and till next day, that we sallyed out vpon their men on the other quarter of our house, they appeared by tow or three at a tyme vpon the tope of his house, to spye what preparations wee made, but as yet had no order to fier vpon them, we heard them all night long beating and breaking open chests and doores, with great maules, but were not much concerned for him, for had the wretch had soe much heart as to have stood vpon his guard, the 20 part of what they tooke from him, would have hiered soe many men as would haue secured all the rest; when they heard that wee wear abroad in the streets thay imediatly in hast deserted the house, and that as it afterwards appeared, in such hast as to leave tow baggs of mony dropt downe behind them, yet with intention as they told the people they mett (such poore wretches as had nothing to loose and knew not whether to flye) to returne next day [to] fier the house, but that was prevented. On Friday morning, the president sent vnto the castle to Hogee Said Beg to know whether he would permitt him to take possession of and secure a great company of warehouses of his adjoyneing to our house, and wich would bee of great consequence to preserve both his goods and our house, hee testified his willingness, and immediately from the tope of our house by help of a ladder we entred it, and haueing found the enemie, haueing beene all Wedensday afternoon and night till past Thursday noone plundering the great house, had likewise entered and begun to plunder his first warehouse, but were scard and that little hurt was done, they had time to carry nothing that is yet knowne of, and only broken open certaine vessells of quickesilver, which there lay spilt about the warehouse in great quantetye; wee locked it vp and put a guard in the roome next the street, wich through help of a belcoone secured by thicke planks tyed to the belcoone pillers, soe close on to another as no more space was left but for a muskett to play out, was

so secured as no approach could bee made againe to the doore of his great house or any passage to the warehouse, but what must come vnder dainger of our shott. In the afternoone on Friday, Sevagee sends Mr. Smith as his messenger to our house with propositions and threats, haueing first made him oblige himselfe to returne, and with all obliging himselfe when he did returne, that hee would doe him noe hurt, what soeuer mesage hee should bring, his message was to send him 3 lacks of rupees; (every lack is 100,000, and every rupee is worth 2s. 3d.) or elss let his men freely to doe their pleasure to Hogee Said Begs house, if not threatening to come and force vs, and vowed to kill euery person in the house, and to dig vp the houses foundation. To this it was answered by the messenger that came with Mr. Smith, that as for his tow propositions he desired tyme to mak answer to them till the morrow, they being of soe great moment, and as for Mr. Smith that hee would and did keep him by force, and hee should not returne till than, when if hee could consent to either proposition hee would send him. Mr. Smith being thus returned to vs, youe may bee sure each man was inquisitive to know news; whoe told vs for their number, they did giue themselues out to bee 10,000, and they were now at least a very considerable armey, since the coming of tow rayers with their men whose names hee knew not: that their horse were very good, and soe indeed, those wich we saw were: that when hee came away, hee could not guess by the mony heaped vp in tow great heapes before Sevagee his tent, than that he had plundered 20 or 25 lack of rup. that the day when hee came away in the morning, there was brought in neere vpon 300 porters laden each with tow baggs of rupees, and some hee guessed to bee gold, that thay brought in 28 sere of large pearle, with many other jewels, great diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, (40 sere make 37 pound weight) and these with an increedable quantety of mony, they found at the house of the reputed richest marchant in the world, his name is Verge Vora, his estate haueing beene esteemed to bee 80 lack of rup.

That they were still every hower, while hee was there, bringing in loods of mony from his house; his desire of mony

is soe great, that he spares noe barbours cruelty to extort confessions from his prisoners, whip them most cruely, threatens death, and often executeth it, [if] thay doe not produce soe much as hee thinks they may, or desires they should, at least cutts of one hand, some tymes both; a very great many there were, who hearing of his coming went forth to him, thinking to fare the better, but found there fault to there cost; as one whoe come to our house for cure, hee went forth to meete him and told him he was come from about Agra with cloth, and had brought 40 oxen loaded with it, and that hee came to present him with it all, or elss what part hee should please to command. Sevagee asked him if he had no mony, hee answered that he had not as yet sold any cloth since hee came to towne, and that he had no mony: the villaine made his right hand to bee cutt of imediately, and than bid him begone, he had noe need of his cloth; the poore old man returns, findes his cloth burnt, and himselfe destetute of other harbor, comes to the English house where hee is dresed and fed.

But to proceed, Mr. Smith farther tells vs, that on Thursday their came a young fellow with some condition from the govenor, wich pleased Sevagee not at all, soe that hee asked the fellow whether his marster, being now by him cooped up in his chamber, thought him a woman to accept such conditions. The fellow imediately returns, "and we are not women; I have somewhat more to say to youe;" drawes his dagger, and runs full at Sevagee breast; a fellow that stood by with a sword redy drawne, strikes between him and Sevagee, and strikes his hand almost of, soe that [it] hung but by a pece of flesh; the fellow haueing made his thrust at Sevagee with all his might, did not stop, but ran his bloody stumpp against Sevagee breast, and with force both Sevagee and hee fell together, the blood being seen upon Sevagee the noise run through the camp that hee was killed, and the crye went, kill the prisoners, where upon some were miserably hacked; but Sevagee haueing quitted himselfe, and hee that stood by haueing clouen the fellows scull, comand was given to stay the execution, and to bring the prisoners before him, wich was imediately done, and Sevagee according as it came in his

minde caused them to cutt of this mans head, that mans right hand, both the hands of a third. It comes to Mr. Smith turne, and his right hand being comanded to bee cutt of, hee cryed out in Indostan to Sevagee, rather to cutt of his head, vnto wich end his hatt was taken of, but Sevagee stopt execution and soe praised be God hee escaped.

There were than about four heads and 24 hands cutt of after that Mr. Smith was come away, and retayned by the president, and they heard the answer hee sends the embassador of Ethiopea, whome hee had sett free upon delivery of 12 horses and some other things, sent by his king to Oron Zeb, to tell the English that hee did intend to visitt vs, and to raise the house and kill every man of vs.

The president resolutly answers that we were redy for him and resolued not to stire, but let him come when hee pleased, and since hee had as hee saide resolued to come, hee bid him come one pore, that is about the tyme of a watch, sooner than hee intended. With this answer the ambassador went his way, and wee heard no farther from him any more but in the terrible noise of the fier and the hideous smoke wich wee saw, but by Gods mercy came not soe neere vs as to take hold of vs, ever blessed be his name. Thursday and Friday nights were the most terrible nights for fier: on Friday after hee had ransaked and dug vp Vege Voras house, hee fiered it and a great vast number more towards the Dutch house, a fier soe great as turnd the night into day; as before the smoke in the day tyme had almost turnd day into night; rising soe thicke as it darkened the sun like a great cloud. On Sunday morning about 10 a clocke as thay tell vs hee went his way. And that night lay six courss of, and next day at noone was passed over Brooch river, there is a credable information that he hath shipt his treasure to carry into his own country, and Sr George Oxenden hath sent a fregate to see if hee can light of them, wich God grant. Wee kept our watch still till Tuesday.

I had forgote to writte you the manner of their cutting of mens hands, which was thuss; the person to suffer is pinioned as streight as possibly they can, and then when the nod is giuen, a soldier come with a whitle or blunt knife and throws

the poore patient downe vpon his face, than draws his hand backwards and setts his knee upon the prisoners backe, and begins to hacke and cutt on one side and other about the wrest, in the meane tyme the poore man roareth exceedingly, kicking and bitting the ground for very anguish, when the villiane perceiues the bone to bee laid bare on all sides, hee setteth the wrest to his knee and giues it a snap and proceeds till he hath hacked the hand quite of, which done thay force him to rise, and make him run soe long till through paine and loss of blood he falls downe, they then vnpinion him and the blood stops.

I now proceede in my relation of our voyage. I told youe last that wee met with noe considerable accedent from the tyme of our departure from the lands end till wee were come to lat. 44 degrees N. where vpon the 9th of April, easterday, early in the morninge wee sprang our maine topmast, (to speake in the sea phrase) that is, by force of wind our topmast split a little above the capp wich sustaines him, we made a shift by lowering him about a yarde into the capp, and woulding or binding him with a strong rope to the head of the maine mast, to make the mast screw till wee gott into a calmer sea then the troublesome and daingerous bay of Biscay; at eight that night wee had a very great storme with suddan gusts lightening and raine, soe that all that night wee were faine to saile only with our low sayles. Munday the 27th wee had faire wether and got up a new topmast and about four afternoone wee came up and spake with Captaine Parker, a ship belonging to the royall company and bound for Seralone in Guinea, whoe next day came abord vs with his marchant and staied late. That day wee discouered the Ile Sancto about eight or nine leagues from vs, and about seven that night discouered the Madera Island. Satturday May the 2nd wee made the Island of Palme, some eleven or twelve leauges of, and that night wee saw the Island Terro bearing S. about 13 or 14 leauges distant, with wich wee bore vp till midnight, but fearing we should not bee able to weather the Island at midnight, wee tacked and lay N. W. and next day Sunday, at noone we were vnder the Island, and passed between that Gomera; Captaine Parker sent his boat on shore to Terro for

wine and provision, and there wee lost his company, hee not being able againe to fetch vs vp: for these two days togather wee haue seene the Peake of Tenerif, and on Munday morning I saw the top of it farr aboue the clouds, and by estimation was from it 34 leauges or 102 miles. Wedensday 6th, about four in the morning, wee passed vnder the tropick of Cancer, and tow dayes after had the [sun] in our zenith. Thursday the 14th being in lat. N. eight degrees 23, and being in expectation of the turnados and raines, in the afternoone wee had our first shower of stinking raine very violent, after wich wee lay almost beecalmd, and about seven that night, our calme in an instant almost was turnd into a strong gust of wind and a violent raine, which came soe suddanly vpon vs that wee were not able, before it ouertooke vs, to gett in our sayles, and was soe violent that our men were faine to labor hard in the midst of the storme to gitt them in, had they been let standing till the violence of the storme, they would vndoubtedly haue beene blowne away, but God be thanked, wee saued them and soe went on without any saile abord but the main saile.

These turnados are a strange meeting together of winds, and soe vncertaine that you shall in the space of one hower, have the wind blow in all quarters of the heaven, but wee had (praised bee God) a quick passage through them, and in the beginning of June we crossed the line; the 14th of June wee met at sea with the Shipp Coast fregat, commanded by Captaine Risby, bound for Bantam, wee had then south lat. 16 degrees. The next day wee had their Capt. and some of their marchants abord vs; wee indured a troublesome sea for many dayes together, and when we came within some hundreds of leagues of the Cape, I then saw the workes of the Lord and his wounders in the deepe, our fellow ship not aboue halfe a quarter of a mile from vs vpon rise of euery waue, was hid from our sight, not only her hull but her topmasts, and with such weather wee passed many dayes, cold raine and stormes that scarce could wee stirr for cold in the morning, or stand because [of] the rowling of the ship all the day long, but at last, after much beating about, and being driven from 39 degrees S. lattitude into 34½, wee passed about mid. July

the Cape of Good Hope, but neither made the land nor struck ground with 120 faithome line; we passed by St. Lawerence, and standing of somewhat too much (for fear of St. John's Illand,) towards the African coast wee were there becalmd six or seven dayes, scarce makeing aboue five miles, sometimes nothing at all in a day of our way; aboue 30 men sicke of the scurvey, and other distempers, and our fresh prouision growing short, wee began to long for land to refresh in, wich by Gods mercy, on the 17th of August five in the morning was discouered; wee then found ourselves about four leauges distant from the Illand Mohelia, and all that day stood vp for Johanna where is good refreshment to bee gotten, and better ancorage for our ship; that night about sun goe downe, wee passed the southerly pointe of the island, and the next morning at 11 we were at anckor in 17 fathom watter, about three leauges distant from the pointe of the illand in a very good road. Till our sails were all firlld noe boat would stirr from the shore, but as soon as they perceiued our anckors downe, the natiues came abord vs in there canoos, and brought vs coco nuts, lemons, oranges of severall sorts, the best that euer I eat, and a sort of wich I believe none in Europe soe pleasant, as I tasted nothing almost with equall satisfaction; these with plantaines and other sorts of fruits wee bought of them for small pieces of cloth. And an old shirt scarce worth sixpence would haue purchased as much as would haue loaded a man, wee afterwards bought of them beefs at tow dollars a head, goats as good as any fallow deere at $\frac{3}{4}$, others at one dollar a head, wee tooke in wood, watter and refreshed ourselves in six dayes tyme and departed, but above all I did admire at one thing, that our sick men whoe were before most of them soe feeble, that they could not stand alone, some bowed togather in a most hideous manner, and expected death houerly, were in four dayes tyme soe recouered with the aire and by the fresh prouisions, that noe one of them but was able to goe aboute the afares of the ship, tho' not fully recouered, yet able to doe some what towards the ships imployments; for 16 dayes after our setting sayle we scarce handed a saile, but went on with a prosperous gale 120, 130, and sometymes 140 mile in 24 houers, and vpon the 23rd of Sept.

wee made St. Johns point vpon the coast of India: vpon the 25th of Sept. we were at Barr foote, and at night about six a clocke wee were at anckor in Swalley hole, for wich our safe passage Gods holy name bee praised. The 28th, St. George Oxenden, the president of India, and his councell Mr. Goodier, Mr. Gary, and Mr. Aungier, came downe to the watter side and receiued our captaine and my selfe with great kindness, and testefied their gladness to receiue mee, one recomended to them, by their friends in England soe afectionately, and promised their vttmost fauoers vpon all occasions; and this Bro. I haue found fully veryfied, the countenance, fauor and respecte from these persons, and from the whole factory now after these monthes experience of them I cannot easly express, soe that for my present condition of life you may asure your selfe tis in all plenty as to necessaries, with a happy contentment; the aire I find to agree well with mee, and I haue my health very well and haue had it euer since I left England [better] then I had it there; I was not so much as sea sicke all the voyage, and at land but for one day was a little feuerish. I hope God will continue his mercyes to me and prolong my life to see you againe, I shall not enlarge my selfe vpon the condition of the country, the discription of the maners, customs, &c. of the people, it would swell a letter into a booke, and by the next better information then yet I haue had, and more leisure then now I haue, will give mee incouragement to send you a full account of many particulars I now wholy omitt.

Surat, Jan. 26: 166$\frac{3}{4}$.

"Part of another Letter from Mr. Escaliot, my worthy louing friend." (Sir T. B. wrote this note.)

Fragment of a letter from Mr. Escaillot to Dr. Browne.

[MS. RAWL. LVIII. 10.]

The swelling of the waters at sett seasons is not proper vnto Ægypt, butt incedent vnto all the great riuers as far as I can learne, wich rise and runne a long cours between or

neere vnto the tropicks. Indus as I have been informed by a person who liued many years at Tutta, vpon its bancks, constantly swells and overfloweth the country, and its swelling beginns before they haue any considerable raynes neere the moath of the riuer, where by the way you may take notice of an error in seuerall of the ordinarie mappes; placing the riuer Indus upon the northern part of Cambaiah, and bounding it, whereas it lyeth more to [...?] by many leagues, and enters the sea, lat. 24 degrees or thereabouts. The riuer of Cambaiah, entring into the bay so called in 22 degrees. The riuer Ganges wich passeth by the citty of Siam, more truly called Odia, the great riuers that disembogue into the bay of Bengala, the riuers of Cochin China are also sayd to ouerflowe their countries before they are swelled by any raynes, in the countries falling neere their mouths. The reason of raines heere along the coast of India is when the sunne hath passed the zenith towards the northerne tropick, I meane then they begin to fall, so I found it at Johanna, first an island in 12 degrees of south latitude, when I required of them there how long their raynes had been past, they answered three moones, this was the later end of August, discounting those three moones and about three more for the continuance of their raynes, and it will give the later end of Februarie, about wich time the sunne was somewhat passed their zenith northward, and this rule holds in all the Indian islands, called the Maldues, and along up the coast from Cape Comarin vnto Surat and kingdom of Cambaiah.

March, April and May, are exceeding hot; no sooner almost is the sunne passed our zenith, butt the face of the skie is altered with us, the heavens wich for three moneths before have not been hid by a cloud, now beginne to bee ouercast, and our ayre is cooled by those showers which the thirstie earth gapeth for. The first showers come vsually from some poynt between east and south-east, and with violence of wind and thunder, and after some dayes the wind stands continually south or toward south, to some poynts until the beginning of September; by these raynes all things grow fruitful. The tantks or spacious receptacles of water are filled, which afterwards serue both men and beasts in many

places the ensuing year; by reason of the abundant fall of raynes alone in the country, wee have sudden great fresh floods come downe upon us, and I haue seen the waters in one night's time raysed aboue 12 foote perpendicular, and in tow daye's time all the waters gone from us into their originall, the ocean. Had wee no raynes at all, or very rarely as in Ægypte, that the country aboue us were inaccessible vnto us, and wee ignorant of the constant fall of raynes aboue at a sett season, these ouerflowings would bee no lesse wonderfull vnto us then those of Nilus were anciently vnto the world.

Kingdome of Cambaiah. The breaking up of this southerley monson so called, heere brings freequently much sicknesse for about a moneth or six weekes; a yeare since 25 of our English heere not aboue tow escaped a sicknesse, yet it proued mortall to none; butt the Banyans' burning place was scarce day or night without 2 or 3 bodies frying upon their seuerall piles. And the Persees made a continuall feast for the vultures; the rest of the yeare from Nouember to March, is a wholesome season notwithstanding the sudden changes of the ayre from cold to heat. Heere I haue felt winter and summer in one day, in the morning, during the time of those moneths, I am cloathed warmer then I vsed to bee in the winters of England, and before noone I am slipped into a thinne calico wastcoat, and find it hard to endure it.

" This is the account of Mr. L'Escaillot, minister in Norwich, my louing friend, who dyed in the Indies, and so I lost the antiquities and varities which hee had obtained for mee."

[The whole of the above note in Sir Thomas Browne's hand.]

From Dr. Merrett to Dr. Browne.

[SLOAN. MS. 1830. FOL. 3.]

WORTHY SIR,

Yours of the 14th instant[3] I received, as full of learning in discovering so many very great curiosities as kindness in communicating them to mee and promising your

[3] See letter at p. 395; the date of which, Aug. 18, I see on reference to the MS. was wrong copied;—it should have been Aug. 14, 1669.

farther assistance. For which I shall always proclaim by my tongue as well as my pen my due resentment and thanks.

The two *fungi* you sent the figures of are the finest and rarest as to their figure I have ever seen or read of; and so is your *fibula marina*, far surpassing one I received from Cornwall much of the same bigness, neither of which I find any where mentioned. The *urtica marina minor Jonst.* and *physalus* I never met with, nor have been informed of the *canis charcarius alius Jonst.* Many of the *lupus piscis* I have seen, and have bin informed by the king's fishmonger they are taken on our coast, but was not satisfied for some reasons of his relation soe as to enter it into my Pinax; though 't is said to bee peculiar to the river Albis, yet I thought they might come sometimes thence to your coasts. *Trutta marina* I have; and the *loligo*, *sepia*, and *polypus*, the three sorts of the *molles* have bin found on our western coasts, which shall bee exactly distinguished—as for the salmons taken above London towards Richmond and nearer, and that in great quantity, some years they have all of them their lower jaw as you observe, and our fishermen say they usually wear off some part of it on the banks, or else the lower would grow into the upper and soe starve them, as they have sometimes seen. You ask whether I have the *mullus ruber asper*, or the *piscis octangularis Wormii*, or the sea worms longer than the earth worms, or the *garrulus Argentor.* or the duck[4] cald a May chit, or the Dorhawke. The four first I have no account of, the two later I know not especially by those names, wee have noe hawke by that name—your account of *Succinum* as all the rest will be registred. As for the *Aquila Gesneri* I never saw nor heard of any such in the colledge for this 25 years last past. Sir you are pleasd to say you shall write more if you know how not to be superfluous—certainly what you have hitherto done hath bin all curiosities, and I doubt not but you have many more by you. I can direct you noe further then your own reason dictates to you—Besides those mentioned in the Pinax I have 100 to add, and cannot give you a particular of them. Whatever you write is either confirmative or additional. I doe entreat this favour

[4] This bird was not mentioned by Browne as at all resembling a duck.

of you to inform mee fuller of those unknown things mentioned herein, and to add the name, page, &c. of the author if mentioned by any, or else to give them such a latin name as you have done for the fungi, which may bee descriptive and differencing of them—Sir I hope the public interest and your own good genius will plead the pardon desired by

Your humble Servant

CHR. MERRETT.

London, Aug. 29. 68.

For Dr. Browne in Norwich.

Dr. Merrett to Dr. Browne.[2]

[SLOAN. MS. 1830. FOL. 1.]

WORTHY SIR,

My due thanks premised, I at present acquaint you that you have very well named the *rutilus* and expressed fully the cours to bee taken in the imposition of names, viz. the most obvious and most peculiar difference to the ey or any other sens. I am farther to say that the icon of the weazeling came not to my hands, pray be pleased to look amongst your papers perhaps it might bee laid by through some accident or other. I have the figures of your *anas macrolophos*, and of the *mergi cristati*, and of the *pristis;* that which came from Cornwall was of the *gladius*, the name of sword-fish beeing applyed to both of them by our nation. It seemeth by yours that the Norwich *aspredo* is not the *cernua fluviatilis* contrary to what Camden affirms, for the *rutilus* mentioned in mine to you differs *toto cælo* from the *cernua*. The difference of the elk's bill by you signified is remarkable to distinguish it from others of its own kind. The crackling teal seems to be the same which Dr. Charlton mentions in his *Onomasticon* under the name of the cracker, and shewing him their description hee acknowledged to bee the same; the *clangula* I know noe more of then reading hath informed mee; a willock I have seen brought from Greenland where they are said exceedingly to abound, but never thought either

[2] The reply to this letter is at page 408.

of them was found in England, and having not taken sufficient notice of the later crave your description of both.

And now Sir, since my last only two things remarkable have come to my knowledge. The one was a cake of black amber one sixth of an inch thick and neer a palm each way. Mr. Boyle brought it to the R. Society to whom it was sent from the Sussex shore, hee had onely tryed it to its electricity and found it answer his expectation, farther tryals will bee made of it. The second is a small plant found on oystershells, which when fresh did perfectly represent the flours of *hyacinthus botryoides*, but that 't was somewhat longer and not so much sweld out towards its *pedunculus*, some of them are here inclosed. 'T is doubtless a sort of *vesicaria*, though much different from what you sent mee. Most of them are now shrunk and the sides constituting the cavity come together and appear onely a transparent husk. One thing more I had to add (but scarcely dare speak it out) that is if it would please you to let it be done without your charge and secondly if it might be done without your trouble, then I would beg of you to set some a work to procure mee some of those rare animals, &c. you have mentioned in your several letters, my intention therein is double, first to take their descriptions and to furnish our colledge with them as curiosities, all beeing lost by the fire. This is onely wished but must not bee proposed without the former limitations by

Your too much allready obliged friend and servant,

CHR. MERRETT.

8th May, 69.

I met this week with some persons of quality high Germans who lately saw your son and report all good things of him.

For Dr. Browne of Norwich.

[SLOAN. MS. 1895, FOL. 93.]

Concerning the Cortex Peruvianus, China-chiné, or Quinana Peruve.

I am not fearfull of any bad effect from it nor have I observed any that I could clearly derive from that as a true cause: it doth not so much good as I could wish or others expect,

but I can lay no harm unto its charge, and I have knowne it taken twenty times in the course of a quartan. In such agues, especially illegitimate ones, many have died though they have taken it, but far more who have not made use of it; and therefore, whatever bad conclusions such agues have, I cannot satisfy myselfe that they owe their evill unto such medicines but rather unto inward tumours—inflammations or atonie of partes contracted from the distemper. I pray my humble service unto all our honoured friends. I rest

Your faithful Friend and Servant

THOMAS BROWNE.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[FOL. 24.]

August 8, st. novo, Vienna.

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

I have received yours of July i, ii. Mr. Shottow continues my good friend in delivering your letters with care to the post at London. When I was at Zircknitz I asked what fish were in the lake, and desired the Richter or chief of the towne, to whose house I went, to prepare me a dinner of fish taken in the lake, it being Saturday. He tolde me divers Slavonian names of fishes, I could understande onely Sleûne and Aal, Dutch wordes for tenche and ele; and that the Prince of Eckenberg had not yet given him leave to fish in the lake; so as I coulde not taste of any. I borrowed lately, out of the emperours library, *Reinerus Solenander de caloris fontium medicatorú causa eorumque temperatione*, which I read out; also *Gabriel Fallopius de medicatis aquis;* out of both which authors Kircher hath taken many things, whose *Mundus subterraneous* I had also by me, which will be a delightfull booke to me when it shall please God to bringe me safe to Norwich. They have in the Danube crafish, which they call crebs; but they are not crabs. The arsenall I have not yet seen; this morning I received a letter from Captain Mackdugall from Prague, where he is still, somewhat better, he saith, at present, but I fear the worst,

for he hath harrassed his body this many years together, and been in all actions, and hard service, and at present is hydropicall; I am sorry to heare from him that the boy Hans hath left him, and is gone no man knoweth whither; what he hath carried away of mine I cannot yet learne; I am sorry for the boy, he being a fine, understanding, lively, boy, and would have done me service, especially in Bohemia. I brought him out of Hungaria: if my things miscarry, I cannot helpe it, having taken a probable way and care to sende them. I will, howsoever, set downe what I have already sent from hence, and which way; and first,

By the boy Hans Kummel

Bolus, found nigh to Schemnitz. Hungarian vitriole. Antimonium solis naturale. Nitrum, out of the bathes of Boden. Lythargyrum Terra Sigillata, such as I could get at Komara. Silver ore. Antimony ore. Stones from a quarry nigh Wien. Antimony, and these little tracts that I procured here. A description of the Seraglio, by Nicholas Brenner, now prisoner in the Seven Towers. A discourse of silence, in Dutch. The picture of the Great Agate, in the emperours Treasure. The pictures of Hitzing. The emperours Comedy at his marriage, in which I put those flowers, and the like, which I drew here; but they are worth nothing. A French manuscript, being a Panegyrique of women, very odde. Chronica Hungarica, and the voyage of Signr. Ludovice of Fiame, which he himselfe gave me leave to write out of his papers, he was sent with another, by the emperour, to learne the Turkish language, his companion being killed, he returned from Constantinople with Conte Lesley.

These following by Captain Makdugell to the Royall Society.

From Baden. Sulphur, taken out of the pipes through which those thermæ are brought from their spring to the Dukes bath; the sulphur being taken of from the upper part, above, not below, the water.

2. Saltpeter, taken from the roofe of the cave through which the water first runs from the spring. 3. What I tooke of from the stones over the doore to the said cave.

From Mannersdorff. 4. The lapis Atheneus, or the sub-

stance which sticketh to the coppers in the boyling of the hot-bath water at Mannersdorff, five Dutch meile from Vienna.

From Wien.

5. Stone salt from out of Poland, or sal gemmæ. 6. Stone salt, with lesser shootes or parts, being pointed, not tabular as the other out of Transylvania. 7. Purified Hungarian vitriole.

From Chremnitz.

8. Earth, out of which they make vitriole at Chremnitz. 9. Gold ore. And 10, antimony of gold, fine substance.

From Schemnitz, and nigh to it.

11. Amethysts and crystalls, as they are founde in the silver mine. 12. Silver ore, the largest piece from the Trinity mine. 13. Vitriolum nativum cristallised. 14. Cinnaber. 15. Bolus. 16. What I tooke out of the sweating bath at Glasshitten. 17. Alumen plumosum from Hodrytz. 18. Glass schlachen, a vitrified substance, to make lute of, to cover the glasse bodies in the separating furnaces. 19. That which groweth upon the wood in the bathes at Glasshitten. 20. The stone made of the bath water at Eisenbach. 21, 22, 23, 24. Four sorts of vitriole from Herrngrundt. 25. Iron turned into copper in the old siment or vitriolate water, 170 fathoms deepe in the coppermines at Herrngrundt. 26. Berggrüne out of the coppermine in Herrngrundt;—this is mentioned in Kircher. 27. A stone founde in the coppermines at Herrngrundt, thought to bee the mother of the Turquois. Copper ore from the same place; and antimony ore out of Transylvania.

These following in a little box, Sir, to yourselfe, by the Captain.

1. 20 Roman coynes from Sine. 2. A thunderstone. 3. Iron turned into copper. 4. A stone made by the bath at Eisenbach. 5. stones from a quarrey by Freistat. 6. A stone from the sweating bath at Glasshitten. 7. An Indian bow-ring of Agat. 8. Mony coloured by the baths of Glasshitten. 9. A green bone from Herrngrundt. 10. Mony coloured at Baden. 11. Amethysts as they growe. 12. A peece of ore with a sparke of silver. 13. Little amethysts

and cristalls. 14. A fine piece of cristall and silver ore. 15 A Schroeck stone, or a blue amulet against frights. 16. Mony coyned at Chremnitz. 17. Mony coloured at the bathes of Banca. 18. Three ringes made of elkes clawes. 19. The haire of a boy like woole. 20. Copper ore from Herrngrundt.

These following I have sent directed to Mr. Coldham to Venice, to Mr. Hobson or the Consull.

Two bags of golde ore. A bag with the materialls in the meltinge of copper; as fluss stein, slach, rost, also a piece of khis; a bag of severall sorts of silver ore; a box of vitriole: a box with the materialls of the sweating bath at Glasshitten, which are much commended against the stone and gravell; A paper of copper ore; a box of the sediment of the baths at Mannersdorff; a box of antimony of gold from Chremnitz; A box of not ordinary silver ore, with other mixtures of metalls, from Schemnitz; glasse-schlachen: a faire peece of the amethyst rocke; a box full of the materialls of the bath at Baden; a peece of rich black copper ore; a little bundell from Freistat; the petrified stone in the baths of Eisenbach; antimony ore bought at Vienna; iron changed into aurichalcum or copper, with some gold. To these Mr. Donellan tells me he added some things from Bleyberg, and lapis Calaminaris.

The great heat hindered me going out of the way to see Aquilegia, and, in my returne, to visit the saltworkes at Halstat. I am much comforted to receive four letters from you, Sir, since my returne hither; and I am in some hopes of another to morrow, I thinke not to stay here above a fortnight. My duty to my most dear mother, and love to my sisters,

Your most obedient sonne,

EDWARD BROWNE.

For my honoured father Dr. Browne at his house in Norwich, Norfolke.

Dr. Browne to his Son Edward.

[MS. SLOAN. 4039, FOL. 206.]

DEAR SONNE, Dec. 1, [1670.]

Though my foot bee very paynfull, and disableth mee from going, yet my head is free, and, I thank God, I am

not sick; and therefore I take it as a merciful memento from God, and am not without hope to find ease in no long time: though, as years grow upon mee, I cannot butt expect more frequent returns of these or worse infirmities. God send you all your healths. I rest your loving father,

T. BROWNE.

December 1, [1670.]

DEAR SONNE,

I wish you att home this very could wethar, espeshally this daye. Your fathar haveing layd out the last night, have gott som could, and it is fallne into his foutt, and is very painefull to him. Hee has complained of his head a good while, and I sopos it is now fallne into his foutt. I besich God send him ease. It is yett but sickly here, and hee has not much rest. I wish you here to helpe him. I am just helping him to bad, and can say no more, but thatt I am,

Your affectinat morthar,

D. B.

I hope I shall heare from you sudinly, and whethar you did receve the box, and whether there be any thing don in your sister Fairfax's bisnes, and how they dooe, for I have not had a lattar a good while from her. I hop you see Franke.

This for Dr. Browne, att his Lodging at the Harp and Fathars in Flett Street, against the Sonne Tauarn, London.

Dr. E. Browne to his Father.

[RAWL. LVIII, 38-40.]

September 7, 1671.

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

Sir, I have formerly sent you word of Captain Narborough's voyage in the Sweepstakes to Baldavia in the South Sea; and having since been in his company, and seen Mr. Thomas Wood's mappes of the Southern parts of America, and of Tierra del fuego, and enquired after many things in their voyage, I will set downe as much as I can in this sheet

of paper, least that you should not meete with any other account; seing divers of those who understande most of the voyage are seeking out further employe, and Mr. Woode who giveth me the greatest satisfaction in every thing, thinks still upon greater actions, and hath already offered his service to the East India Company to goe for Japan. The Sweepstakes was long upon the Atlantick ocean, before they made the coast of America, almost five moneths; the Pinke, which went with them, being but a slow sayler. The day before they saw lande, they left the Pinke, with order for her to stay at such and such places, and afterwards to come in to the streights of Magellan, and there remain till they met; but the Pinke, being once out of sight, shifted her course, and with eighteen men in her, bore away for Barbados, and so into England, reporting the Sweepstakes to be lost. The rest continued their voyage, and the next day, discovering America belowe the river of Plate, they hasted away to Port Desire, and there put in. At the mouth of this port is one of the best sea markes in the world—a vast rock in the shape of a tower. They went up here to Le Maire's Islande, and found a leaden boxe, with an account of his voyage so farre in it. They went also to Drake's Islande, where Sr Francis Drake executed one of his officers, and went up and downe the country, but saw no inhabitants, although they were sensible that the country was not without people; for they had divers things stolen from them, and at their return thither, they founde a modell of their owne shippe, of the bignesse of an ordinary boate, built by the Indians out of peeces of boards and broken oares which the English had left there. Mr. Woode founde two mussell shells here tyed together with peeces of guts and divers peeces and kernels of gold in them, some of which I have seen, they lost or left upon the sande I suppose by some American. At their coming hither they saw divers graves, and some of them very long, which they tooke at first to be the sepulchres of the Patagonian gyants, written of by Magellan and others, and pictured in mappes with arrowes thrust downe their throates; but, opening their tombes, which are heapes of stones throwne over them, they founde none to exceed our stature, and the people which

they saw all along that coast are rather lowe; and Captain Narborough affirmes, that he never sawe an American in the Southern parts so high as himself. They opened many tombes, as they say, out of curiosity; I know not whether they might not also have hopes of finding treasure buried with them, for certainly there is much gold in some of those countryes, and the Indians in other places seing a gold ring on the captain's finger, would pointe to the hills and to the ring, intimating from whence that metal came; but as to the tombes they at last discovered the reason of their great length, and founde that it was their way to bury one at the foot of another, the head of one touching the feet of the other, perhaps man and wife, for they have brought home a man and a woman's skull taken out of one grave laiing in that posture, so that they have hereby discovered that the race of the gyants are much diminished in their stature. From Port Desire they sayled to Port Julian, another faire port; they stayed also here sometime; but this of all things which they relate, seemeth most strange, that, going up the country, they discovered a lake of salt, or rather a field of granulated salt of some miles over; some of which they separated from the rest near the border. At their return thither three days after, their was no salt at all left, except what they had separated at some distance from the other, neither had it rained from the time they first sawe it to the time they cam thither again and found none; the salt had been above the earth about a foot deepe, and Mr. Woode pacing and examining the grounde whereon it had layne, founde a deep hole or well in the middle. I can imagine no other way to solve this, then by comparing it to the Lake of Zirknitz, where the water springs out from under the grounde and retires againe, or rather like to a tide's well, which often ebbes and flowes, and so might springe out of the grounde, dissolve the salt, and carry it with itselfe into the earth again by large passages. The quantity of salt was great which afterwards disappeared; for to use their own expression, there was more salt than would serve all the shippes in the world. From hence they sayled to the streights of Magellan, where they spent five or six weekes giving names to the islandes, capes, inlets, bayes,

harbours, and remarkable places, most of their acquaintance sharing in their discovery, and the Duke of Yorke's servants names are given to many places; amongst whome Mr. Henry Savill, whom I formerly travelled with in Italy, gives his name to the southermost part which they saw off Tierra del Fuego.

At the coming into the streights, they pass a double narrow, and afterwards it is larger and full of islands. The country is mountainous on each side and the hills covered with snowe all the year long; so that they sayle as in a deepe vally. The sea in the middle is so deepe as they could finde no bottome—six hundred fathomes would doe nothing; but near the shoars they found anchorage, which they exactly marked. There are many rivers and inlets into these streights, but they wanted their Pinke much to discover more, and they thinke Tierra del Fuego to be many islandes. They saw many fires there; from hence it had its name. They are not the flames of burning mountaines, but the inhabitants make fires, and also burne the grass and weeds, as in Hungary, where I have seen the country on fire for a great way together. Most of these islandes are full of seales of a larger size then oures, many of which they killed, no otherwise than by knocking them on the head, and salted them up. They tooke also a great number of penguins, which served the seamen in the voyage. About the middle of the streights they touched at a place on the north shoare, called Port Famine, where there was formerly a plantation of Spaniards, but they were starved to death. Near to this place, further on, they discovered a country full of provision, and have therefore named it Cape Plenty. The inhabitants of the streights goe all naked, men, women, and children: some few onely wearing a circle of net about their heades, like our shoemakers, although the country be cold in 53 and 54 degrees of southern latitude. Their colour is much the same with the other Americans, and differs little from them that live under the line; they goe all with bowes and arrowes, and many of them conversed freely with the English, came on boarde, and went a shoare, eat and dranke with them, without taking any great notice of any thinge. They would eat the meat and anoint themselves all over with the fat and grease; they painte themselves rudely,

and when they came to the English, sometimes in sight of them, rather then want that ornament they woulde daube up one eye or one side of their face with clay or dirt. The whole country on this side from the river of Plate to Cape Plenty in the streights, or thereabouts, is one great plaine, the same with Pampas, where no trees growe, and the captain compared it to New Market heath. The other side it is all hilly, and the rivers runne downe so impetuously into the South sea, that they may see them runne a long way into the ocean, and have fresh water out of great rivers at the sea side. Beyond the streights they sailed up to Castro, an island where the Spaniards live, there being none of them now upon all the coast of America, between that place and the river of Plate; from Castro they went to Baldavia, but I have not room to write what passed there.

Your m. o. son,
E. B.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[RAWL. CCCXCI.]

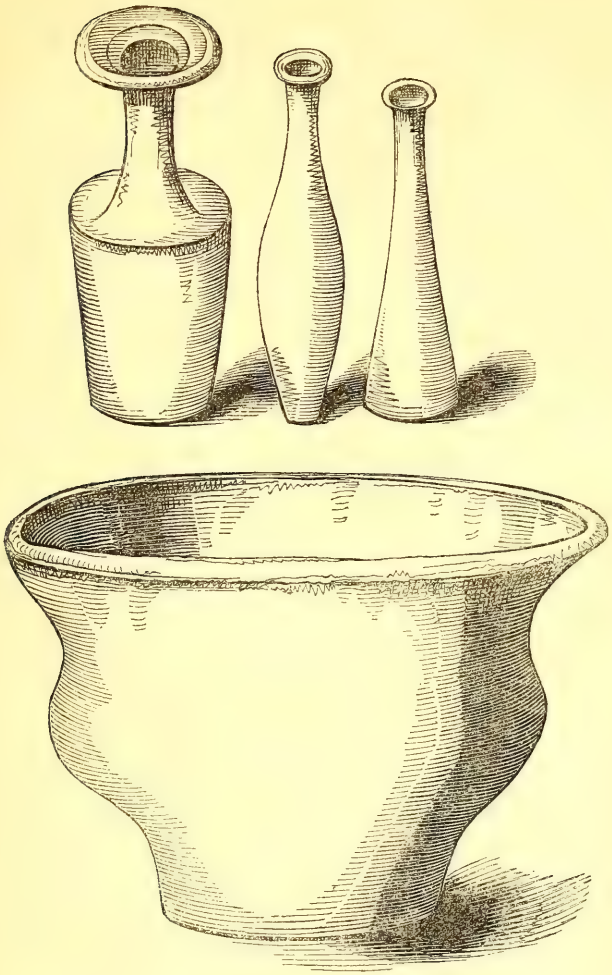
SIR,

These are the delineations of three lachrymatoryes which were given me lately.[1] They were digged up some yeares since in Gun field, near Ratcliff, they are very fair ones, and of the same bignesse as they are drawne, the teares stick still to the inside of them. If you please to have them, I will sende you them downe, or if you thinke I may first showe them to Dr. Plot and let him have a copy of them to print in his description of Middlesex, or else I may reserve them for my self, to be mentioned or set downe when I speake of the upper and lower glandule of the eye from whence the teares come.

Your obedient sonne,
EDWARD BROWNE.

January 1, 1677.

[1] With the figure of a pot, of which a drawing accompanied the letter, with this memorandum written below: "*The figure of a pot digged out of the ground in Gun field, amongst many other Roman antiquities.*"



Figures of three lachrymatories and a pot, from pen-drawings, which accompanied the opposite letter.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. RAWL. LVIII. 45.]

Feb. 4, 168½.

SIR,

The oestridge died in the night; these colde nights I thinke killed him, so that I will set downe what we observed upon the dissection.

The neck a yard long, not measuring the head with it. The whole foot a *calcareo ad extremum digitum*, is three quarters of a yard, upon which he sits when he sleeps; but the foot or longest clawe is onely a quarter of a yard, the lesser clawe is half a quarter and half a nayle.

The nayle upon the larger clawe, is a nayle long, or the sixteenth part of a yard: above which stand one above another sixty-three large scales, reaching up all along his foot before; or before those bones which answer to the *metatarsus*. The lesser clawe hath no nayle, and onely eight or nine scales one above another, which reach not higher then the clawe itself.

The graine of the foot is like the graine of the skin of an elephant, but not so very hard, and is movable, and gives way upon pressure like to the foot of a camel, there being fat under it, whereby he treads soft and without noyse, and would come gently into the kitchen not heard when the servants were at dinner and stand behind them; but higher then the two clawes the skin looks scaly, every small scale constituting an irregular pentangle, quadrangle, and sometimes hexangle.

From the heele to the knee, or that part of the leg which answers to the *tibia* in man, is half a yard and half a quarter.

The thigh bone above a quarter of a yard, and very thick.

Upon the breast there is a hard callous darke substance of an ovall figure, a nayle and a half in length, like to that of a camel; upon which he rests himself when he sits with his head upright, and in that posture I think he sleeps, for we could never see him in any other; and his wing is too little to cover all his neck.

The length of his body from the lower part of his neck to the end of his rumpe, one yard.

The longest bone in his wing, a quarter and half a quarter.

The top of the head very flat, in length half a quarter and a nayle, measuring from behind the head to the end of the bille. The head seemes to be hairy rather then covered with feathers, contrary to what some affirme; and I thought I scarce sawe a stranger sight then one morning when I saw an oestridge of the largest sort carried in a cart through Fleet street, the body being inclosed in deale bordes and the neck stretched out so as the head was equall with the windowes above the balconyes. The neck white with feathers, yet the skin appeared very red between them, and as if it were transparent. And the aire throwne forcibly in three streames throwe the mouthe and nostrills, looked as if it were smoke blowne out in great quantity, which came throwe its fiery neck.

On the top of his head there is an ovall place flat, a nayle in length, which is all callous, and without any hayre or feathers, like the callous part upon his brest, but not so thick. This I thinke is to defende his braine from the injury of any thing that might sodenly fall upon his head, as also to preserve the braine from the sunne and injuryes of the aire, especially in the night, and the more considerably if he sleeps with his head upright, and not under his wing.

The *gula* is very large as well as long, but largest at the top near the head, where it is a nayle and a half broad.

The *os hyoides* stretcheth itself downe on each side the neck the length of half a quarter of a yard and half a nayle.

There is a callous part upon the *os pubis* longer than the former mentioned, but narrow; upon which, together with the callous part upon his breast, he rests himself.

Besides the many muscles in the neck for the motion of the numerous *vertebræ* and the head, there are two most elegant muscles which come from within the thorax, arising within the chest about the second rib, and insert themselves on each side of the *aspera arteria;* these I may name *directores asperæ arteriæ.*

At the first dividing of the *aspera arteria*, or its divarication to each side of the lungs, there is a ring bigger and stronger then any other ring of the windepipe.

There are divers glandules in the neck near the *gula;* these are of a pale colour like ashes. But there are two most beautiful glandules sticking to the carotidal arteryes, as they come out of the breast, one on each side, these are blewish. The *peritonæum* doubles and encompasses the stomach loosely.

He hath seven ribbs; and the intercostall muscles are broad, plaine, and beautifull.

The oestridge hath no prominent brestbone like other fowles; nor a narrow chest like most quadrupedes: but a broad brest, firme sternon, broader and flatter then that of a man; and indeed when he puts downe his head, and bends his neck to come in at a doore, his breast is so broad, and his tread so different, that it is not like the entrance of a fowle; but wonderfully like that of a camel, but with this advantage, that the oestridge bearing his waight upon two legges only, his entrance is more bolde and gracefull.

The ear of the oestridge is rounde, and the orifice will receive one's finger.

This was a male oestridge, and the penis about an inche long, with a little cartilaginous substance in it. The feathers of the inside of the wings upon the breast and the belly and neck were white, and the feathers on the tayle also white; but the rest are grayish and of a dun colour. A most beautiful creature surely in Barbary, where the heat of the country cryspes and curles all its feathers.

Your obedient sonne,

E. BROWNE.

These for my honoured father Sir Thomas Browne, at his house in Norwich.

Dr. Edward Browne to his Father.

[MS. RAWL. LVIII. 47, 48.]

MOST HONOURED FATHER,

In this I will give a further account of the oestridge, and of its more inward partes.

The *rimula* of the *larynx* is long and the cartilages about it strong; but no *epiglottis* or likenesse to a human larynx,

although they that heard its voice compare it to the crying or shreeking of a hoarse childe, but more mournfull and dismal.

The lungs are of a fine florid colour, but little in proportion to the vast *aspera arteria:* they stick close to the back, and are perforated surely like other birds; and upon blowing into the windepipe with a pair of bellows, we could not make them rise or fill.

The heart hath two ventricles, about the bignesse of a man's heart, but the right ventricle is much thinner, and the valves are more fleshy.

There are two stomachs, as in granivorous fowles, a crop and a gizzard; but the crop or first stomach differs much from that of all other fowles, in that it is not placed without the breast as with them, but within the sternon, in that it is not round, but larger like a mony bag, and of a vast bignesse, liing lengthwise in the body; but what was most satisfactory to us all in the dissection, was the glandules we found in the coates of the stomach, a rowe of them on the back part of it reaching almost from one end to another about a thousand of them, about ten in breadth and a hundred in length; these lye between the coates of the stomach, and every particular glandule discharges itself by a peculiar orifice through the inward coate of the stomach, into the cavity thereof; we found some of these glandules round and globular, some oval, and some more flat, and of an irregular figure. Those which lye highest are roundest and thickest; those which lye more towards the bottome of the stomach, or where it unites with the gizzard, are more broad and flat. These surely bring in a juice which helps to digest that various nourishment which this fowle makes use of:—an oestridge feeding almost upon any thing, ours refused nothing but the draines from the brewhouse, and perhaps if hungry it would have eat them. The gizzard was very large; the inward coate did not adhere so firmly as in other fowles, but was very thick and like flannel, and upon a first looking into the gizzard from the first stomach, it appeared as a piece of flannel or napkin, which the oestridge had swallowed and so stuck there. The passage out of the gizzard into the small guts is very streight.

The guts are about twenty yards in length. The smaller guts beginning from the stomach, are ten yards long, and the larger guts down from thence to the anus are near as much.

At the beginning of the great guts there are two *intestina cæca*, each of them a yard long, and they have a skrue or spiral valve within them, after the manner of the *cæcum* of a rabbit; this skrue in the *cæcum* windes about twenty turnes, (so we may observe the guts of a dog fish, with a spirall valve or skrue in them,) but the extremity of the *cæcum* is little, not much different from the *cæcum* of a man.

The excrement which it throwes out by the guts is of two kindes—a white thin sticking excrement which it mutes like a hawke, and after that another sort of excrement comes, which is very like to that of a sheepe but bigger.

The mesentery although it holds together such a number of guts great and small, yet it is not thick, but onely a transparent membrane as generally in *pennatis*, but it is very large and in some places above a quarter and a half a quarter of a yard deepe, or broade, measuring from the centre to the guts.

The liver hath four lobes and is of a colour not much different from that of a man's; we could finde no bladder of gall.

A glandule under the stomach, which might seeme to be a spleen, but *pennata* and *insecta* are said to have no spleens.

The kidnyes are large and of the length of my hand; as they lye both together they are of the shape of a guitar, a musical instrument.

The ureters are firme, strong, white, and long. Behinde the kidnyes lye two glandules, somewhat oval, of about an inch and half in length, close to the back bone.

What concernes the skeleton more particularly, I may afterwards set downe when the bones are cleane.

Your most obedient sonne,

EDWARD BROWNE.

Feb. 7, 1681.

These for my honoured father Sir Thomas Browne,
at his house in Norwich.

Since the notice at the top of page 417 was printed, I received a most friendly intimation from Mr. W. H. Black, that in the course of his recent and most accurate examination of the Ashmolean manuscripts at Oxford, some original letters of Sir Thomas Browne's had caught his eye, of which he obligingly offered me transcripts, if I could wait for them.

I had remarked, from the letter to Ashmole, at p. 413, that some previous correspondence must have passed between them respecting Dr. John Dee; and it immediately occurred to me, that among the *treasure trove* of my friend Black would very probably be found that correspondence, containing, no doubt, novel and curious information about Dee and Kelly, *et id genus omne;* besides which, Browne's own opinions respecting the sublime mysteries, which enwrapped those men in musings long and deep, might possibly peep out in the course of his narrative. I therefore determined to await the arrival of this second supplement to a correspondence which I had intended to terminate at p. 416. Nor have I been disappointed. The closing series of letters will, I hope, be deemed fully as valuable and interesting as any portion of equal extent throughout the volume. It not only comprises additional particulars respecting Dee and Kelly, and replies to enquiries which Anthony Wood had put respecting various men with whom he supposed Browne to have been acquainted; but it presents us with his own biographical sketch of himself, the basis of Wood's and, indeed, of all subsequent accounts of his birth and earliest years.

Dr. Browne to Mr. William Lilly.

[FROM ASHMOLE'S MSS. VOL. 423, FOL. 166.]

WORTHY SIR,

Upon encouradgment from your self and sollicitation of Mr. Playford, I am bold to present these unto you. Whereto I confesse I was not readily induced, as being very desirous my first salutes should have come cleere unto you; not clogged with buisinesse, which might render the expression of my desire to serve you, accidentall. For truly, sir, the mayne of this letter is a friendly salutation of yourself, an acknowlegment of my obligations, testimonie of my respects, with much readinesse to future communication, and wishes of happinesse unto you, unto all which I hope you will conceave the occasionall buisinesse butt appendant.

Mr. Playford, though a native of this place, hath been litle resident in it. Soe that I am not able to assure or highly commend his abillities upon ocular judgment of his practise, butt can affirme, that hee hath practised chirurgerie in the armie, as also in and about Yorke for diverse yeeres, and with good testimonie thereof; and had (as I understand) a good initiation of his practise under an able artist. How his abillities will accord with London to the betterment of his present condition, you may please to consider, whoe well knowe the state of that place, and may bee informed by men of that profession: where practise is much confined and restrayned unto companies. However I conceave courtisies unto him may bee charitable offices, for his intents are good toward his kindred by severall misfortunes now under want, and hee is not unlikely to prove a gratefull servant unto yourself. But the proceeding herin I referre unto your owne goodnesse and judgment, not willing to engage you in any way, which shall not be judged advantageous unto your honour and repute, whereof I desire to bee an earnest promotor, who am yours affectionately and very respectfully,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Norwich, Feb. 8. [not before 1650?]

P.S.—Sr. finding you so hard a student in Astrol. I had thoughts some yeeres past to present some few Astrologie bookes unto you; but finding your librarie in your introduction[2] soe compleat that litle could be added, I was fayne to deferre such expressions unto better opportunitie.

To my worthy and much honord freind, Mr. William Lillie, these present, London. *(With a seal of arms.)*

From Dr. Browne to Mr. Elias Ashmole.

[FROM ASHMOLE'S MSS. 1788, ART. 18, FOL. 153.]

MOST WORTHY SR.

I returne you humble thancks for your courteous letter and the good newes of the hopefull recoverie of Mr. Dugdale, unto whom I shall be readie in any further service, and shall, God willing, send unto him concerning the fish bone, which I have not forgott. It can very hardly fall into my apprehension how I can afford any addition unto your worthy endeavours. Notwithstanding, I have enclosed a list of such tracts of that subject which I have by mee. Most whereof I receaved from Dr. Arthur Dee, my familiar freind, sonne unto old Dr. Dee the mathematician. He lived many yeares and dyed in Norwich, from whom I have heard many accounts agreable unto those which you have sett downe in your annotations concerning his father and Kelly. Hee was a persevering student in hermeticall philosophy, and had noe small encouragement. Having seen projection made, and with the highest asseverations he confirmed unto his death, that hee had ocularly undeceavably and frequently beheld it in Bohemia, and to my knowledge, had not an accident prevented, hee had not many yeares before his death retired beyond sea, and fallen upon the solemn processe of the great worke.

Sr. if you shall desire a viewe of any of these bookes, or all, I shall find some way to send them, and you may peruse or

[2] That is, *Lilly's Christian Astrology modestly treated of, in three books: or, an Introduction to Astrologie, London*, 1647, 4to. of which his own copy is in the Ashmolean Museum.—*W. H. B.*

transcribe them; butt I shall entreat the favour to have them returned. Mr. Stanley gave mee the honour of a visit some fewe yeares past, and if hee signified my mind unto you, you might have receaved them long agoe. Sir, I thinck myself much honored in your worthy acquaintance, and shall ever rest

Your very respectful freind and servant,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Norwich, Jan. xxv, 1658.

A manuscript containing these tracts:— [3]

1. Take earth of earth earths mother with some explication.
2. A short worke and true—of halfe a sheet.
3. Cantilena Ripley, de L. Phil. seu de phœnice.
4. Verbum abbreviatum Rogeri Bacon a Rajmundo Galfrido explicatum—above a sheet.
5. The great worke or great Elixir of Ripley ad Solem et Lunam, with an accurtation or shortning of the great work—containing 2 sheets.
6. A Letter of Ripley, sent to a friend, subscribed by George Ripley, ch. of Bridlington, farmer and curate of F... balbergh.[4]
7. The easiest way in practising the Philosopher's stone—a sheet and half.
8. Philossium and medulla, translated out of Latin by George Higins.
9. A Concordance of the Sayings of Guido and Raymund.

X. The worke of Dickinson—about a hundred verses.

An ancient manuscript of Nortons ordinall.[5]

Dunstanus Epus Cantuariensis de Lapide philos—a small manuscript.[6]

Theriaca divina Benedicti MS. Lat. Anonym.[7]

A Manuscript entitled Investigation of causes, writt by a person of these parts about 50 yeares agoe. A theoreticall

[3] This is *MS. Sloan.* 1842.—*Catalogue of Sir Thomas Browne's MSS.* No. 6, 4to. vol. iv, 463, &c.

[4] Very illegible in *MS.* On reference to the *MS. Sloan.* 1842, I find it is thus: "Fox Bulburg Churche. 1460 vel 1476.

[5] *MS. Sloan.* 1873.—*Catalogue of Browne's MSS.* No. 39, 4to. vol. iv, p. 463, &c.

[6] This may be *MS. Sloan.* No. 3757, fol. 40; or No. 1255, art. 2, fol. 126:—probably the latter.

[7] *MS. Sloan.* 1857.—*Catalogue of Browne's MSS.* No. 18, 4to. vol. iv, p. 463, &c.

piece, but relating to the Herm. philosophie and worke. An originall, and I thinck there is noe coppy of it—about 4 sheets.[8]

Ripleys emblematicall or hieroglyphicall scrowle in parchment, about 7 yards long, with many verses, somewhat differing from those in your first part next Ripleys vision.

Two small pieces of Garlandus Anglus, Latin and printed.

Dastini Speculum philosoph. MS. Lat.[9]

Benjamin Locks picklock unto Ripleys castle, prose and verse —about 4 or 5 sheets, MS.

To my worthy and honord freind, Elias Ashmole, Esqr. in the Middle Temple, these, London.

(The above direction is on the back of the letter, (ff. 153, 156,) *within which is enclosed a half sheet folded in quarto,* (ff. 154-5, *containing the list of MSS. Close to the direction is preserved a small seal of arms, impressed in red wax.)*

Sir Thomas Browne to Mr. Elias Ashmole.

[FROM ASHMOLE'S MSS. 1788, ART. 17, FOL. 151.]

I WAS very well acquainted with Dr. Arthur Dee, and at one time or other hee hath given me some account of the whole course of his life: hee gave mee a catalogue of what his father Dr. John Dee had writt, and what hee intended to write, butt I think I have seen the same in some of his printed bookes, and that catalogue hee gave me in writing I cannot yet find. I never heard him saye one word of the booke of spirits, sett out by Dr. Casaubone, which if hee had knowne I make no doubt butt hee would have spoake of it unto mee, for he was very inquisitive after any manuscripts of his father's, and desirous to print as many as hee could possibly obtaine; and, therefore, understanding that Sir William Boswell, the English resident in Holland, had found out many of them, which he kept in a trunck in his howse in Holland, to my knowledge hee sent divers letters unto Sir William, humbly desiring him that hee would not lock them up from

[8] *MS. Sloan.* 1893.—*Catalogue of Browne's MSS.* No. 9, 8vo. vol. iv, p. 463, &c.
[9] *MS. Sloan.* 1854.—*Catalogue of MSS. &c.* No. 13, 4to.

the world, butt suffer him to print at least some thereof. Sir William answered some of his letters, acknowledging that hee had some of his father's works not yet published, and that they were safe from being lost, and that hee was readie to showe them unto him, butt that hee had an intention to print some of them himself. Dr. Arthur Dee continued his sollicitation, butt Sr. William dying I could never heare more of those manuscripts in his hand. I have heard the Dr. saye that hee lived in Bohemia with his father, both at Prague and other parts of Bohemia. That Prince or Count Rosenberg was their great patron, who delighted much in alchymie; I have often heard him affirme, and sometimes with oaths, that hee had seen projection made and transmutation of pewter dishes and flaggons into sylver, which the goldsmiths at Prague bought of them. And that Count Rosenberg playd at quaits with sylver quaits made by projection as before; that this transmutation was made by a powder they had, which was found in some old place, and a booke lying by it containing nothing butt hieroglyphicks, which booke his father bestowed much time upon; but I could not heare that he could make it out. Hee sayd also that Kelly delt not justly by his father, and that he went away with the greatest part of the powder and was afterwards imprisoned by the Emperor in a castle, from whence attempting an escape downe the wall, hee fell and broake his legge and was imprisoned agayne. That his father, Dr. John Dee, presented Queen Elizabeth with a little of the powder, who having made triall thereof attempted to get Kelly out of prison, and sent some to that purpose, who giving opium in drinck unto the keepers, layd them so faste asleepe that Kelly found opportunity to attempt an escape, and there were horses readie to carry him away; butt the buisinesse unhappily succeeded as is before declared. Hee sayd that his father was in good credit with the Emperour Rodolphus, I thinck, and that hee gave him some addition unto his coat of armes, by a mathematicall figure added, which I thincke may bee seen at Mr. Rowland Dee's howse, who had the picture[1] and coat of armes of Dr. John Dee, which Dr. Arthur Dee left at Mr. Toley's when hee

[1] His portrait is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum.—*W. H. B.*

dyed. Dr. Arthur Dee was a yong man when he saw this projection made in Bohemia, butt hee was so inflamed therewith, that hee fell early upon that studie and read not much all his life but bookes of that subject, and two years before his death contracted with one Hunniades, or Hans Hanyar, in London, to be his operator. This Hans Hanyar having lived long in London and growing in years, resolved to returne into Hungarie; he went first to Amsterdam where hee was to remain ten weeks, till Dr. Arthur came unto him. The Dr. to my knowledge was serious in this buisinesse, and had provided all in readinesse to goe; but suddenly hee heard that Hans Hanyar was dead.

If hereafter any thing farther occurreth to my memorie I shall advertize.

(No Signature.)

(Note subscribed by Ashmole.) Recd. 29 March, 1674, 4h. P. M. from Dr. Browne, of Norwich, directed to Mr. Ashmole.

From Sir Thomas Browne to Mr. John Aubrey.

[FROM AUBREY'S LETTERS IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, VOL. I. ART. 28.]

WORTHY GOOD SR.

I receaved your courteous letter and therein Mr. Woods his request. Dr. Thomas Lushington was borne at Canterbury, was chaplaine unto Dr. Corbet, bishop of Norwich, and afterward unto Prince Charles, now our king, in his minority; was rector of Burnham, in Norfolk, and dyed and was buryed at Sittingbourne, in Kent.

Hee writt a Logick, after a new method, in Latin. A comment upon the Hebrews English, both printed at London.

Hee writt also a Latin Treatise of the Passions, according to Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas. And also upon the Theologie of Proclus,[2] butt they never were published as I could heare, and I knowe not whether any one hath the coppies.

I was borne at St. Michaels Cheap in London, went to schoole at Winchester Colledge, then went to Oxford, spent

[2] Probably *MS. Sloan.* 1838.—*Catalogue of Browne's MSS.* No. 1, 4to.

some yeares in forreign parts, was admitted to bee a *Socius Honorarius* of the College of Physitians in London, knighted September, 1671, when the King, Queen, and Court came to Norwich; writt *Religio Medici* in English, which was since translated into Latin, French, Italian, High and Low Dutch.

Pseudodoxia Epidemica; or Enquiries into Common and Vulgar Errors, translated into Dutch, four or five yeares ago.

Hydriotaphia, or Urne Buriall.

Hortus Cyri, or de Quincunce.

Have some *Miscellaneous Tracts* which may be published.

I can give you little or no account of any writers of Pembroke Colledge, and I believe Mr. Woods may better informe himself upon the place. Dr. Stamp, who was I think chaplaine to the Queen of Bohemia, and preached sometimes at Stepney, published somewhat, but I remember not the title. There was one Dr. Dowdswell, a learned man, lately prebend of Worcester, butt whether hee published any thing I knowe [not]; as also Dr. Bludworth, a divine, and Dr. William Child, now one of the Masters of Chancerie.

Some accept against an expression they sometimes use at Oxford in bookes printed at the theatre,—*Ex Typographia Sheldoniana*, and think better of *Ex Typographio*, or *Typographeio*, or *Typis Sheldonianis*.

Sr. your friends who persuade you to print your *Templa Druidum, &c.* do butt what is fitt and reasonable. I shall observe your desires as to observation of such things as you require. My wife and daughters present their respects and service. I rest,

Sr. your affectionate freind and servant,

THO. BROWNE.

Norwich, March 14, 167⅔.

(Direction on the back: the seal is destroyed.) To my worthy friend Mr. Aubrey, at Mr. Henry Coley his howse in Rose and Crowne Court in Grayes Inne Lane, these, London.

(Added by Coley's own hand: he was son-in-law to Lilly, the astrologer.) Leave this letter at the Earl of Thanet's house in Hothfeild, to be directed as above.

From Sir Thomas Browne to Mr. John Aubrey.

[FROM AUBREY'S LETTERS IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, VOL. I, ART. 29.]

WORTHY SR.

I was not unmindful of Mr. Woods desires; butt the Deane, in whose hands the records are, being of late much out of the towne, occasiond this delay: I now send you inclosed what is to be found. You will find Mr. Robert Talbot named in the first of Edward the sixth; butt when hee dyed as to the yeare is uncertaine, for after this I send, the church hath no register untill the 7th yeare of Queene Elizabeth, after which there is a good account of the prebends; but Mr. Talbots name not to bee found among them, so that hee dyed before that time.

Bishop Corbet never had any epitaph I could here of, though there are many that can remember his death, and some the place where hee was buried; and though there have been many bishops buryed in this church, yett there are butt 3 that have epitaphs, viz. Bishop Parkhurst, B. Overall, and B. Montague; the rest have fayre tombs, but no inscriptions. A clark of the church told mee, that in the late times above an hundred brasse inscriptions were stolne out of the church, and, therefore, to prevent *all oblivion of the rest, I tooke* the best account I could of them at the Kings returne, from an understanding singingman of 91 *years* old, and sett them downe in a booke, which otherwise would chance in a short time been forgotten; the churchmen little minding such things. Bishop Herbert, the founder of that church in William Rufus his time, was borne in Oxford, and so probably had his education there. I do not find that hee writt any thing; butt hee was a famous man, and great builder of churches; as this cathedrall, St. Margarets at Lynne a fayre church, St. Nicolas at Yarmouth, an handsome church at Elmeham in Norfolk, and St. Leonards chappell upon the hill by Norwich. In the 3rd or 4th of our Bishops there was also one John of Oxenford. For Broadgate Hall, I was of it butt about a yeare before it was made Pembroke Colledge. Bishop Bonner

was of that house, and Camden, as old Dr. Clayton told mee, and *Noticia Oxoniæ* mentions. Dr. Budden, also a civillian, was principall not very long before my time, and Dr. Clayton remembered him. Hee hath left some things in writing, but perhaps hee was first of Magdalen colledge, having writt the life of William of Waynfleet.

I am glad you have been so observant as to take notice of the Roman castrum in those parts you mention.

There hath been a Roman castrum by Castor neere Yarmouth, butt plowed up, and now nothing or litle discernable thereof; butt I have had many Roman coynes found thereabout: that castle you mention there is an old remainder of Sr. John Fallstafs house. There is also a Roman castrum 3 miles from Norwich, at Castor, anciently Venta Icenorum, containing about 30 akers of ground, where there are still playne marks of the 4 portæ, and I have had many coynes from thence, and some other antiquities. There is also a castrum at Brancaster by Burnham in Norfolk, containing 8 akers of ground; butt the rampier of that is almost digged downe. I hope you proceed in your observations concerning the Druids stones. I pray my humble service and good wishes unto that worthy gentleman Mr. Wood. I rest, Sr. your very respectfull freind and humble servant, THO. BROWNE.

P. S.—My wife and daughters present their humble service. If you speake with my sonne who is at Dr. Ternes in Lymestreet, hee will give you some account of stones like Rollrich stones, the which hee observed as hee went from Magdeburg to Hamburgh. If I can do you any service I pray command it. I should bee glad to see you in these parts when I might have more time to enjoy you then your last haste afforded mee.

I was borne Novemb. 19, 1605.

Aug. 24, Norwich, 1673.

I can heare nothing of the tree in Castor churchyard, though I have enquired of some of the parish who say there is none now, nor do they remember any.

(Directed on the back.) To my worthy friend Mr. John Awbrey, at Mr. Henry Coleys howse at the Rose and Crowne in Grayes Inne Lane, London.

(Inclosure.)

Dr. Corbet died the 28 July, 1635, was buried in ye quire as is supposed, but we find no remaines.

7°. die Nov. anno primo, Ed. 6.

In charta Edwardi Sexti pro fundatione Eccli^e. Cath. Sn^te et individuæ Trinitatis apud Norvic.

Et ut Ecclesia Cathedralis prædicta de personis congruis in singulis locis et gradibus suis perimpleatur et decoretur dilectum nobis Johannem Salisbury sacræ Theologiæ professorem Episcopum Thetford primum originalem et modernum decanum predictæ Eccli^e. Cathedralis, ac Thomam Tidman Sacræ Theologiæ professorem primum presbiterum prebendarium, Henricum Manuell clericum secundum presbiterum prebendarium, Robertum Talbot artium magistrum tertium presbiterum prebendarium, Edmundum Drake clericum quartum presbiterum prebendarium, Elizæum Ferrys Sacræ Theologiæ professorem quintum presbiterum prebendarium, et Johannem Hallybread Sacræ Theologiæ professorem Sextum presbiterum prebendarium predictæ Eccli^e. &c.

(The above inclosure is written by a different hand, on a small piece of paper, which is fastened to the foregoing letter, (art. 28,) *in mistake for this second letter to Aubrey.)*

END OF VOL. I.

Norwich:
PRINTED BY JOSIAH FLETCHER.